THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE ACCESSION OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

WITH

NOTES, Critical and Explanatory;

BY

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LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

A. D. 1461.] LEWIS was at Geneppe when he received the news of his father's death, and the intelligence is ſaid to have inſpired him with a joy which he affected not to conceal; but though his eagerneſs to ſway the ſceptre was unqueſtionably great, it can ſcarcely be conceived, that a prince who was the moſt conſummate hypocrite of the age, would have ſuffered ſymptoms of exultation, the moſt indecent and unnatural, to eſcape him; ſymptoms, too, which muſt have made the moſt unfavourable impreſſion on all who witneſſed them. This charge, indeed, appears to have been founded rather on a ſuppoſition of what Lewis *felt* at the time, than on a knowledge of what he diſplayed; and it is worthy of remark, that, though it has been confidently advanced by later hiſtorians, it is not even mentioned by one contemporary writer [1].

From Geneppe the king went to Maubeuge upon the Sambre, where he performed the firſt act of ſovereignty, by ſummoning the governors of certain provinces to exact from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance, and to ſend him two deputies from each of the principal towns. He then proceeded to Aveſnes, where he had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him. A report prevailed that the late king had taken ſome ſteps to deprive Lewis of his lawful inheritance; and, though the conſtitutional laws of the realm preſented an inſurmountable bar to ſuch a proceeding, that prince, conſcious he had given but too juſt grounds of offence to his father, ſeemed to entertain apprehenſions that his ſucceſſion would be diſputed: at leaſt, his conduct, and that of the Duke of Burgundy, were calculated to authorize ſuch an opinion. As the duke was to accompany the king to Rheims, he ſummoned all the nobility in his dominions to meet him at Saint-Quentin; and the citation was ſo punctually obeyed, that no leſs than one

[1] Contin. de Monſtrelet—Chronique de Saint Denis—Chronique de France—Préface de Commines—Piéces Juſtificatives—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos—Hiſtoire de la Ville de Paris—Regiſtres du Parlement.

hundred thouſand armed men attended at the appointed rendezvous. Such a prodigious number of attendants rather bore the appearance of an hoſtile army preparing to atchieve the conqueſt of a kingdom, than of the retinue of a ſovereign going to receive the crown, and to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. But whatever apprehenſions Lewis might have been led to entertain, they were ſpeedily diſpelled by the zealous loyalty which every claſs of people haſtened to ſignalize. No ſooner, however, was one object of apprehenſion removed, than another preſented itſelf to his mind; for it was the fate of this prince to be inceſſantly a prey to ſuſpicion, inquietude, and terror. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, appeared to be a dangerous friend. His benefactor in adverſity had now become his vaſſal; and this change in their relative ſituations neceſſarily produced, at leaſt on one ſide, a change of ſentiment; the intereſts of the king were far different from thoſe of the dauphin, when a fugitive, and in diſgrace. The embarraſſment of Lewis was greatly encreaſed by the critical ſituation in which he was placed; ſince, by betraying ſymptoms of diſtruſt, he muſt inevitably have incurred the cenſure of ingratitude, and moreover expoſed himſelf to the danger of making a formidable enemy, whoſe efforts he would have been wholly unable to reſiſt. But he extricated himſelf from this dilemma by artfully inſinuating to the duke of Burgundy, that the appearance of ſuch a numerous army would, he feared, inſpire his ſubjects with unfavourable ſentiments, which, at the commencement of his reign, it was peculiarly his intereſt to avert. The duke, who harboured no ſiniſter intentions, immediately diſmiſſed his troops, and took the road to Rheims, accompanied only by four thouſand of his nobles.

At Ayeſnes the King received the deputies from the principal towns, and from the ſovereign courts of juſtice. A funeral ſervice was celebrated in the church of that town for the repoſe of the late king's ſoul; and Lewis attended the ceremony, (accompanied by the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Charolois and Etampes; James of Bourbon, and Adolphus of Cleves) dreſſed in deep mourning; but as ſoon as the ſervice was finiſhed, he aſſumed the regal purple; not, as has falſely been aſſerted, in contempt of his father's memory, but in compliance with a cuſtom which had been adopted in the early ages of the monarchy, and which his predeceſſors had invariably obſerved[2].

Nothing remarkable occurred at the coronation of Lewis, which took place at Rheims, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, except that, before he was anointed, he inſiſted on receiving the honour of knighthood from the hands of the duke of Burgundy, which greatly ſurprized all the nobility; becauſe, ſay the contemporary authors, "The king's ſons were always knighted at the "baptiſmal font." Indeed the marks of attention which he beſtowed on the duke were carried to a degree of affectation which ſtrongly ſavoured of inſincerity. By his orders, the principal inhabitants of Rheims went to meet the duke at a conſiderable diſtance from the town; at the gates of the city, he was received by the archbiſhop of Rheims, who preſented him with the

2 Villaret, tom. xvi. page 399.

keys;

keys; and a complimentary oration was delivered in his preſence, in which it was obſerved, that to him were the people indebted for the preſervation of their ſovereign. During the whole time that the court remained at Rheims, all orders were received from the duke himſelf.

By theſe extraordinary marks of condeſcenſion, the king thought he amply diſcharged the debts he had contracted as dauphin; but the duke of Burgundy knew him too well to be deceived by his proofs of attention, and profeſſions of friendſhip. "*That man*," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Lewis to a perſon whom the count of Dammartin had ſent to Rheims to entreat his good offices with the king, "*will not reign long without involving his kingdom in great troubles.*"

By the twenty-fifth article of the treaty of Arras[3] it was formally ſtipulated, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould not, during his life, be compelled to pay homage to Charles the Seventh, *nor to his ſucceſſors, kings of France*; and if in the ſaid treaty, or in any other act whatever, the king had been ſtiled his Sovereign, ſuch title could have no effect on this total exemption from the duties of a vaſſal. If the king ſtrictly adhered to a convention thus preciſe, he could have no poſſible right to exact homage from the duke, unleſs, indeed, the right of Charles to bind his ſucceſſors had been called in queſtion. The duke, however, in order to avoid all poſſibility of a diſpute on the ſubject, voluntarily paid homage to Lewis, not only for thoſe domains which he held of the crown, but for all his poſſeſſions generally and indiſcriminately.

On the day of the coronation, immediately after dinner, the duke of Burgundy knelt to the king, and conjured him, by the ſacred ties of religion and humanity, to pardon all thoſe who, in the preceding reign, had been ſo unfortunate as to incur his diſpleaſure, and to continue in their different poſts ſuch officers as had ſerved the king his father with fidelity. This ſalutary advice, delivered in the humble form of a ſupplication, Lewis would have done well to adopt; but he was too intent on the gratification of his reſentment to comply with a requeſt that interfered with his projects of revenge. His ſoul was a ſtranger to that chriſtian virtue, the forgiveneſs of injuries. He affected, however, to be moved by the duke's entreaties, and accordingly promiſed to pardon what was paſt, excepting only, from the general amneſty, ſeven perſons, whom he did not name. By means of this reſtriction, he reſerved to himſelf the choice of his victims.

On the laſt day of Auguſt[4] Lewis made his public entry into Paris, where he was received by the inhabitants with every demonſtration of joy, reſpect, and loyalty. When he arrived at the gate of Saint Denis, two children, repreſenting angels, deſcended and placed a crown on his head. A herald, whoſe dreſs was adorned with the arms of the city, introduced to him five ladies on horſeback, who repreſented the five letters which form the word *Paris*; and recited complimentary verſes. *Actors*, repreſenting the clergy, nobility, and the third-eſtate,

3 Tréſor des Chartres. 4 Mezeray, tom. vi. page 411.

appeared

appeared in a veſſel fixed againſt the gate, from the maſt whereof iſſued a king, decorated with all the attributes of royalty. All the ſtreets were adorned with pantomimical repreſentations of myſteries; but the moſt extraordinary ſight which attracted the new monarch's attention, was that of three beautiful girls, perfectly naked, ſtationed at a fountain by which he paſſed, in the character of ſyrens, ſinging ruſtic airs, accompanied by muſical inſtruments[5]. After the uſual ceremonies were finiſhed, the king repaired to the hotel des Tournelles, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence.

Lewis, on his acceſſion to the throne, had entered his thirty-ninth year, an age when youth can no longer be pleaded in extenuation of error. The kingdom was in a flouriſhing and tranquil ſtate; free from domeſtic commotions, and exempt from the danger of foreign invaſion. The ſovereign authority was more extenſive and more reſpected than it had been under any one of his predeceſſors, ſince the elevation of the third race of kings. The errors of his own youth, and the wiſdom and virtues of his father, might have ſerved him as inſtructive leſſons, pointing out what to avoid, and what to imitate. No monarch had ever ſucceeded to the throne with ſimilar advantages, and under circumſtances more propitious. It only depended on himſelf to become happy, by compleating the felicity of his ſubjects; aſſured of their attachment, he might eaſily have commanded the eſteem of the neighbouring powers, the admiration of his contemporaries, and the applauſe of poſterity.

With the exception of a few individuals, whoſe laudable attachment to Charles the Seventh had excited the avowed hatred of his ſon, none of the great officers of ſtate, or chief magiſtrates, had any reaſon to apprehend a removal from their ſtations, which they had long enjoyed with honour to themſelves, and advantage to their country. The king had hitherto been ſilent on this head, but immediately after his entry into the capital, he made known his intentions. He deprived Juvenal des Urſins of the dignity of chancellor, which he conferred on Peter de Morvilliers. John de Rohan, baron of Mantauban, was appointed to ſucceed John de Büeil, in the office of admiral, and William de Harcourt in that of chamberlain. The mareſchal de Loheac was ſucceeded by the baſtard of Armagnac, who had juſt been created count of Comminges. The provoſt of Paris, moſt of the judges of the different courts, and the officers of the mint, alſo loſt their places. It ſeemed as if Lewis had reſolved to retain none of the ſervants of his father; and, from the apprehenſion that any one of them ſhould elude his reſearches, he included them all in one general proſcription.

Couſinot, bailiff of Rouen, a magiſtrate of great merit, who had rendered very eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, was impriſoned; and Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was obliged to conceal himſelf in order to avoid a ſimilar fate. This almoſt total ſubverſion of fortunes and dignities, kept the minds of the public in a ſtate of continual agitation, while the perſon who occaſioned

[5] Villaret.

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it was not more tranquil himſelf. The prince who ſuffers the ſuggeſtions of caprice to ſilence the dictates of reaſon and equity, and whoſe conduct is influenced by the prevailing paſſion of the moment, can neither be happy nor free: wretched, indeed, muſt be *his* ſituation, who with the inclination poſſeſſes the ability to oppreſs.

Lewis was not more anxious to ruin all ſuch as had enjoyed the favour of his father, than to protect thoſe who had incurred his diſpleaſure. On his acceſſion to the throne, he ordered the duke of Alençon to be releaſed, and he, ſoon after, reſtored him to all his former poſſeſſions, honours and dignities. John of Armagnac, who had been condemned by the parliament, alſo obtained the reſtitution of his confiſcated territories. Such were the firſt exertions which Lewis made of his power; and but a ſhort time elapſed before he found reaſon to repent a conduct, which was equally impolitic and unjuſt.

While he was thus occupied in incurring the hatred of his ſubjects, he ſpared no pains to eſtabliſh harmony and tranquillity among his neighbours. By his urgent ſolicitations with the duke of Burgundy, he induced him to receive the count of Saint Paul into favour, and he likewiſe effected a reconciliation between that nobleman and the houſe of Croi; though he muſt have known that, by ſuch a meaſure, he could not fail to excite the ſecret reſentment of the count of Charolois. In ſhort, before he had compleated the firſt month of his reign, he had contrived to lay the foundation of an almoſt general diſcontent.

At length, Lewis left Paris to viſit his mother at Amboiſe; but before his departure, he had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, to whom, in the preſence of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, he renewed his profeſſions of friendſhip and eſteem, repeating his declarations, that to him he was indebted for his crown and his life. The three princes parted with every appearance of mutual ſatisfaction; and after this interview the duke returned to Flanders, and the count of Charolois repaired to Burgundy.

Among the numerous complaints preferred by the factious and diſcontented againſt the old adminiſtration, the want of economy in the management of the revenue, and the intolerable weight of taxes, had not been forgotten. Such accuſations, indeed, have in all ages, and in almoſt all countries, been the inſtruments employed by wicked and deſigning men to ſeduce the people from their duty, by impoſing on their credulity; knowing their aptitude to believe that all who are diſaffected to the government, muſt be anxious to promote *their* welfare and to afford *them* relief. As theſe reports had been propagated by the adherents of Lewis, it was expected that, on his acceſſion to the throne, he would rather diminiſh than augment the taxes; but almoſt immediately after he had received the intelligence of his father's death, he ordered a freſh tax to be levied throughout his dominions. On his arrival at Rheims, he made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the inhabitants, and ſolemnly ſwore that he would never ſubject them to any new impoſt; but when he left the town, he forgot his oath. The inhabitants, ſurpriſed to find the leaſe of the *Gabelles*, and other *exactions*, publickly renewed, in direct violation

tion of the king's promiſe, flew to arms, broke open the offices where the regiſters were kept, tore the regiſters, maſſacred the *revenue-farmers*, and burnt their contracts. This ſedition, however, was ſoon repreſſed; eighty of the inſurgents were ſeized by the troops; and ſix of them, with the leaders of the revolt, were hanged. The ſame ſpirit of oppoſition evinced itſelf in ſeveral other towns, particularly in Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac in Auvergne; but by timely exertions of vigour it was ſpeedily quelled.

The king ſtopped but a few days with his mother, and then repaired to Tours, where he received a viſit from the count of Charolois, on his return from Burgundy. That prince experienced the moſt extraordinary marks of diſtinction during his reſidence at the French court: Lewis, not content with defraying his expences, and thoſe of his houſehold, and with procuring him every amuſement the age would afford, diſplayed an anxiety to gratify every wiſh he expreſſed. On his departure, he appointed him his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a ſalary of ſix-and-thirty thouſand livres. Before the count returned to Bruxelles, he went to take poſſeſſion of his new government, where the inhabitants, by the king's expreſs orders, paid him the ſame honours as if he had been their ſovereign. But while Lewis thus loaded the count of Charolois with careſſes, he ſecretly confirmed, in violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths, the alliance which Charles the Seventh had contracted with the people of Liege, the avowed enemies of the houſe of Burgundy.

Now that he was poſſeſſed of ſupreme power, and, conſequently, free to diſplay his humours without fear of contradiction, Lewis betrayed a decided preference for thoſe diſhonourable intrigues, and crooked ſyſtems of policy, to which he had been addicted from his youth. Inconſtant and capricious, his actions ſeemed to be regulated by the whim of the moment, without any regard to propriety, or conſideration for the future[6]. Pope Pius the Second had made ſeveral vain attempts, during the late reign, to procure the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and being acquainted with the diſpoſition of the new monarch, who, while dauphin, had promiſed to give him ſatisfaction on that head, he ordered the biſhop of Arras, whom he had recently appointed his legate *à latere* in France, to remind him of his promiſe. That prelate accordingly repreſented to the king, that, by a compliance with the requeſt of his holineſs, he would ſtrengthen his own authority; that he would always be able to diſpoſe of the livings, by his recommendation to the pope, who would be bound in gratitude not to refuſe him any thing he might aſk; that when the princes and nobility had no longer any influence in the elections, they would loſe the only means they poſſeſſed of acquiring partizans among the clergy; and that there would always be a legate in France, to whom his majeſty might apply for all the favours he wiſhed to obtain from the holy ſee.

[6] Du Tillet—Paſquier—Tréſor des Chartres—Cont. des Ordonnances—Loix Eccleſiaſtiques—Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique—Hiſtoire de l'Univerſité—Hiſtoire de Louis XI.—Preuves Juſtificatives de Philippe de Commines—Spicilegium.

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The kingdom of Naples, which had formerly belonged to the houſe of Anjou, had been uſurped by that of Arragon, and was now poſſeſſed by Ferdinand, a natural ſon of Alphonſo, the late king. The duke of Calabria, ſon to René, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretenſions; and the biſhop of Arras, imagining that Lewis would be anxious to place his kinſman on the throne of Naples, aſſured him, that the pope had reſolved to inveſt the duke with that kingdom. His holineſs, indeed, had no ſuch intention; but the prelate would have promiſed ſtill more, had he deemed it neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his project.

In ſhort, the biſhop exerted his eloquence with ſuch effect, that the king, who ever diſplayed a willingneſs to revoke any act of his father's, granted all he requeſted. Had the pontiff himſelf dictated the letters of revocation, he could not have made uſe of expreſſions more favourable to the unlimited authority of the holy ſee, and more repugnant to the dignity of the throne, the rights and prerogatives of the Gallican church, the wiſdom of the laws, and the honour of the magiſtracy. The king, after aſſuring the pope of his filial obedience, declared that he deſired nothing more earneſtly than to fulfil the promiſe he had made before his acceſſion to the throne, to aboliſh the Pragmatic Sanction, which, having been eſtabliſhed in a time of revolt, was injurious to the holy ſee. "Our councillor," ſays Lewis, alluding to the biſhop of Arras; "has convinced us that this conſtitution, while it attacks your authority, tends to encourage "the licentiouſneſs of our prelates."—"Although moſt men of knowledge endeavour to diſ-"ſuade us from our deſign, we have, according to your requeſt, abrogated this Pragmatic Sanc-"tion, and caſt it out from our dominions. Exert then your power, in future, in our kingdom "as you pleaſe; and if any perſons ſhall reſiſt you, we promiſe your holineſs, on the word of a "king, to execute your commands, in ſpite of all oppoſition or appeal, and we will repreſs and "reſtrain all thoſe who ſhall diſobey your orders[7]." It was thus that the king, by the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of unlimited obedience, anſwered the ambiguous careſſes of the artful pontiff, who, in a brief addreſſed to the biſhop of Arras, charged that prelate to aſſure his deareſt ſon, the king of France, *that he began to feel an inclination to love him wonderfully*[8].

But Lewis, who believed himſelf to be the moſt ſkilful and profound politician of the age, had ſoon the mortification to find, that he had been duped by the pope; for Pius, having obtained his ends, refuſed to ratify the engagement which his legate had contracted for placing the duke of Calabria on the throne of Naples. Enraged at the diſcovery, he reſolved to turn

[7] "*Dum per pragmaticam ipſam Jumnia in eccleſia tuæ ſedis autoritas minuitur, prælatis in regno noſtro quoddam licentiæ tem-*"*plum per illam præſtruitur . . . utere igitur deinceps in regno noſtro poteſtate tua ut voles . . . quod ſi forte abnitentur aliqui aut re-*"*clamabunt, nos in verbo regio pollicemur tuæ beatitudini exequi tua nra data omni appellationis aut oppoſitionis obſtaculo prorſus*"*excluſo, eoſque qui tibi contumaces fuerint pro tuo juſſu comprimemus et refrænabimus.*"

Preuves de Commines, p. 357.—M. S. de la Bib. Roy.

[8] Spicil. Miſcellan. Epiſt. Diplomat.

the pontiff's arts againſt himſelf; and he accordingly ſuffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had ſo ſolemnly revoked.

While the king was at Tours, he received ambaſſadors from the duke of Brittany, who came to regulate the form of homage which their ſovereign was to pay for his duchy[9]; this point being ſettled, the duke himſelf went to Tours, and ſubmitted to the uſual ceremony. The king, who was jealous of his intimacy with the count of Charolois, ſpared no pains to gain his confidence. In the hope of attaching him to his intereſts, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, although he had juſt conferred the government of this laſt province on the count of Charolois. If his object was to ſow diſſention between the two princes, he did not reap from this ſhallow artifice the advantage he expected. Soon after the duke's departure, the king repaired to Brittany, under pretence of performing a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of ſome ſaint; but the real object of his journey was, to examine the ſtate of the duchy, and to promote a marriage between Frances of Amboiſe, ducheſs-dowager of Brittany, and the duke of Savoy[10]; but the duke of Brittany, aware of his deſigns, found means to prevent their execution.

Previous to his journey to Brittany, the king had aſſigned the duchy of Berri, as an appanage, to his brother Charles, with the uſual clauſe of reverſion to the crown in default of male heirs; and accompanied by a promiſe to make ſome more ample proviſion for him at a future time. This promiſe ſupplied the young prince with a pretext to prefer ſuch claims as beſt coincided with his ambitious plans; and a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in addition to his duchy, being deemed an inſufficient income for the ſon of a king, the public, diſguſted with Lewis, loudly exclaimed againſt that monarch's injuſtice to his brother.

The conduct of Lewis to Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was calculated to encreaſe ſtill farther the popular diſcontents. That nobleman, tired with the life of a fugitive, repaired to court, and deſired the king would immediately order him to be tried with the utmoſt rigour of the law. He was charged with having falſely accuſed the king, while he was dauphin, of conſpiring againſt his father; and on this charge his judges were baſe enough to pronounce him guilty of high treaſon, in conſequence of which he was condemned to die; but Lewis changed his puniſhment into perpetual impriſonment, and he was accordingly committed to the Baſtile; his effects were confiſcated, and moſt of his eſtates were given to Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring his condemnation.

[9] D'Argentré—Hiſt. de Bret.—Nouv. Hiſt. de Bretagne, l. 18.—Preuves de L'Hiſt. de Bret.—Trés. des Chart.
[10] Preuves Juſtif. de Commines—Preuves de L'Hiſt. de Bret.

A. D.

A. D. 1462, 1463.] Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy queen of England, had embarked for the continent, ſome time after the fatal battle of Touton, to ſolicit ſuccours and aſſiſtance from her foreign connections. She paid a viſit to the king at Chinon, who expreſſed the greateſt concern for her misfortunes. During her reſidence at the French court, ſhe ſtood godmother to the only ſon of Charles, duke of Orleans, by Mary of Cleves, his third wife: the king was the godfather, and he gave his own name to the young prince, who afterward aſcended the throne of France, under the appellation of Lewis the Twelfth. But, notwithſtanding the profeſſions of friendſhip which the king made to Margaret, all he could be perſuaded to grant to her earneſt ſolicitations, were a loan of twenty thouſand livres, and a ſupply of two thouſand troops, under the command of Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who is ſaid to have entertained for the queen more tender ſentiments than pity and compaſſion[11]. With this inadequate ſuccour—for which too, the intereſted monarch made her ſign, in her huſband's name, a truce for one hundred years, and a promiſe to reſtore the city of Calais—Margaret embarked for England about the end of the year 1462; and, after a tedious and tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived off Tinmouth; but being prevented from landing there, ſhe again put to ſea, and her fleet being overtaken by a ſtorm, many of the ſhips were ſtranded near Bamburgh Caſtle, and the veſſel in which the queen was, with difficulty, reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Iſland, where they were ſoon attacked by a ſuperior force, and moſt of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with ſome other officers, made their eſcape, and joined the queen[12].

The defeat of the royaliſts at Hexham compleated the misfortunes of Margaret, who, after that battle, ſailed from England with her ſon, and a choſen band of faithful followers, and arrived ſafe at Sluys in Flanders. The duke of Burgundy received her with great hoſpitality; and, after loading her with valuable preſents, ſent a guard to eſcort her into Lorrain, where her brother, the duke of Calabria, then reſided. Brezé, who was preſent at the battle, effected his eſcape to Alnwick, where he was beſieged, and, after a brave reſiſtance, conſented to ſurrender the place, on condition of being permitted to return to France with the ſmall remains of his troops.

A revolt of the Catalonians, who had renounced their allegiance to Juan, king of Arragon—a monarch ſtained with the blood of his own ſon—and invited the king of Caſtile to become their ſovereign, now attracted the attention of Lewis. He, at firſt, promiſed protection to the inſurgents; but, ſeduced by the offers of Juan, he had a conference with that monarch between Mauleon and Sauveterre, on the confines of Navarre, where a treaty was concluded, by which Lewis engaged to aſſiſt the king of Arragon with a loan of three hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and a ſupply of ſeven hundred lances; and the important counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, ſubject to redemption, were transferred to him as a ſecurity for the money he

[11] Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 456. [12] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. p. 91.—Hall, ed. 4. fol. 2.—Stow, p. 416.

advanced. These the king immediately annexed to the domain of the crown, in virtue of the pretensions of his mother, Mary of Anjou, sprung from Yoland of Arragon; but he soon after transferred them to the count of Foix, as an indemnity for his claims to the kingdom of Navarre, founded on the rights of his wife, Leonora, who had poisoned her eldest sister Blanche.

The assistance of Lewis proved of little advantage to the Arragonian monarch, who was defeated in all quarters, by the active exertions of his opponent, Henry the Fourth, king of Castile, surnamed the Impotent. But this last prince was at length persuaded by his ministers, who had been seduced by Juan, to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the French king; who pronounced a decision, equally displeasing to both parties, and which was respected by neither. An interview, on the frontiers of their respective dominions, having been agreed upon between Lewis and Henry, the former repaired to Saint Jean de Luz, and the latter to Fontarabia. They advanced to the opposite banks of the Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain; and their contrasted appearance strongly attested the difference of their dispositions.—Henry, luxurious, magnificent, and vain, was arrayed in the richest stuffs, embellished with gold and precious stones, and attended by a numerous train, all equally brilliant. The sails of the barks, which conveyed them to the French side of the river, were also decorated with a profusion of the precious metals. Lewis, whose pride, certainly less respectable, was displayed in a studied affectation of the opposite extreme, had encreased the natural uncouthness of his person, by a dress the most vulgar and unbecoming. His under garment, which sate close to his body, was made of coarse cloth; and over it he wore a doublet of fustian. His hat was extremely small, resembling the *calotte*, usually worn by priests, and decorated with a leaden image of the Virgin. The few nobles who attended him, imitated their master in the meanness of their dress. But the wealth which Henry had expended in his sumptuous preparations, Lewis employed to bribe the ministers of Castile—for the art of making traitors always formed a leading feature in his illiberal and dishonest system of policy. The two monarchs had a short conference together; and, after a formal renewal of the ancient treaties between the two crowns, they parted with a thorough contempt of each other.

The king had lately resigned all his pretensions to the duchy of Luxembourg, in favour of the duke of Burgundy; as well as to the restitution of the sum of fifty thousand crowns, which his father had paid to the duke of Saxony, and his co-heirs, for the renunciation of their claims. But while he appeared thus anxious to court the favour of Philip, he observed a very different line of conduct with his son Charles. Uneasy at the intimate connection which subsisted between that prince and the duke of Britanny, he incessantly laboured to promote a breach between them; or, at least, to counteract the dangerous designs which he imputed to them, by creating embarrassments which might divert their attention elsewhere. He bestowed every mark of distinction on the lord of Croi; not content with raising him to the high office of Grand Master, he ceded to him the town and territory of Guines; and, convinced that nothing

thing could give greater offence to the count of Charolois, he ordered this extraordinary inſtance of his favour to be publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, in the ſtreets of his capital. He alſo extended his protection to every perſon, indiſcriminately, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of Charles. To this period may be traced the origin of that inveterate enmity which ſoon prevailed between thoſe rival princes, and which only expired with life.

The duke of Burgundy had flattered himſelf that the unconditional homage which he had paid to the king, would be conſidered rather as a mark of reſpect, than as an eſſential obligation; and that no duties of vaſſalage would be required from him that could tend to derogate, in any degree, from the character of an independent prince, which he had ſo long maintained, and was ſtill determined to preſerve[13]. Some Engliſh ſhips of war having been ſeen cruizing in the channel, the king ſent an ambaſſador to Lewis to ſummon him to declare war againſt Edward, and to publiſh an expreſs prohibition to all his ſubjects to afford that prince any kind of aſſiſtance. This was a mere pretext to ſound the intentions of the duke, ſince, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, no dread of an invaſion could poſſibly exiſt. The moſt important, and indeed the real object of the embaſſy, was to engage Philip to permit the eſtabliſhment of the Gabelle in his dominions; a propoſition which he rejected in the moſt poſitive terms. He even ſent the lord of Chimey to the king to complain of this conduct, and to beg he would, *for the love of him*, deſiſt from a pretenſion which he could never admit.

The Burgundian envoy remained ſome time at the French court before he could procure an audience of the king. At length, tired with the delays which he was made to experience, he placed himſelf at the door of the king's apartment, and reſolved not to quit his poſt till he had fulfilled his commiſſion. The monarch, no longer able to avoid him, for once ſuffered his impatience to get the better of his policy, and exclaimed, "*What ſort of man then is this duke of "Burgundy? Is he different, or made of different metal from all the other princes and nobility "of my kingdom?*" "*Yes, ſire,*" replied Chimey, "*the duke of Burgundy is indeed different, "and made of different metal from all the other princes of your kingdom, or of the neighbouring "countries, for he kept you ſafe, and ſupported you againſt the will and pleaſure of king "Charles your father, whom God pardon, which none of the other princes had either the inclina-"tion or ſpirit to do.*" The king, confuſed at this unexpected reply, immediately returned to his apartment. The count of Dunois, approaching the lord of Chimey, aſked him how he had dared to expreſs himſelf with ſuch freedom to a prince ſo abſolute as Lewis the Eleventh. "*Had I been fifty leagues from hence,*" replied the brave Burgundian, "*and had thought that "the king wiſhed to ſay to me what he has juſt ſaid of my maſter, I would have inſtantly re-"turned to make him the ſame anſwer as I have juſt made him.*" As neither the king nor the duke deemed it prudent to come to an open rupture, this affair was attended with no farther conſequences.

[13] Contin. de Monſtrelet—Preuves de Phil. de Commines—Chron. de France.

Convinced of the impoſſibility of enforcing his pretenſions by arms, Lewis appeared to renounce them; and this tacit diſavowal ſatisfied Philip, who was already too much haraſſed by the indocility of the count of Charolois, to think of encreaſing his embarraſſment by involving himſelf in freſh difficulties. The favour ſhewn to the houſe of Croi was ſtill the cauſe of that diviſion which prevailed between the father and ſon. As the duke advanced in years, the influence of his favourites encreaſed; and as Lewis, by his liberal donations, had attached thoſe favourites to his intereſt, he might probably have obtained what he aſked, had not the eſtabliſhment of the Gabelle been attended with difficulties almoſt inſurmountable. The bare propoſal to levy that impoſt had formerly occaſioned a general inſurrection in the Low Countries.

But Lewis was more ſucceſsful in another negociation with the duke of Burgundy, the object of which was, to procure the reſtitution of thoſe towns on the river Somme, which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at the treaty of Arras: and which, in effect, rendered Philip maſter of Picardy. The meaſure was oppoſed by the count of Charolois; but the influence of John de Croi, the duke's miniſter, and the king's friend, prevailed, and four hundred thouſand crowns were given to recover theſe valuable pledges. Even in this tranſaction, Lewis diſplayed his duplicity: he had promiſed to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of theſe towns; but no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion than he diſplaced them, and, at the ſame time, nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

Soon after this negociation was compleated, Lewis loſt his mother, Mary of Anjou, who died on the twenty-ninth of November, 1463, in the ſixtieth year of her age. The exemplary conduct, the ſignal virtues, and fervent piety of this amiable princeſs, had attracted univerſal reſpect and eſteem; and her loſs was deeply regretted by the nation. Her death, indeed, could not have happened at a more unfortunate period; for as the king paid conſiderable deference to her advice, ſhe might, poſſibly, have been able to prevent thoſe troubles of which his improper conduct and reſtleſs diſpoſition had laid the foundation. Since his acceſſion to the throne, Lewis ſeemed to have wholly neglected an art the moſt eaſily acquired, and the moſt neceſſary for a monarch to learn, that of ſecuring the affections of his ſubjects.—The prince who ſeeks to confirm his power by the influence of fear, at once betrays the tyrant and the fool; alike ignorant of his duties and his intereſt, he is equally a ſtranger to the obligations impoſed on himſelf, and to the feelings implanted in the heart of man; fortunately for the happineſs of the world, ſuch a flagrant violation of moral rectitude generally carries its own puniſhment along with it. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of monarchs, that the love of the people conſtitutes the ſureſt and firmeſt ſupport of the throne.

Lewis, by his conduct, had naturally excited the deteſtation of the French; and being conſcious that he merited their hatred, he was in continual dread of feeling its effects. Tormented by the moſt alarming apprehenſions, he was inceſſantly employed in the adoption of means for averting the ſtorm that threatened him. The malecontents were numerous; and, headed by the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to

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give a free ſcope to their reſentment. The king, meanwhile, though ſenſible of his danger, knew not *who* were his enemies; he had been apprized, that ſecret aſſociations were formed in different parts of the kingdom; but all his endeavours to diſcover the members of them had proved inefficacious.

The penſioners whom Lewis maintained at the Burgundian court aſſured him, that he had nothing to apprehend from Philip, at leaſt, ſo long as the miſunderſtanding continued to ſubſiſt between that prince and his ſon. The duke had already addreſſed ſome complaints on this ſubject to the ſtates of Flanders aſſembled at Bruges; and deputies were appointed to wait on the count of Charolois, and invite him to return to court. The count received them with kindneſs; and after he had explained the cauſe of his diſcontent, complied with their invitation, and went to his father at Bruges. But this reconciliation proved of ſhort continuance. The ſame ſubject for diſſention ſtill ſubſiſted; the count's averſion from the houſe of Croi was inſurmountable; he had declared them to be his mortal enemies; he had openly accuſed them of conſpiring againſt his life; and he even ſeemed directly to include the king in his accuſations, by obſerving, that he would not deſignate the moſt dangerous enemies who ſought for his death, on account of the horror that muſt neceſſarily be experienced if he named them.

Thus relieved from all dread of interruption from that quarter, Lewis reſolved to direct his attacks againſt the duke of Brittany, who, next to Philip, had inſpired him with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions[14]. His conduct in this reſpect was influenced as much by the perſonal hatred he had conceived againſt the duke, as by his dread of the connection which he knew to ſubſiſt between Francis and the count of Charolois. In order to take the duke of Brittany by ſurprize, he had ſent a ſtrong body of troops, in different detachments, and at different times, to the frontiers of the duchy; and all his meaſures were adopted, and plans conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, that the duke was not apprized of the danger which threatened him, till the arrival of the French chancellor, Peter de Morvilliers, who was ſent to inform him, that the king, "forbade "him in future to entitle himſelf, *duke by the grace of God*; to coin gold; to levy extraordinary "taxes in his dominions; to exact from his vaſſals the accuſtomed homage, and to receive "the oaths of allegiance from his prelates." In caſe of a refuſal to comply with theſe deſpotic mandates, the chancellor had orders to declare war againſt the duke.

Francis, who was a weak though generous prince, was extremely embarraſſed at this unexpected declaration; deſtitute of troops, he affected to ſubmit to the power he was unable to oppoſe; and, by the advice of Tannegui du Chaſtel, who, at the death of Charles the Seventh, had engaged in his ſervice, he told the chancellor, that he did not refuſe to comply with the king's demands, but that they related to objects of ſuch importance, that his conſent alone would be inſufficient to enſure their accompliſhment; that the laws of the country required the concur-

[14] D'Argentré—Hiſt. Mod. de Bretagne—Preuves Juſtific.

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rence of the different orders of the province; and that he therefore beſought his majeſty to allow him time to aſſemble the ſtates, that he might communicate his intentions to them, ſince by adopting a different line of conduct he ſhould deceive the king, which he would not do on any account. This appearance of condeſcenſion ſo faſcinated Lewis, that he granted the duke a delay of three months, and immediately diſmiſſed his troops.

The count of Maine, and four other commiſſioners, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Brittany. The principal accuſations preferred by Lewis againſt the duke, are too curious to be omitted, inaſmuch as they diſplay the character of the monarch, and the true motives by which his conduct was influenced in the preſent inſtance. He complained, "That while he was "dauphin, the duke had refuſed to lend him four thouſand crowns; that he had given him no "aſſiſtance in the war with the Catalonians; that he had ſeized the temporalities of the biſhop "of Nantes, *which was a thing unexampled in the chriſtian world, ſince biſhops took the prece-* "*dency of dukes, and could not poſſibly become their ſubjects*; that he had given orders to his "vaſſals to take up arms; and that the duke's attorney had declared, at Rome, that his maſter "was no ſubject of the king's, and that he would rather receive the Engliſh in his dominions "than the French." There were ſeveral other charges, to all of which the duke replied; delays were neceſſarily occaſioned by this means; and, before the matter could be brought to a deciſion, the king's attention was called to another quarter, which compelled him to defer the gratification of his reſentment to a future period.

Lewis had received information that ambaſſadors from the count of Charolois had attended an aſſembly of the ſtates at Nantes, where they had renewed, by two ſeparate treaties, the alliance between Charles and Francis. The count of Saint Paul, and his brother, James of Luxembourg, Tanneguy Duchaſtel, Genlis and Romillé, vice-chancellor of Brittany, were the agents employed to conduct this ſecret negotiation. Lewis, reſolved at all events to penetrate the myſtery, cited the count of Saint Paul and Genlis to appear before him, to do homage for certain eſtates which they held of the crown of France. After ſome difficulty the latter obeyed the citation; but Lewis had the mortification to find all his ſtratagems for diſcovering the ſecret eluded, and all his efforts to detach the count of Saint Paul from the intereſt of the count of Charolois, fruitleſs and unavailing.

While the king was thus employed, the number of his enemies daily encreaſed. The duke of Brittany no ſooner found himſelf extricated from the embarraſſment into which he had been ſo unexpectedly thrown, than, in conformity to the advice of Duchaſtel, he began to think of providing againſt any future attack. He wrote to all the princes of the blood, and chief nobility; and his letters, which were conveyed by meſſengers diſguiſed like monks, contained the moſt urgent exhortations to unite in defence of the common cauſe. He warned them of the king's intention to deſtroy them all one after the other; obſerving, that they might judge, by the treatment which he had recently experienced, of the fate that awaited them; and that the only means of preventing a diſgrace which threatened them all individually, was to act in concert, for the

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purpoſe of reſiſting oppreſſion. The general diſcontent which prevailed in the kingdom had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the public for the impreſſions which the duke wiſhed them to receive. His emiſſaries returned with the moſt poſitive aſſurances of efficacious ſupport from all thoſe whom he ſolicited to enter into his projects. The confederates reciprocally exchanged vows of fidelity; and the king might count for his enemies moſt of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1464.] Nothing was now wanting to compleat the danger to which France was expoſed of a total revolution, but the junction of the duke of Burgundy. Hitherto that prince, who was fond of repoſe, had refuſed to enter into this formidable aſſociation. It even ſeemed impoſſible to perſuade him to ſuch a meaſure, notwithſtanding all the efforts of his ſon for that purpoſe. One falſe ſtep, however, produced what the moſt urgent ſolicitations had failed to effect. The king having received information that the vice-chancellor of Brittany had performed ſeveral voyages to England, Holland, and Flanders, thought it would be eaſy to diſcover the views of the princes, if he could once get their agent into his power; he therefore formed the deſign of ſeizing Romillé, who was then in England, on his return to Brittany. This commiſſion was entruſted to the baſtard of Rubempré, a man of bad character; and a ſmall veſſel was accordingly prepared for him, whoſe crew conſiſted of forty determined men. Rubempré, after cruiſing ſome time in the channel, put into the port of Gorkum, a ſmall town in Holland, ſituated on the river Wael, where the count of Charolois had arrived a few days before. As it was highly improbable that Rubempré ſhould ſtation himſelf at the extremity of Holland, in order to intercept a veſſel on her way from England to Brittany, it has been *conjectured* [14], that he had received intelligence that Romillé was to pay a viſit to the count on his return. Be that as it may, Rubempré having landed with a part of his crew, was known, ſeized, and thrown into priſon, under pretence that he had come to Gorkum with the deſign to carry off the count, and deliver him up to Lewis.

Moſt of the modern hiſtorians of France, and ſome contemporary writers [15], have attempted to juſtify Lewis from this accuſation; but all they have been able to alledge in his favour, rather tends to involve the matter in obſcurity than to prove his innocence. Appearances were moſt certainly againſt him. The character of the baſtard of Rubempré; the profound ſecreſy obſerved even with his crew, who received orders to pay him implicit obedience; the place fixed on for the execution of the plan, at which the count of Charolois had but recently arrived; the conduct of Rubempré, who was ſeen loitering about the count's houſe, and examining every part of it; his alarm, which had led him to take refuge in a church, when he thought he was diſcovered; add to theſe conſiderations, the illiberal policy of Lewis, who had recently cauſed Philip, ſecond ſon to the duke of Savoy, to be arreſted, and ſent to Loches, where he was confined for

[14] Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 34. [15] Contin. de Monſtrelet, vol. iii. fol. 103.

five years, although he had come to the court of France on an expreſs invitation from the king, and under the protection of a ſafe conduct;—this combination of circumſtances forms the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proof of the guilt of Lewis; a proof which his own diſavowal of the deed is wholly inſufficient to overturn.

At the very time that this plan was diſcovered, the frontiers of Picardy were lined with French troops. The king had repaired to Heſdin, to viſit the duke of Burgundy, who received him with all the honours that were due to his rank. He there requeſted Philip to conſent to the reſtitution of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, which had been pledged to the ancient counts of Flanders for four hundred thouſand livres Tournois, and an annual tribute of ten thouſand; but the duke replied, that thoſe towns had been ceded by the king of France to his grandfather, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, on his marriage with Margaret, heireſs to the county of Flanders; and that it was ſpecified in the deed of conveyance, that they ſhould only revert to the crown in default of male heirs on the part of Philip. Some other demands preferred by the king were likewiſe rejected. The duke, on his ſide, requeſted the king to receive the count of Charolois into favour; to deſiſt from exacting an engagement from the Flemiſh and Burgundian nobles, on their performance of homage, to ſerve him *againſt all men living*; and, laſtly, to fulfil ſeveral articles of the treaty of Arras, which had not yet been carried into execution. Lewis immediately left the duke without giving him any anſwer, and the next day ſet out for Abbeville. After remaining a ſhort time at that city, he went to Rouen, and from thence returned into Ponthieu, and ſtopped at the village of Novian, near the foreſt of Creſſy, ſix leagues from Heſdin, where the duke ſtill remained. The two princes did not viſit, and all the correſpondence that paſſed between them was carried on through the means of Anthony de Croi. This coolneſs ſubſiſted till the tenth of October, when the king ſent word to Philip, that he would pay him a viſit the next day.

The count of Charolois, who had juſt cauſed Rubempré to be apprehended, haſtened to inform his father of the circumſtance; for which purpoſe he diſpatched Oliver de la Manche, an officer of his houſehold, with a letter to the duke, containing a particular account of the conſpiracy which, he ſaid, he had detected. He not only accuſed the king of an attempt to ſeize his own perſon, but added, that it was alſo his intention to get the duke of Burgundy himſelf into his power; that it was with this view he had advanced ſo near to the place of the duke's reſidence; and that he had ſtationed ſeveral bodies of troops on the banks of the Somme, who were ready to aſſemble at the firſt notice.

Philip received the count's letter on the very day which the king had appointed for his viſit. Not thinking himſelf in ſafety at Heſdin, where he expected every moment to be ſurrounded, he haſtened to Saint Paul, in Artois, leaving the town to the care of his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with orders to receive the king in caſe he kept his appointment; but Lewis, being appriſed of his retreat, returned to Normandy. The news of the project which had been formed

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for ſeizing the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, was ſoon rendered public by the pains that were taken to promote its circulation. The count's emiſſaries made it the theme of their converſation in all companies; the clergy made the pulpits reſound with it; and the intelligence was quickly conveyed to foreign courts. Meanwhile, Montauban, admiral of France, wrote to the lord of Croi, to engage him to huſh up the affair[16], and to releaſe the baſtard of Rubempré; but that nobleman ſent back the letter, and refuſed to interfere in the buſineſs.

The king ſpared no pains to counteract the effects of theſe injurious reports. He ſummoned the deputies from the city of Rouen to attend him, and cauſed an apologetical diſcourſe to be pronounced in their preſence by the chancellor, containing a juſtification of his conduct, and a contradiction of the charge that had been preferred againſt him. Not content with this, he determined to demand ſatisfaction of the duke of Burgundy for the affront he had ſuſtained, and for this purpoſe he ſent the count of Eu, the archbiſhop of Narbonne, and Morvilliers, the chancellor, to Lille, where the count of Charolois had already arrived. The common danger to which they had been expoſed, had produced a reconciliation between Philip and his ſon. The duke gave audience to the French ambaſſadors the day after their arrival, when he was addreſſed by Morvilliers, who began his ſpeech by reproaching the duke of Brittany, who, he obſerved, had ſolicited the alliance of the Engliſh, the ancient enemies of the crown, and had, conſequently, incurred *the forfeiture of his life and property*, as being guilty of high treaſon: that the king, being informed that this prince had ſent the vice-chancellor of Brittany to England, had thought himſelf entitled to impede the progreſs of ſuch a negociation, for which purpoſe he had commiſſioned the baſtard of Rubempré to intercept "that pernicious agent of "the duke's evil deſigns" on his return to Brittany: that the count of Charolois, not content with violating the laws of nations, by impriſoning a man who was entruſted with a commiſſion from the king, had cauſed it to be reported, that Rubempré had gone to Gorkum for the purpoſe of ſeizing his perſon: that Oliver de la Manche, who had been ſent by the count to his father, had been careful to propagate theſe injurious reports in all the towns through which he paſſed: that a monk of Bruges had had the temerity to accuſe his majeſty, in a ſermon, of an attempt on the liberty of the duke and his ſon: that the duke's haſty departure from Heſdin afforded a ſufficient proof, that this odious accuſation had experienced too much credit: and that the king was of opinion, ſuch a proceeding could originate with no other than the count of Charolois, who was doubtleſs diſcontented at the loſs of his ſalary as lieutenant-general in Normandy. Morvilliers concluded his harangue by demanding, in the king's name, that Oliver de la Manche, and the monk, ſhould be delivered up to him, in order to be puniſhed as calumniators; and that the baſtard of Rubempré ſhould be ſet at liberty. While the chancellor was ſpeaking, the count of Charolois exhibited evident marks of impatience, and was repeatedly on the point of interrupting him; but his father interfered, and ordered him to defer his

[16] Villaret, tom. xvii. page 40.

reply to the next day, and, for the preſent, to leave the taſk of defending his conduct to himſelf.

The duke then addreſſed the ambaſſadors, and began by declaring, in the moſt poſitive terms, that he could not releaſe Rubempré, ſince he had been arreſted in Holland, a principality independent on the king: he then obſerved, that Oliver de la Manche was an officer of the count's houſehold, that he would enquire into his guilt, and adminiſter juſtice accordingly; and, that the monk was "a man of the church, whom he would not touch on any account."—"*I* "*wiſh every one to know*, (continued Philip, with warmth) *that i never made a promiſe to man* "*or prince but I performed it to the utmoſt of my power.*" To ſoften this reproach, which appeared to be indirectly addreſſed to Lewis, he added, with a ſmile, "Tell the king, *I never* "*broke my word, except with the ladies.*" Philip, it ſeems, was of a facetious diſpoſition; in another part of his anſwer he obſerved, "If my ſon be *ſuſpicious*, he does not take after me, "who never entertained *ſuſpicions* of any man; but he takes after his mother, who often *ſuſ-* "*pected* me of loving other women." Philip concluded his reply by complaining that the king, on almoſt all occaſions, failed to keep his word. A knight then exclaimed, "My lord, "who is here preſent, only holds the duchy of Burgundy, with the counties of Flanders and "Artois, of the king; but he poſſeſſes, out of the kingdom, the duchies of Brabant, Luxem- "bourg, Limbourg, and Lotrich; the counties of Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and "Namur; beſides many other extenſive lordſhips, all of which he holds of God alone, although "he be not a king." "I would have it known," interrupted the duke, "*that I could have* "*been a king, had I choſen it.*"

At the conference that was holden on the ſucceeding day, the chancellor of France renewed his complaints, and repeated his demands of ſatisfaction; but the duke perſiſted in the anſwer he had already delivered, only adding, that he could not diſapprove of his ſon's conduct, in apprehending Rubempré, who, by his ſtrange behaviour, had laid himſelf open to ſuſpicion; that if that ci-devant adventurer, on whom the title of king's envoy had been conferred, was really innocent of the crime imputed to him, he had nothing to apprehend; and that, at all events, he might depend on juſtice being done him.

At length the count of Charolois having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak, began by juſtifying the duke of Brittany, between whom and himſelf, he acknowledged, a cloſe alliance ſubſiſted, but it was a connection of ſuch a nature, as could, by no means, affect the king. He declared, that he did not complain of the loſs of his ſalary, as lieutenant-general in Normandy, of which he had never received more than one quarter; for that ſince he had recovered his father's favour, he could very eaſily diſpenſe with the benefactions of any other perſon. He obſerved, that the baſtard of Rubempré, whom he had ordered to be impriſoned, was a man of infamous character; that if he were really "*the king's legate*," as the ambaſſadors had aſſerted, he ought to have paid him a viſit on his arrival at *Gorkum*, which was certainly not a proper place for the purpoſe of watching

watching a man on his return from England to Brittany; and that it was not probable the duke's envoy ſhould paſs through that town on his way home.

At the laſt audience the chancellor renewed his demands for the releaſe of the priſoner, with which the duke peremptorily refuſed to comply, telling him that he would ſoon ſend ambaſſadors to the king, and that he hoped his majeſty would expect nothing farther from him. Such was the iſſue of an embaſſy, into the particulars of which it was neceſſary to enter, that the reader might be enabled to form ſome judgment of an affair, which had a conſiderable influence on the commotions which ſoon after appeared. When the ambaſſadors took leave of the count of Charolois, he ſaid to the archbiſhop of Narbonne, "Recommend me moſt humbly to the king's favour, "and tell him, that he has made the chancellor *trim me*; but that, before the expiration of a "year, he will repent his conduct." Theſe threats, which were faithfully reported to the king, ought to have opened his eyes; but they had a very different effect on him; he thought that he had nothing to fear from a prince, who had recourſe to vain bravadoes, and whoſe reſentment exhaled in words.

Meanwhile the French malecontents daily acquired freſh ſtrength, and additional confidence; and ſo diſguſted were the people with the tyrannical government of Lewis, that the diſaffection appears to have extended from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. Still Lewis was in the dark as to the authors of theſe dangerous commotions; and, if we except the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois, he was ſurrounded by enemies the more dangerous, as they were all unknown to him. The intelligence he received from different quarters increaſed his alarms, but gave him no information. Though the conſpiracy was formed in his capital, at his court, nay almoſt in his preſence, yet he did not perceive it. Contemporary writers relate, that the confederates frequently met in the cathedral of Paris; where a green ſilk lace, faſtened to the girdle, ſerved as their mark of diſtinction. It ſeems wonderful, that a ſecret which had been imparted to ſo many perſons, ſhould be inviolably preſerved for ſo long a ſpace of time. The duke of Bourbon, one of the leaders of the conſpiracy, had paſſed ſome time at court, in order to watch the king's motions. On his departure, he repaired to Lille, in order to fix the wavering reſolution of the duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto refuſed to declare himſelf, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations of his ſon. And he probably would have continued to temporize but for the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who was himſelf diſpleaſed with the king, for having refuſed to promote him to the dignity of conſtable. This nobleman, who was nephew to the duke of Burgundy by his mother's ſide, had acquired a great aſcendancy over the mind of Philip. He now repreſented to him, in ſuch ſtrong terms, the danger to which all the princes were expoſed, from a monarch, unjuſt and ambitious, who only ſought to raiſe himſelf by humbling them; he urged, with ſo much energy, the neceſſity of uniting their efforts againſt a power that daily became more formidable, that the duke, at length, conſented to levy troops, and to ſend orders to his vaſſals to arm. This was all that the count of Charolois required, from the conviction, that ſuch a proceeding conſtituted an engagement, which precluded the poſſibility of retractation. He now found himſelf at the head of all the forces in his father's dominions, and

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this important command rendered him, in a certain degree, independant on paternal authority. The firſt exertion of his power was directed againſt the lords of Croi, whom he declared his perſonal enemies, as well as enemies to the ſtate; commanding them, under pain of death, to quit the court and the ſervice of his father, whoſe favour and confidence they had too long abuſed. The order was ſo peremptory, that they thought it prudent to ſubmit, and accordingly left the country, without even daring to take leave of the duke. Philip, notwithſtanding the debility occaſioned by the natural infirmities of age, which had almoſt deſtroyed the vigour of his mind, was no ſooner apprized of his ſon's imperious conduct, than he flew into a moſt violent paſſion. In the firſt tranſport of his rage he ſeized a ſpear, and ruſhing out of his apartment, ran from room to room, exclaiming aloud, that he would ſoon ſee whether his ſon would have the audacity to kill his officers in his preſence. His ſervants had the prudence to conceal the keys of the palace gates; and while he was inſiſting on having them broken open, his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Bourbon, came up with the ladies of her retinue, and with ſome difficulty prevailed on him to return to his chamber. During three weeks he would not ſuffer any one to mention his ſon's name to him; but having attended a public ſermon on the forgiveneſs of injuries, he was moved by the arguments employed by the chriſtian orator, and, at length, conſented to a reconciliation with the count.

A. D. 1465.] The king, convinced of his imprudence, in having allowed time to the duke of Brittany to make preparations for reſiſting his attacks, now reſolved to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions; but before he would proceed to extremities, he deemed it neceſſary to offer ſome kind of excuſe for his conduct. With this view he convened an aſſembly of the nobles at Tours, which was attended by the king of Sicily; the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Nemours; the counts of Angoulême, Eu, Maine, Nevers, Saint Paul, Penthievre, and Tancarville, with many others of the principal nobility. The chancellor Morvilliers, and Dauvet the attorney-general, explained the charges exhibited againſt the duke of Brittany, and the arguments which had been offered in his defence. This artful manner of ſubmitting the queſtion to the deciſion of the aſſembly, ſeemed the moſt likely means of ſecuring all their ſuffrages. They, accordingly, expreſſed their unanimous approbation of the king's reſentment, and all joined in condemning the duke, though many of them had already entered into engagements with him. The next day the king himſelf addreſſed the aſſembly; his ſpeech contained an apology for his own government ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and an attack on the adminiſtration of the preceding reign. The king of Sicily aſſured him, in the name of the aſſembly, that they were all entirely devoted to his ſervice; though, at the ſame time, they offered their mediation to engage the duke of Brittany to return to his duty.

But though Lewis appeared to pay ſo much deference to the opinions of his nobles, he very ſoon took an opportunity of convincing them, that by ſo doing he had impoſed on himſelf a degree of conſtraint which his haughty diſpoſition could but ill brook. Before the diſſolution of the aſſembly, Charles, duke of Orleans, deceived by the appearance of mildneſs which Lewis had aſſumed, determined to intercede for the duke of Brittany; he accordingly ſpoke in favour

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of that prince, and endeavoured to extenuate the faults of which he was accuſed. The age, ſervices, unſhaken fidelity, and irreproachable conduct of the duke of Orleans, had given him the privilege of delivering his ſentiments with manly freedom. Conſcious of this, he ventured to remonſtrate againſt ſome of the numerous abuſes which prevailed in the government. Lewis, who had pronounced a panegyric upon himſelf, could not bear with patience any reflections which tended to convey an indirect cenſure on his own conduct; his ear, unaccuſtomed to the voice of truth, was ſhocked at its awful ſound. He loaded the venerable prince with the moſt inſulting reproaches, publickly accuſing him of harbouring criminal deſigns, and of taking the part of inſurgents, in oppoſition to his ſovereign. The duke immediately withdrew; and, as his mind was too ſenſible of diſhonour, he ſunk beneath the preſſure of unmerited inſult, and on the fourth of January expired, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, regretted by the whole nation. Beſides two daughters, one of whom was abbeſs of Fontevraud, and the other wife to John de Foix, viſcount of Narbonne, the duke left, by his third wife, Mary of Cleves, one ſon, named Lewis, who had been affianced, in the preceding year, to Jane, the infant daughter of the king.

The duke of Brittany, apprized of the king's intentions to invade his dominions without delay, again endeavoured to ward off the blow by negotiation. The confederates had at length compleated their long projected ſcheme, and only waited for the ſignal to declare themſelves. At ſuch a conjuncture every moment was precious: the duke therefore diſpatched Tanneguy Du Chaſtel and the vice chancellor of Brittany, to Lewis; and in order to gain time, theſe ambaſſadors acceded to whatever the king required of them. The duke engaged to comply with moſt of his demands, and very ſoon to pay a viſit to the king at Poitiers. Lewis again ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, and truſting he had at length brought the duke to accede to his own terms, he loaded his ambaſſadors with careſſes; and ſet out on a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame du Pont, in the Limouſin.

As ſoon as the king was gone, his brother Charles, duke of Berry, accompanied by the lord of L'Eſcun, joined the Breton ambaſſadors, who had waited for him at ſome diſtance from Poitiers, and fled to Brittany; breaking down all the bridges he paſſed on the road, from the apprehenſion of being purſued. The retreat of Charles was the ſignal of revolt; and the flames of civil diſcord accordingly burſt out in every part of the kingdom, almoſt at the ſame inſtant.

A manifeſto was immediately publiſhed in the name of the duke of Berry, who, it muſt be obſerved, was only in his ſeventeenth year, explaining the motives of his flight. "He had "left Poitiers," he ſaid, "becauſe he had been apprized of the calamities which prevailed in the "kingdom, through the miſconduct of the king's miniſters, who made juſtice ſubſervient to "their caprice, and compelled the judges of the parliament, and other tribunals, to pronounce "ſuch ſentences as they choſe to dictate." After ſtating ſome other grievances, which, he ſaid, diſhonoured the kingdom, and expoſed it to the contempt of foreign powers; he concluded by obſerving,

obſerving, that his ſole object was to procure the diſmiſſion of evil counſellors, and to relieve the people from oppreſſion. All the other princes of the blood diſtributed manifeſtœs to the ſame purport; and as the *avowed* object of the confederacy was to enforce a ſalutary reform in the government, with a view to eſtabliſh the happineſs and welfare of the nation, on a ſolid and permanent baſis, they gave it the high-ſounding title of THE LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

Lewis reſolved to direct his firſt attacks againſt the duke of Brittany; and, with that view, he wrote to the duke of Bourbon to raiſe a body of troops in his domains, and join him without delay. But he was greatly ſurprized to receive an anſwer from the duke, in which he not only refuſed, in the moſt peremptory terms, to comply with his orders; but proceeded to load him with the moſt bitter reproaches, directing his cenſures againſt every act of his government; accuſing him of having ſubſtituted his own arbitrary will for the laws of the realm; of keeping the princes of the blood, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nobility, at a diſtance from his perſon; of proſtituting his confidence to men who were unworthy to enjoy it; and of treating with contempt all remonſtrance and advice. He then told him, that with the view to correct theſe flagrant abuſes, and to relieve an oppreſſed people, the princes and nobles had entered into a confederacy, in order to enforce a change of meaſures, which would equally tend *to his own good, and to the good of his crown.* The duke, at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the treaſury, ſeized all the money he found there, and put the receiver-general of the finances under arreſt.

Although the duke of Bourbon, in his anſwer to the king, had not mentioned the names of the confederated princes, they ſoon made themſelves known. John, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar, being diſcontented with Lewis for having refuſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of Naples, was one of the firſt to take up arms, notwithſtanding the exhortations of his father, the king of Sicily. The duke of Nemours, the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and even the duke of Alençon, and the count of Armagnac, who were indebted to Lewis for the reſtitution of their honours and eſtates, were among the chiefs of the league, which was ſoon ſtrengthened by the preſence of the count of Dammartin, who effected his eſcape from the Baſtille.

While the princes were engaged in collecting their troops, the moſt formidable of all the confederates, the count of Charolois, had already aſſembled all the forces of the Low Countries, and had juſt ſent orders to the mareſchal of Burgundy to ſummon the nobility of that province, as well as of Franche-Comté, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. Hitherto the duke of Burgundy had been a ſtranger to the true object of the league; he had given his conſent to levy troops, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the tranquillity of his own dominions againſt the reſtleſs ambition of the king, and had expected that the confederates would act merely on the defenſive[16]. But, as ſoon as the count of Charolois had made every neceſ-

[16] Villaret.

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ſary preparation, he informed his father of his intention to invade France; telling him, that all the chiefs of the confederacy, united by the ſtrong ties of intereſt, were eager to revenge their common injuries; that their place of rendezvous was under the walls of Paris; and, that all their plans were ſo well concerted, it would be impoſſible for the king to reſiſt their efforts. The duke, at this period, received the duke of Berry's manifeſto, accompanied by a private letter from that prince, which immediately removed his ſcruples, and ſuperinduced his conſent to the adoption of deciſive meaſures. When the count took leave of his father, before he joined the army, the old duke ſaid to him, "*Do your duty, my ſon; behave "valiantly, and prefer death to flight.*"

All the malecontents in the kingdom haſtened to join the confederates. The veteran troops, the moſt courageous officers, and the moſt experienced commanders, quitted the king's ſervice, and enliſted under the banners of his opponents. Never had the kingdom been threatened with a revolution more ſudden and complete. From the extremity of Holland and Zealand, from the frontiers of Germany, and the banks of the Maeſe, to the foot of the Pyrenees, the whole ſtrength of the monarchy was united to cruſh the king. Nothing could have ſaved Lewis from deſtruction, had the conduct of his enemies been equal to their reſentment.

Amidſt this alarming concurrence of circumſtances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared. He had concluded various treaties with the German and Italian princes; but the only one of his allies on whom he could depend was Franciſco Sforza, duke of Milan, one of the moſt ſkilful politicians, and greateſt generals of the age, who had uſurped that duchy from the houſe of Orleans. To this prince Lewis had ceded the lordſhip of Genoa, and the town of Savona, to be holden, as fiefs, of the crown of France; on which condition Sforza had accepted them, and his ambaſſadors had done homage for them to the king in his name.

Lewis immediately iſſued orders to the governors of the different towns and fortreſſes in his dominions, to defend them to the utmoſt againſt the attacks of the confederates. Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, armed the citizens of the capital, who, for once, ſignalized their loyalty and zeal. The city was put in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence; the chains were fixed at the ends of the ſtreets; all the gates but two were blocked up; and proviſions provided for ſeveral months. Some days after theſe precautions had been taken, the mareſchal de Gamaches reinforced the garriſon with a ſtrong body of regular troops. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of the inhabitants of Paris, that he ſent four of his principal officers to return them thanks for the zeal they had diſplayed; and, at the ſame time, to inform them, "*that the "Queen intended to lie in at Paris, as ſhe preferred that city to all the cities in the world.*" The counts of Nevers and Eu had orders to defend the towns on the Somme, and to oppoſe the count of Charolois, who was expected to make his firſt attack in that quarter; while the count of Maine led a conſiderable detachment into Normandy, to deter the Bretons from in-

ſulting the frontiers of that province. The king, at the ſame time, publiſhed a declaration, promiſing a free pardon to all who, before the expiration of ſix weeks, ſhould quit the rebel army, and return to their duty.

Lewis, after theſe preparatory meaſures, the only ones which, under ſuch circumſtances, he could adopt, placed himſelf at the head of his army, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand well-diſciplined and experienced troops. As he intended firſt to attack the duke of Bourbon, the leaſt powerful of the confederates, he marched, with great rapidity, through Poitou and Berry, and, after making an unſucceſsful attempt upon Bourges, entered the Bourbonnois, to the great aſtoniſhment of the duke, who was totally diſconcerted by ſuch an unexpected attack.

When the duke of Bourbon firſt raiſed the ſtandard of revolt, he had wholly forgotten to provide for his own ſafety. He had but few troops; his towns, ill garriſoned, and badly fortified, were expoſed to the attacks of a formidable army, for the king's forces were, by this time, encreaſed to twenty-five thouſand men. In ſuch an emergency, his only alternative was flight or ſubmiſſion. The ducheſs of Bourbon, who was ſiſter to the king, went to meet her brother, and exerted her influence with ſo much zeal and addreſs, that ſhe prevailed on him to liſten to terms of accommodation. The arrival of the duke of Nemours, with a body of troops, and of another detachment, ſent by the mareſchal of Burgundy, which was ſpeedily to be followed by a more conſiderable force, rendered the duke difficult as to the conditions of the treaty, and proved the means of prolonging the negociation. He conſented, however, to diſarm; but he broke this convention as ſoon as he found that the count of Armagnac was haſtening to his aſſiſtance, at the head of ſix thouſand horſe. The truce was, accordingly, at an end; and the king, vexed at having loſt ſo much time, preſſed the confederates with vigour and effect. The duke, though ſupported by the count of Armagnac, the duke of Nemours, and the lord of Albret, was compelled to fly before the royal army, and ſoon found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of quitting the Bourbonnois, and ſhutting himſelf up, with his allies, in the town of Rom. Lewis immediately formed the ſiege of that place, with the reſolution, at all events, to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion; the princes were obliged to ſubmit, and to conclude a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt the neceſſary meaſures for effecting a general pacification: they engaged to declare againſt the other chiefs of the confederacy, ſhould they ſtill perſiſt in their revolt; and alſo to make the duke of Bourbon, who during the negociation had fled to Moulins, ſign theſe conditions. The king could not place much reliance on the execution of a treaty which was only conditional, and which, in fact, was ſoon violated; but the accounts he received of the motions of the count of Charolois and the duke of Brittany, did not permit him to prolong his ſtay in that quarter. He left a few troops to keep the duke of Bourbon in awe on the ſide of Auvergne and Berry, while Galeazzo, ſon to Franciſco Sforza, his friend and ally, laid waſte Le Foreſt and Le Beaujolois.

The count of Charolois, with an army of twenty-ſix thouſand men, advanced towards the river Somme, while the duke of Brittany directed his march to the banks of the Loire. The confederated.

confederated princes had fixed their rendezvous in the isle of France, which was destined to be the scene of action. The king's object was to prevent a junction, on which the fate of the kingdom evidently depended. At a conjuncture thus delicate, when the smallest delay might be productive of the most important effects, the count of Vendôme rendered the most essential service to Lewis, by refusing a passage through his territories to the Breton troops. This impediment, by occasioning a loss of time, proved highly prejudicial to the interests of the confederates.

The Burgundian army passed the Somme at Bray; and the count of Nevers, and the mareschal de Gamaches, who had thrown themselves into Amiens with two thousand men, in the expectation that the count of Charolois would form the siege of that city, sallied forth for the purpose of harassing the enemy on their march; but finding all their efforts frustrated by the vigilance of the count, the mareschal made the best of his way to the capital.

The count of Charolois met with but few obstacles to impede his progress. The towns of Picardy did not openly declare in his favour, but they admitted his troops, and supplied them with provisions. Nesle, Roye, Montdidier, Beaulieu, and Pont-Sainte-Maixence, were either taken by surprize, or else surrendered on the first summons. In all those places, the count, styling himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berry, published a general abolition of imposts, accompanied by a declaration, that the sole object of the confederated princes was to promote the public good, by effecting a reform in the government. The count continued his march to the isle of France, where he halted, and established his head-quarters at Saint Denis. He there expected to find the body of troops which he had ordered the mareschal of Burgundy to levy in that province, and likewise to be met by the duke of Brittany, according to appointment; and his astonishment could only be equalled by his disappointment, when he heard that the duke was still at Nantes, and that the forces from Burgundy, finding every passage occupied by the royalists, could not possibly join him. Enraged at this unexpected check, he would have returned to Flanders, had he not been restrained by shame. Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Brittany, who was with him, endeavoured to moderate his anger, by assuring him, that his master would speedily join him with a powerful army. That minister had several *blank letters*, signed by the duke, which he filled up with false intelligence; by which artifice he amused the count, and induced him to give up all thoughts of a retreat, which must have entirely disconcerted the plans of the confederates.

It was proposed, in a council of war, to endeavour, by a general assault, to get possession of the capital; but the town was too well fortified to hazard such an attempt. The count of Charolois drew up his troops in order of battle, within sight of the ramparts, in the hope of intimidating the inhabitants by a display of his power, and of reviving the ancient factions of the Burgundians, of which the remains were still perceptible; but this manœuvre failed of success. The mareschal de Rohaut made a sally, but was driven back with some loss. A few days

after, the count ſent four heralds at arms to the gate of Saint-Denis, to demand proviſions, and a paſſage for his troops; while he attacked the ſuburb of Saint-Lazarus, and had nearly forced the barrier, when the arrival of the troops compelled him to retreat.

The king had ſent word to the Pariſians, by Couſinot, bailiff of Rouen, that he would ſoon come to their relief with his whole army; and, indeed, he conſidered the preſervation of the capital as the moſt important object of the war. The count of Charolois had ordered ſome of his emiſſaries to introduce themſelves into the town, and ſound the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. One of theſe agents, a canon of Arras, was diſcovered by the mareſchal, who allowed him to return to the Burgundian camp, on condition that he would tell the count that letters had juſt been received from the *king*, containing poſitive information, that he would be at Paris in four days, and *that then it would be ſeen who was ſtrongeſt*. The count pretended to diſbelieve the intelligence, obſerving, that the mareſchal had deceived him too often already.

The Burgundians called another council of war, to deliberate on the meaſures to be purſued at the preſent conjuncture. Many officers were of opinion, that it would be moſt prudent to return, ſince their allies had not fulfilled their engagement; and they obſerved, that if they deferred their retreat, they would find all the paſſages cloſed, from their neglect to ſecure the frontier-towns of Artois and Picardy[17]; but the count of Charolois rejected theſe timid propoſals, and immediately gave orders to his troops to hold themſelves in readineſs to march, to meet the duke of Brittany. With this view he forced a paſſage over the bridge of Saint Cloud, and croſſed the Seine, in full expectation of being ſpeedily met by the Breton troops.

The king, meanwhile, had left the Bourbonnois, and was advancing, by rapid marches, with the reſolution to prevent a junction that muſt give a decided ſuperiority to his enemies. He called a council, in order to determine whether it would be moſt prudent to attack the duke of Brittany, who was the weakeſt of his adverſaries, and whoſe defeat might intimidate the allies, or to march immediately againſt the Burgundians. The king adopted the latter opinion, the moſt dangerous to follow, but yet the moſt deciſive; ſince, by obtaining a victory over the count of Charolois, the diſſolution of the league, of which he was the principal ſupport, might, it was conceived, be eaſily effected. The monarch's advice was unanimouſly embraced, except by Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who maintained a contrary opinion: he obſerved, that the count of Charolois was at the head of an army who idolized him; and every man of which would deem it his duty to ſacrifice his life in his defence: that the caſe was very different with the duke of Brittany, whoſe troops were leſs devoted to their leader, and many of whom, having ſerved under Charles the Seventh, would feel a repugnance at fighting againſt his ſon, and might reaſonably be expected to deſert to the royaliſts; and that, by

[17] Phil. de Commines.

conquering

conquering the Bretons, the duke of Berry, whoſe name afforded a ſpecious pretext to the meaſures of the confederates, would fall into the king's power. Theſe reaſons, however, proved inſufficient to ſhake the king's reſolution. Brezé was even accuſed of timidity; but to ſuch accuſations the gallant veteran replied, "That if a battle enſued, he would convince his accuſers "his ſoul was a ſtranger to fear, and that his advice to the king had been influenced by the "pureſt ſentiments of loyalty."

The royal army arrived at *Châtres*, now *Arpajon*, at the ſame time that the Burgundians reached Longjumeau. The count of Saint Paul, who commanded the van of the latter, advanced as far as Montlhery, where he firſt received intelligence that the king was within half a day's march of him: he immediately communicated this information to the count of Charolois, who choſe the plain of Longjumeau for the ſcene of action, and ordered the count of Saint Paul to quit the poſt of Montlhery, and join the main body.

On the ſixteenth of July (1465) the two armies came in ſight of each other, prepared to decide the fate of the monarchy, and the fortune of Lewis. The royal army was compoſed of warlike troops, well-appointed, and well-diſciplined; the Burgundians, though ſuperior in numbers by one third, were more formidable in appearance than effect: the nobility, long accuſtomed to repoſe, were wholly inexperienced in the art of war; few of the troops had ſeen any ſervice; and moſt of the men at arms were ill-equipped, and undiſciplined.

Lewis, reflecting on the fatal conſequences of a defeat, was ſtill at a loſs how to act. On the evening of the fifteenth, he had called a council of war, in which it was decided, that the troops ſhould continue their march to Paris, and avoid an action, unleſs the enemy ſhould attack them on the road. The ſeneſchal of Normandy had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this plan; which made Lewis aſk, "Whether he had not ſubſcribed the league of his enemies?" "They have, "indeed, my ſignature," replied Brezé, "but my perſon is your's." As he left the council he was heard to ſay, that he would bring the king and the count of Charolois ſo near to each other, that it ſhould require the exertion of wonderful ſkill to prevent them from meeting; and he was the better enabled to perform this promiſe, as the command of the van of the army was entruſted to him.

Some awkward manœuvres in the Burgundian army made the count of Charolois loſe the opportunity of attacking the French as they paſſed through the wood of *Torſou* into the plain. The royaliſts, therefore, had ample time to range themſelves in order of battle behind a thick hedge, that was ſkirted by a wide ditch. The king drew up his troops in three diviſions, forming a centre, commanded by himſelf, and two wings, which he entruſted to the conduct of Brezé, and the count of Maine.

The whole morning of the ſixteenth was paſſed by the two armies in obſerving each other's motions. The royaliſts, who had but little artillery, were extremely galled by the enemy's fire.

fire. The count of Charolois, having flattered himſelf that the king would begin the attack, had ordered his archers, who were placed in the van, to fix ſtakes, pointed with iron, in the ground before them, to check the enemy's cavalry; but finding the royaliſts determined to remain where they were, he changed his plan, and about one o'clock gave the ſignal of attack. But the troops, inſtead of advancing ſlowly towards the enemy, as they were ordered to do, ruſhed impetuouſly forward through the fields of ſtanding corn which lay between the two armies; ſo that when they reached the ſpot where the French were ſtationed they were quite out of breath. The count of Saint Paul, however, and the lord of Raveſtein, who commanded the left wing of the Burgundians, attacked the French with great fury. Brezé was killed at the firſt onſet; but, undiſmayed by the loſs of their leader, the troops ſuſtained, with great reſolution, the impetuous efforts of the enemy, until the king came to ſupply the place of the ſeneſchal: inſpirited by the preſence of their ſovereign, they preſſed the Burgundians in their turn, and after an obſtinate conteſt, in which Saint Paul and Raveſtein ſignalized their courage, compelled them to retreat to their camp. While the king defeated the left wing of the Burgundians, the count of Charolois attacked the centre diviſion of the royaliſts, which he ſoon routed, and purſued the fugitives half a league beyond the village of Montlhery. He thought himſelf ſure of the victory, when he was told, that the French, after defeating his left wing, were advancing to attack him, and that if he did not ſpeedily retreat, he would be inevitably ſurrounded.

The king, meanwhile, had returned to the field of battle, where he had to ſuſtain a freſh attack from a body of troops, commanded by the baſtard of Burgundy, which had not yet engaged. In this conflict, moſt of the archers of his guards were ſlain, and his own horſe was killed under him, by the baſtard himſelf. This accident occaſioned a general alarm, and it was believed that the king was dead; but his guards reſcued him from the enemy, and carried him in their arms to Montlhery, where ſuch of his troops as had not been totally diſperſed, rallied. Lewis was in the caſtle of Montlhery with his guards, when the count of Charolois, on his return from the purſuit, paſſed by the gates; and that prince muſt inevitably have been taken, ſince he had very few attendants with him, had a proper force been ſent to attack him; but only fifteen or ſixteen archers were employed on a ſervice of this importance, and the count defended himſelf againſt them with incredible valour: notwithſtanding his exertions, however, his attendants were almoſt all ſlain; and Saint Belin, bailiff of Chaumont, laying hold of him, exclaimed, "Yield, my lord, I know you well; do not lay us under the neceſſity of putting you to death." At that inſtant, a man at arms, extremely well mounted, arrived to his aſſiſtance, and ruſhing on the French archers, ſlew moſt of them, and put the reſt to flight. The count immediately haſtened to the field of battle, and knighted his deliverer. He had ſcarcely time to collect a few of his men, before the king returned to the charge, and he again found himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded. Perceiving the count of Saint Paul at a diſtance, with a part of the left wing, which he had rallied, he ſent to him to quicken his pace, but the count continued to move ſlowly forward; and this manœuvre, as Duclos judiciouſly obſerves, ſaved the Burgundians from deſtruction. The corps which Saint Paul commanded did not, when the prince firſt perceived him, exceed fifty men; but by the ſlowneſs of his pace he had given time to others to come

come up with him, ſo that when he joined the count of Charolois, he was accompanied by no leſs than eight hundred men at arms. This unexpected ſuccour enabled the prince to renew the combat, and even gave him an advantage, in point of numbers, over the king, who in vain employed the moſt courageous efforts to recover the ſuperiority he had loſt. Three times did he rally his troops; but being deſerted by the count of Maine, and the admiral de Montauban, who fled with their reſpective detachments, the conteſt became very unequal, and had not the day been ſo far advanced, he muſt probably have ſuſtained a total defeat.

The combatants were at length compelled to ſeparate, by the approach of night. The king retired to Montlhery, while the count of Charolois remained in his camp. They had both diſplayed the moſt unequivocal proofs of perſonal valour, though their exertions were but ill ſeconded by their troops. It would be difficult to ſay which obtained the victory; certain it is, that they both thought themſelves defeated at the time; though, the next day, each of them claimed the honour of the triumph[18]. In the courſe of the battle, in which neither ſkill nor order had been diſplayed, both the French and Burgundians committed a multiplicity of errors, alternately exhibiting exertions of heroic valour, and acts of the baſeſt cowardice. Lewis, though brave himſelf, viewed with indifference the courage of others. "He frequently de-"prived one man,"—ſays Commines—"of his place and eſtates, for having run away, to "confer them on another, who had run ten leagues farther." The ſame author relates, that a ſtateſman in the royal army fled as far as Luzignan without ſtopping; while a man of diſtinction on the Burgundian ſide quitted the field, and galloped with equal ſpeed to Queſnoy. The loſs on both ſides, at the battle of Montlhery, did not exceed three thouſand ſix hundred men. A party of the Burgundian fugitives were intercepted by the Pariſians, and all of them maſſacred or taken priſoners. The booty acquired by the aſſailants on this occaſion is ſaid to have been eſtimated at two hundred thouſand crowns of gold[19].

The king, overpowered by fatigue, with a mind labouring under the moſt dreadful anxiety, could not contemplate, without horror, the danger of his ſituation. He had but a very ſmall number of troops with him, and he was wholly ignorant of the ſtate of his enemies, who, he had every reaſon to believe, had obtained a complete victory. Montlhery was not a poſt of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the attacks of a victorious army, he therefore reſolved on an immediate retreat; and the darkneſs of the night favouring the attempt, he had the good fortune to arrive ſafe at Corbeil early the next morning.

While Lewis was thus anxious to fly from the Burgundians, a council of war was called by the count of Charolois, at which it was propoſed by the count of Saint Paul to burn all the baggage, and retire with precipitation into Burgundy. This propoſal was unanimouſly adopted by all the officers preſent, except the lord of Contay, who maintained, that it would be impoſſible

[18] Villaret, tom xvii. p. 94. [19] Idem.

to

to execute ſuch a plan, ſince it would expoſe the prince to the danger of being deſerted by all his followers; that moſt of them, being natives of the Low Countries, would retire to that quarter, on the very firſt orders they received for decamping; that it would be infinitely more eligible to run the riſk of a ſecond battle, than to incur the danger of a general defection; and, in ſhort, that the only alternative now left them, was conqueſt or death. The count of Charolois immediately embraced an opinion ſo conſonant to his courage, and general orders were accordingly iſſued to prepare for action at break of day; but at the time appointed for a renewal of the conflict, the flight of Lewis was firſt diſcovered by the Burgundians, who aſſerted their claim to victory, by paſſing the whole day under arms. The king, on his ſide, advanced the ſame pretenſions, though on what they could be founded it is impoſſible to conceive. As he had left the enemy maſters of the field, he thought to obviate that plauſive objection to his claims, by the ridiculous obſervation, that "it was not to be wondered at that the count of Charolois ſhould "remain in the fields, ſince he had neither town nor fortreſs to afford him ſhelter." It muſt be confeſſed, however, that neither party had much cauſe for exultation; though both of them ſecured by the conflict the ſame advantage they had hoped to derive from victory: the king had opened himſelf a paſſage to the metropolis; and the count of Charolois had removed all obſtacles to his junction with the duke of Brittany, who had juſt arrived at Etampes.

Lewis entered Paris on the eighteenth of July, two days after the battle; when he ſupped with Charles of Melun, and ſeveral of the nobility, and ſome of *the citizen's wives* were admitted to his table. Though on his arrival he was only accompanied by one hundred horſe, he was ſoon joined by ſo many of his troops, that, being unable to find quarters for them all in the city, he was under the neceſſity of forming a camp on the banks of the Seine. He expreſſed his determination to collect his ſcattered forces, and once more to try the fortune of war; but he was ſoon induced to give up a deſign, which prudence forbade him to accompliſh. His preſent object was to provide for the ſafety of the capital. Some partizans of the league having been arreſted, were immediately put to death; and the monarch attended their execution, and urged the executioner to perform his duty with ſpirit and effect [20].

Influenced by the ſame motives, he courted the affection of the Pariſians with incredible zeal, neglecting no meaſure which his ſagacity could ſuggeſt for the acquiſition of popularity. He viſited all the principal citizens, entered into familiar converſation with them, and admitted them to his table: he alſo aboliſhed moſt of the impoſts, and confirmed the privileges of the city. At the ſuggeſtion of William Chartier, biſhop of Paris, ſix citizens, ſix members of the univerſity, and ſix judges of the parliament, were appointed to manage the moſt important and moſt urgent buſineſs of the ſtate. When the king had regulated all theſe matters, he went into Normandy, with the view to arm the nobility, and to bring back with him moſt of the

[20] Chron. de Saint-Denis.

troops

troops which he had left for the defence of that province, which, from the abſence of the duke of Brittany, he no longer conceived to be in danger.

Meanwhile the count of Charolois having collected his forces, which had been diſperſed at the battle of Montlhery, and effected a junction with the Bretons, advanced towards Paris, accompanied by the dukes of Berry and Brittany. The duke of Burgundy had ſent a conſiderable body of cavalry, under the command of Saveuſes, to join him at the gates of the capital: he was farther reinforced by the duke of Bourbon; the count of Armagnac; the duke of Nemours; and the lord of Albret. The duke of Calabria, too, haſtened to join the confederates with a ſmall body of well-diſciplined troops, who had ſerved under him in the Italian wars, and five hundred Swiſs infantry, the firſt ever ſeen in France. The iſle of France was ſcarcely capable of containing this immenſe army, the cavalry whereof amounted to one hundred thouſand men. As the princes, in hope that the inhabitants would admit them into the capital, wiſhed to ſpare their property; they made their troops obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline; except the forces of the count of Armagnac, who, receiving no pay, were compelled to live at diſcretion; and theſe were ſtationed in the province of Brie, which they laid waſte.

The Pariſians having retaken the bridges at Saint Cloud and Charenton, at the time of the battle of Montlhery, the count of Charolois cauſed a bridge of boats to be conſtructed, over which his troops paſſed the Seine: he then retook Charenton and Saint Cloud, and formed a ſemicircular camp, commanding all the northern part of the city, while the king's troops were ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide. The loſs of Charenton might have occaſioned a ſcarcity of proviſions in the capital, but ſuch care had been taken to provide an ample ſtock, that no apprehenſions of that kind were entertained.

Though all the efforts which the count of Charolois had hitherto made to obtain admiſſion into Paris, had proved fruitleſs, yet he did not deſpair of finally accompliſhing his project. He thought that the name of the duke of Berry, on whom the confederates had conferred the title of regent of the kingdom, joined to ſpecious promiſes the hope of a ſalutary reform; and, that the preſence of a formidable army, commanded by the moſt diſtinguiſhed captains in France, would intimidate or ſeduce the inhabitants of the capital, and engage them to declare in favour of a league, which had for its object the public good. It was reſolved to demand a conference with the Pariſians, in order to explain to them the motives which had determined the princes to take up arms; for this purpoſe letters, ſigned by the duke of Berry, were ſent to the parliament, the municipal body, and the univerſity, inviting them to appoint deputies for conducting a negociation.

Deputies were accordingly choſen, who proceeded to the Burgundian camp, under the conduct of the biſhop of Paris, where they were received by the duke of Berry, as the repreſentative of the ſovereign, attended by the count of Charolois, the dukes of Brittany and Calabria, and others of the princes and nobility. The count of Dunois addreſſed the deputies in the name of the confederated princes, "Who," he obſerved, "had long conſidered, with attention,

"the manners of Lewis, who not only oppreſſed the people by ſuperfluous taxes, and the exac-
"tion of unuſual ſervices, but treated them with the ſame contempt which he beſtowed on all the
"nobles of the realm, and deprived them of all authority. They reproached him with making
"his own will the ſole rule of his actions; *he was the law, the judge, and the parliament.*" The count remarked, "That he only ſought to ſecure his power by the force of arms, and the exer-
"tions of his troops; that his perſon was ſurrounded, and his favour monopolized, by perſons of
"the loweſt extraction, who were meanly obſequious to his wiſhes, and paſſively obedient to his
"commands, on which account he raiſed them to an equality with the princes of his blood: that
"the kingdom was filled with ſpies and informers, ſo that no man's life nor property was ſecure:
"that ſuſpicions the moſt frivolous were admitted as ſufficient ground for puniſhing the citi-
"zens with exile or death: that the wild beaſts enjoyed greater ſafety and freedom in France than
"men: that all the wealth of the kingdom was thrown away on perſons deſtitute of honour and
"probity: that they alone obtained penſions; and that the period was arrived, when almoſt *all the*
"*property in the kingdom was at the diſpoſal of one man:* that theſe numerous abuſes had induced
"the princes to take up arms, and to repair to Paris, to take the general opinion of the French,
"and to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to correct the vices which prevailed in the
"government: that Lewis was indeed their king, but that it became their dignity to exhort and
"admoniſh him to follow the ſteps of his predeceſſors, to conform to the laws, and to have com-
"paſſion on the people [21]."

The deputies, on their return, repaired to the town-houſe, and reported the reſult of their conference to the inhabitants; adding, that the princes threatened to lay waſte the environs of the capital, if they ſtill perſiſted in refuſing them admiſſion. After ſome deliberation, it was agreed, that the deputies ſhould return to the princes, and aſſure them, that if they would bind themſelves by an oath, to commit no kind of violence, and to pay for every thing they wanted, they were willing, *with the king's conſent*, to admit them into the town.

At this juncture, the admiral de Montauban arrived at Paris, with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops; and advice was received, at the ſame time, that the king might be ſoon expected. In fact he arrived a few days after, accompanied by the count of Maine, and all the troops he could collect in Normandy. Lewis being informed of the negociations which had been carried on in his abſence, was extremely enraged at the inhabitants for having preſumed to deliberate, without his orders, on the propoſals of the princes. He did not, however, think it prudent to give a full ſcope to his reſentment, but contented himſelf with paſſing a ſentence of baniſhment on the principal conductors of the negociation. He took the government of Paris from Charles of Melun, and beſtowed that poſt, which at this period he conſidered as the moſt important one in his gift, on the count of Eu.

On the king's arrival, the royaliſts, who had hitherto ſtood on the defenſive, made frequent

[21] Villaret.

ſallies

ſallies on the enemy, though Lewis was careful not to riſk a deciſive action. The confederates, finding there were little hopes of reducing the capital, began to be tired of the war; the count of Charolois, too, was anxious to return to the Low Countries, where the people of Liege, at the inſtigation of Lewis, had committed the moſt dreadful depredations. The conſequence of this diſpoſition was, the concluſion of a truce for ſome days, during which it was propoſed to effect a final accommodation. The truce, however, was ill obſerved, eſpecially by the confederates, whoſe troops, no longer ſubmiſſive to the reſtraint of diſcipline, laid waſte the environs of Paris. The king himſelf could ſcarcely contain his troops within the bounds of moderation; thoſe who were ſtationed in the vicinity of the metropolis did as much damage to the farmers as the enemies themſelves did; while the garriſon of Paris, rendered inſolent by a conſciouſneſs of their own importance, treated the citizens with a degree of pride and inſolence, that, under the preſent circumſtances, it was difficult to repreſs[22].

The count of Saint Paul having requeſted the king to grant him a conference without the walls, Lewis met him near the ramparts; and on his return he aſſured the Pariſians, that they would not be long troubled with the Burgundians. An attorney who was preſent when he made this declaration, exclaimed, "That may be, ſire; but meanwhile they are entering our "vineyards, and eating our grapes, and we are not able to prevent them." "It is better," replied the king, "that they ſhould enter your vineyards, and eat your grapes, than that they "ſhould enter Paris, and take your money, and your plate, which you have concealed in your "cellars, and even in the bowels of the earth."

Serious negociations for a peace were now carried on by the count of Maine, and the lord of Précigny, ſecond preſident of the parliament of Toulouſe, on the part of the king; and the duke of Calabria, and the counts of Saint Paul and Dunois, on the part of the confederates. As Lewis was reſolved to effect an accommodation at all events, he only ſtarted difficulties the better to conceal his real deſigns. The princes were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that had he granted them without heſitation, the ſincerity of his conduct might have been juſtly ſuſpected. Philip de Commines aſſures us, that he had been adviſed by his friend, the duke of Milan, to grant every demand which the confederates might be tempted to make, in order to diſſolve the league, and to leave it to time to ſupply him with the means of breaking his promiſes. A ſcheme of this nature, in which honour and juſtice were ſacrificed to policy, required no uncommon

[22] The inſolence of the ſoldiery may be collected from the following account of a contemporary author: "Neither the wealth which Paris contains," ſaid they to the citizens, "nor the town itſelf, belongs to thoſe who reſide "in it, but to us ſoldiers; and we would have you to know, that in ſpite of your faces, *(malgré vos viſages)* we will "keep the keys of your houſes, and turn you and yours into the ſtreet." Of their *licentiouſneſs*, the following extract, from the ſame author, may convey ſome idea: "The ſame day two hundred archers arrived at Paris, under the com-"mand of captain Mignon; *and they were followed by eight bad women on horſeback, accompanied by a monk, who was their "confeſſor.*" Chron. de Saint Denis.

exertion of genius to invent; and it was ſo conſonant to the diſpoſition of Lewis, that it muſt naturally have occurred to him.

The only point which was ſuffered to protract the concluſion of the treaty, was the augmentation of the duke of Berry's appanage. The princes inſiſted, that the province of Normandy ſhould be ceded to him; but with this demand the king could not prevail upon himſelf to comply. The ſituation of that province, which on one ſide joined the dominions of the duke of Brittany, and on the other extended to within a ſhort diſtance of thoſe towns on the river Somme, the reſtitution of which was now required by the count of Charolois, rendered it of the utmoſt importance; as the poſſeſſion of it would make it an eaſy matter for the three princes to join their forces at the firſt ſignal, and thus keep the king conſtantly beſieged, as it were, in the centre of the kingdom. Inſtead of Normandy, Lewis offered to cede the provinces of Champagne and Brie to his brother, reſerving only to himſelf the towns of Montereau—Fautyonne, Meaux and Melun. His offers, however, were rejected, the negociations broken off, and hoſtilities renewed.

During this war, a cuſtom prevailed, of which we find no example at any earlier period of the French hiſtory. The priſoners were expoſed to public ſale. The chroniclers of the times relate, that ſeveral Calabrians were ſold at *ſix ſols ſix deniers per head.* They were purchaſed with the view to make a profit by their ranſom; and ſuch of the unfortunate victims as were unable to pay their ranſom, or as nobody claimed, were hanged[23]. This was a new branch of commerce, the accurſed offſpring of avarice, which, like ſome that are ſtill ſuffered to ſubſiſt, tended to gratify the rapacity of individuals, in contempt of religion, and at the expence of humanity!

The confederates were induced, by a ſcarcity of proviſions, to renew the negociations for a peace; but when it appeared on the point of concluſion, ſome new incidents occurred to break off the conferences. The governor of Boulogne-ſur-Mer had juſt been executed for a deſign to ſet that town on fire, and during the confuſion which ſuch an event muſt neceſſarily occaſion, to ſurrender the place to the Engliſh. Saveuſes, a Burgundian general, having frequently obtained permiſſion to go to Peronne to ſee the count of Nevers, took an opportunity of introducing ſix hundred men into the town during the night, with whoſe aſſiſtance he ſecured the citadel. The count of Nevers was ſuſpected of being an accomplice in the plot, though he was made priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Bethune. Lewis Sobier, governor of Pontoiſe, delivered that place to the duke of Brittany, who, a few days after, was admitted, by a ſimilar inſtance of treachery, into Evreux. The duke of Calabria took Giſors, and the duke of Bourbon reduced Rouen.

23 "On Sunday, at break of day, ſeven men came to the Boulevard, near the tower of Billy, who had been taken by "the Burgundians, and by them condemned to be hanged, becauſe, ſince they had been taken, nobody had offered to "purchaſe them." *Additions à la Chronique de Monſtrelet.*

In

In preceding wars, occaſioned by internal diſſentions, the nation had been reduced to a more deplorable ſtate; but it never was ſunk ſo low, in point of degradation, as at preſent. Falſehood and treachery appeared on every ſide, nor was the dark proſpect relieved by a ſingle act of virtue[24]. The French hiſtorians have neglected to trace the ſource of this national corruption; but ſurely it may, with juſtice, be aſcribed to the ſhameful depravity of the monarch himſelf: deſtitute of truth, honour, or probity, Lewis made diſſimulation his ſtudy, and gloried in deceit. That the conduct of a ſovereign has an eſſential influence on the manners of a people, cannot be denied; the diſpenſer of honours and rewards, his favour muſt be courted by ſuch means as are known to correſpond with his taſte, and coincide with his wiſhes: when abſolute,—puniſhment, too, muſt be avoided by a ſimilar attention to his will and caprice; thus are habits, as it were, imperceptibly contracted; and, though in every nation there are, doubtleſs, many individuals who eſcape the general contagion, who acquire not the general biaſs, yet, from the natural propenſity of man to imitate his ſuperiors, the impulſe ſoon becomes univerſal, and conſtitutes what may juſtly be termed the national character. On the minds of thoſe who are born to fill the elevated ſtation of royalty, this important conſideration cannot be too ſtrongly impreſſed; let them reflect, *moſt ſeriouſly* reflect, on the full extent of their influence: not an action they commit is unobſerved, or indifferent; their vices may tend to involve thouſands in guilt; their virtues may prove the means of happineſs to millions: when *ſuch* motives to rectitude are duly *weighed*, they muſt be found irreſiſtible. It is thus that, by the all-wiſe diſpenſations of Providence, to the enjoyment of a ſuperior ſtation the diſcharge of ſuperior duties is *invariably* annexed.

Preſſed on all ſides, ſurrounded by enemies or traitors, the king reſolved to extricate himſelf from a ſituation thus dangerous, by concluding a peace, which he reſolved to break as ſoon as circumſtances would permit. It was neceſſary, indeed, to adopt ſome deciſive meaſure, for he received daily information of plots formed againſt his perſon. The enemy had found means to circulate ſeditious libels, in which neither the king nor his miniſters were ſpared; and a diſpoſition to tumult appeared in the capital, where Baluë, biſhop of Evreux, the king's confidential friend, was attacked, and wounded; and that prelate was only indebted for his life to the ſwiftneſs of his mule.

Lewis now granted all the demands of the confederates, and even ſeemed to anticipate their wiſhes. He told the count of Charolois, who, notwithſtanding a ceſſation of arms which had been agreed on, had made an attempt on the town of Beauvais, that if he were not ſatisfied with the conditions propoſed, he was willing to add the entire ceſſion of the Beauvoiſis. At length peace was concluded on the following terms[25]:—The duchy of Normandy was ceded, as an appanage, to the duke of Berry, together with the ſovereignty of the duchies of Alençon

[24] Villaret. [25] Tréſor des Chartres—Mém. de la Chamb. des Com.—Chron. de France—Phil. de Commines—Pièces Juſtific. de l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI.

and

and Brittany. The count of Charolois obtained all the towns on the Somme, which had been formerly pledged to the duke of Burgundy, to be enjoyed by him and his immediate ſucceſſor, after whoſe death they might be redeemed by the king of France, on the payment of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold: Lewis likewiſe ceded to the count, as a perpetual inheritance, the diſtricts of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with the counties of Guines and Boulogne-ſur-Mer. The duke of Calabria acquired the towns of Mouſon, Sainte-Menehould, Vaucouleurs, and Epinal, a guard of five hundred lances, to be maintained at the king's expence, and the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns towards defraying the expences of an expedition for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. The duke of Brittany had for his ſhare the counties of Etampes and Montfort, with the government of Lower Normandy; he likewiſe obtained a renunciation of the king's claims to the right of *regale* within the duchy of Brittany. To the duke of Bourbon were allotted the diſtrict of Uſſon, and a part of Auvergne. The count of Armagnac obtained the reſtitution of certain territories, of which he had been deprived in the preceding reign, with a penſion, and a company of regular troops. The duke of Nemours was appointed governor of Paris, and the iſle of France, with a penſion, and a guard of two hundred lances. The count of Dunois was reſtored to his poſſeſſions, as was alſo the count of Dammartin. The lord of Albret had his claims allowed to certain eſtates, which joined his domains. The count of Saint-Paul was inveſted with the dignity of conſtable, which had remained vacant ever ſince the death of Arthur, duke of Brittany; and the lord of Büeil was promoted to the high office of admiral of France. The lord of Loheac was reſtored to the rank of mareſchal of France, and Tanneguy Du Châtel to the poſt of *grand ecuyer*; and the king alſo engaged to give each of theſe noblemen the command of a company of regulars, by which means they would obtain the diſpoſal of the principal forces in the kingdom. It was farther agreed, that the Pragmatic Sanction ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in its full vigour, and that a council ſhould be appointed for correcting the abuſes in the government, to conſiſt of thirty-ſix members, to be choſen from the three orders of the ſtate.

Such were the principal conditions of the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur des Foſſés, which, had they been faithfully executed, would have left Lewis but the vain title of king, deſtitute of authority. Some of his moſt intimate friends having enquired what motives could induce him to ſubmit to ſuch diſadvantageous terms? Lewis replied—"*The youth of my brother* "*of Berry*; *the prudence of my fair couſin of Calabria*; *the good ſenſe of my fair brother of* "*Bourbon*; *the malice of the count of Armagnac*; *the great pride of my fair couſin of Brit-* "*tany*; *and the invincible power of my fair brother of Charolois*[26]. The king, before he concluded this treaty, entered a formal proteſt againſt it in the court of parliament, as being the reſult of force, and contrary to the rights and intereſts of the crown.

[26] Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 138.

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At this period, Iſabella of Bourbon, counteſs of Charolois, died at Bruxelles, leaving only one daughter, named Mary, then in her ninth year, who afterward became ſole heireſs to the vaſt poſſeſſions of her family; and who, by her marriage with Maximilian, transferred her rights to the houſe of Auſtria; rights which proved an inexhauſtable ſource of diſpute, and occaſioned the moſt bloody wars, that continued for nearly three centuries.

The chief advantage which Lewis derived from this diſhonourable peace, was a conſciouſneſs of his paſt errors. For ſome time he appeared ſtudious to regain the attachment of the malcontents, by a conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which he had obſerved on his acceſſion to the throne. He aſſumed an affability of manners, and ſeemed to breathe nothing but benevolence, candour, and friendſhip. He liſtened to advice with the apparent docility of a prince diſtruſtful of his own abilities on an object of ſuch importance as the government of a nation. Even his external appearance was changed; he exchanged the mean dreſs he had been accuſtomed to wear, for an apparel more ſuitable to his dignity. He loaded the princes, and other chiefs of the confederacy, with careſſes; received them at his palace, and attended the feaſts to which they were invited by the principal citizens. To pleaſe the count of Charolois, he deprived Morvilliers of the office of chancellor, and conferred it on William Juvenal des Urſins, who had enjoyed it on his acceſſion.

But notwithſtanding theſe appearances of content and ſatisfaction, the king could ſcarcely conceal his impatience to witneſs the ſeparation and retreat of the confederates. Peace was proclaimed at Paris, on the twenty-ninth of October; and the laſt day of that month was appointed by Lewis to receive the homage of the princes, at the caſtle of Vincennes, which the count of Charolois inſiſted ſhould be delivered up to him, as a pledge for the ſafety of his perſon, and thoſe of his allies. His guards were accordingly ſtationed in the avenues, and at the gates of the fortreſs, when the king arrived, attended by a ſlender eſcort. By this appearance of confidence, he wiſhed to inſpire his enemies with an opinion of his candour and ſincerity; and he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that he had reſolved to ſleep at Vincennes, and had given orders for his bed to be brought from Paris; but the arrival of a meſſenger from the aldermen and provoſt of Paris, requeſting he would return before night, prevented him from accompliſhing his deſign. After the new duke of Normandy, the count of Charolois, and the other princes, had done homage for the poſſeſſions which had been ceded to them by the treaty, the count of Saint-Paul took the oath of allegiance as conſtable of France. An act of oblivion was then paſſed, and the chiefs of the confederacy received a formal pardon from the king for their conduct during the revolt.

On the third of November the long wiſhed-for ſeparation of the princes took place: the duke of Normandy, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, repaired to the province which he had newly acquired; while the count of Charolois took the road to Flanders. The king accompanied the count as far as Villiers-le-Bel, where the two princes paſſed three days, during which time they were equally profuſe of their profeſſions of friendſhip and eſteem, and equally

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ſuſpicious of each other's deſigns. Lewis, who on his departure from Paris was only accompanied by a ſmall retinue, had left orders for two hundred lances to follow him, in order to eſcort him on his return. The arrival of theſe, juſt as the count of Charolois was going to bed, threw that prince into the moſt dreadful conſternation; and, apprehenſive that the king had formed ſome deſign againſt him, he commanded his troops to arm. Philip de Commines, who was preſent at the time, and who lived alternately at the French and Burgundian courts, obſerves, that the too great familiarity with which they converſed together during three days, far from inſpiring them with friendſhip for each other, only ſerved to increaſe their diſtruſt, and confirm their mutual averſion. They had acquired too deep a knowledge of each other's ſentiments not to perceive that inſurmountable antipathy which the difference of their diſpoſitions muſt naturally produce. The king, aware of the count's impatience to attack the people of Liege, offered to give them up, and even to aſſiſt him in revenging the injury he had ſuſtained from them—though Lewis himſelf had inſtigated them to the commiſſion of that injury—on condition that the count would renounce all alliance with the other princes, and particularly with the duke of Brittany. The artifice was too ſhallow to impoſe on the count of Charolois, who immediately replied, that nothing could diſſolve the bond of friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and the duke of Brittany; that he ſhould always be ready to leave the people of Liege to themſelves, in order to fly to the aſſiſtance of that prince whenever the king ſhould attempt to attack him; in ſhort, that their cauſe was the ſame, and their intereſts were inſeparable. This refuſal, however, did not prevent Lewis and Charles from renewing, when they parted, their profeſſions of mutual eſteem, and their proteſtations of living in future in the utmoſt harmony.

Thus terminated the war for the public good, in which, it muſt be confeſſed, the confederates appear rather to have conſulted their own private intereſt, than the welfare or relief of the people. The chiefs of the league, indeed, ſeemed to have forgotten the nation, whoſe welfare had furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretext for taking up arms. The count of Charolois, immediately after he had ratified the treaty of Conflans, ordered that, in all the towns which had been ceded to him, the taxes ſhould be renewed, although, at the commencement of the war, he had himſelf aboliſhed them. The other chiefs followed his example; and as the ſupport of ſo large an army on either ſide, had alike exhauſted the finances of the king and of the princes, the kingdom was more burdened with impoſts after the troubles were at an end, than before they began.

Lewis, releaſed from the danger which threatened him, did not think the ſacrifices he had made—important as they were—too great for the time he had thereby gained to recover from his fears, and to concert his meaſures with more prudence and addreſs. If we except Guienne, and the iſle of France, he now found himſelf almoſt as much confined in his territories, as was Charles the Seventh at the commencement of his reign. Intent on recovering by degrees what he had loſt at once by a ruinous treaty, his only motives for conſolation were derived from his hopes, that the future would make amends for the paſt. The conduct of the princes had reduced him to the neceſſity of conſidering them as the irreconcileable enemies of his power; but

but ſo long as they remained in a ſtate of union, it was impoſſible to attack any one of them ſingly, without ſpreading an inſtant alarm among the reſt. The king's ſole reſource, therefore, conſiſted in their diviſion, which he could only expect from time and circumſtances, and particularly from the oppoſition of their various intereſts. The ſeeds of that diviſion indeed he had already contrived to ſow, by means of the private treaties, which had been concluded in conſequence of the general agreement[27]. This multiplicity of conventions, diſtinct from each other, proved an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties and diſputes, by leaving the contracting parties an opening, either to interpret them to their own advantage, or to elude the execution of them.

Lewis haſtened to expreſs his gratitude for the zeal and fidelity of the Pariſians during the late troubles, by confirming all their privileges, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that ſo far from ever thinking of curtailing their immunities in future, under the idea that they had been extorted from the neceſſity of the times, they would always find him ready to grant them new favours. The particular prerogatives enjoyed by the Pariſians, conſiſted in an exemption from providing quarters for the troops; a liberation from the neceſſity of attending the *Ban* and *Arriere-Ban*, for all ſuch citizens as poſſeſſed fiefs ſubject to military ſervice; and the privilege of not being compelled to anſwer any action brought againſt them elſewhere than in the courts at Paris. The king was now fully aware, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the favour of the people, before he could hope to accompliſh the deſign he had formed on his acceſſion to the throne, to raiſe—in imitation of his father—the ſovereign power on the ruins of the ariſtocracy, a plan of which he never loſt ſight, and for the execution whereof he employed ſuch means as beſt correſponded to his humour and diſpoſition: he viſited the pooreſt citizens, invited them to his table, ſtood godfather to their children, and became a member of their different companies.

But the exerciſe of abſolute power was ſo congenial to the ſoul of Lewis, that he was the firſt to violate the ſalutary regulations he had adopted, and to exemplify by his conduct the common obſervation, that between practice and profeſſions the difference is great. Although he had declared, that in future the ancient cuſtom of appointing magiſtrates, by a plurality of ſuffrages, ſhould be obſerved; he now by his own authority removed ſeveral, againſt whom no objection could be made, and replaced them with others of his own nomination. He diſmiſſed Matthew de Nanterre, firſt preſident of the parliament, and appointed John Dauvet to ſucceed him; and, leſt any oppoſition ſhould be made to this appointment, Lewis attended in perſon while the new preſident was ſworn into office. Robert d'Eſtouteville was

[27] The chief conditions of the accommodation were ſettled at Conflans. It is probable, that all the princes who had joined the league, concluded each of them a ſeparate treaty, in conformity to the general convention, which is to be ſeen in the proofs annexed to the memoirs of Philip de Commines, without either date or the name of the place at which it was ſigned. The treaty of Saint-Maur muſt be conſidered only as a confirmation and interpretation of ſeveral articles of the peace; ſince peace had been proclaimed at Paris before that treaty was drawn up. *Vid. Pièces Juſtificat. pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI.*—Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 155.

alſo appointed to the place of provoſt of Paris, and was admitted, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of James de Villiers, the actual poſſeſſor of that poſt, who *appealed* from the king's nomination. Several other magiſtrates and judges belonging to the different courts were likewiſe diſmiſſed in the ſame arbitrary manner; and as ſoon as Lewis had made all the arrangements he thought neceſſary, he left the capital, and repaired to Orleans. He ſtaid ſome time in that city, waiting the iſſue of his ſecret intrigues for promoting a quarrel between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany, and in order to profit by the diviſions which jealouſy and avarice had already excited between the dependants of thoſe princes.

The duke of Normandy, in going to take poſſeſſion of his appanage, was accompanied by the duke of Brittany, who in conſequence of the ſervices he had rendered him, thought himſelf entitled to have the entire guidance of his conduct[28]: the two princes were ſtill at Pontoiſe, when the king ſent the chancellor des Urſins to exact from them a new oath to obſerve the peace, in conformity to the conditions agreed on, as well at Conflans as at Saint-Maur des Foſſés, and at Paris. The duke of Normandy immediately complied with his brother's demand, but the duke of Brittany refuſed to give any thing more than a verbal promiſe; proteſting at the ſame time againſt that article of the treaty, which provided for the eſtabliſhment of thirty-ſix commiſſioners, who were to reform all abuſes in the government, as he could not, he ſaid, acknowledge their authority, without ſubjecting the independence of his dominions to be called in queſtion. This proteſt of the duke's ſupplied the king with a pretext for renewing the proteſt which he had himſelf made againſt the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur.

It was eaſy to foreſee that things could not long remain in their preſent ſituation. The duke of Normandy was ſurrounded by a number of noblemen and officers, who had only embraced his cauſe from the hope of reward. All the places he could beſtow were inſufficient to gratify their rapacity; while on the other hand the Norman nobility thought themſelves entitled to the excluſive poſſeſſion of all honourable and lucrative poſts. They were all equally inimical to the duke of Brittany, who ſought to diſpoſe of every thing at his pleaſure; and this tyrannical behaviour excited a general diſcontent, the dangerous conſequences whereof his friends in vain endeavoured to impreſs on his mind. Tanneguy Duchâtel, whoſe prudent advice had already proved of ſuch eſſential ſervice to the duke, having remonſtrated with him on the ſubject, and attempted to diſſuade him from accompanying the duke of Normandy, was diſmiſſed; and the king, ever attentive to profit by the faults of others, embraced this opportunity to regain Duchâtel, who ſerved him with zeal and fidelity.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when the two princes arrived at Sainte-Catherine du Mont, in the vicinity of Rouen, where they intended to ſtop a few days, while the neceſſary preparations were making for the entry of the duke of Normandy into his capital. The premature nomination of Leſcun, by the duke of Brittany, to the government of Rouen, completed the

[28] Piéces Juſtif. de l'Hiſt. de Louis XI.

diſaffection

diſaffection which was generally borne to that prince. The murmurs of diſcontent became louder and louder, and at length reached the ears of the duke of Normandy, who was given to underſtand, that it was the duke of Brittany's intention, under the maſk of friendſhip, to keep him in a continual ſtate of dependence. This gave riſe to a diſpute between the princes, which foretold an approaching rupture. John of Lorrain, lord of Harcourt, a nobleman of the firſt diſtinction in the province, aſſembled the inhabitants of Rouen at the town-houſe, where he declared, that the duke of Brittany had formed a deſign for ſecuring the perſon of their prince, and conveying him to his own dominions. The news of this pretended conſpiracy, though wholly deſtitute of probability, ſpread a general alarm: a part of the inhabitants immediately flew to arms, and, haſtening to Sainte-Catherine du Mont, prevailed on the duke of Normandy to return with them to Rouen, leaving the duke of Brittany in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at this ſudden reſolution. That prince immediately retired to Caen.

The king during theſe tranſactions had remained at Orleans, where he made various changes in the different departments of the ſtate, concealing his real deſigns beneath the veil of apparent tranquillity. As ſoon as he was apprized of the diſpute between his brother and the duke of Brittany, and of the retreat of the latter, he advanced to the frontiers of Normandy with all his forces, and a formidable train of artillery. At his approach, either treachery or fear procured him admiſſion into the different towns, and he proceeded, without encountering any obſtacle, as far as Pont-à-l'Arche, within three leagues of Rouen. In order to attach the duke of Brittany to his intereſt, or at leaſt to deter him from any attempt to impede the progreſs of his arms, he paid him a viſit at Caen, where a treaty was concluded between them. The duke promiſed to conduct himſelf in future as a ſteady friend and faithful ally, and to ſerve the king againſt all men, except the duke of Calabria and the count of Charolois. Lewis on his part declared, that the proteſt which he had entered againſt the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur, was not meant to invalidate thoſe articles which affected the duke, and particularly that which related to the *regale*. All the nobility who had joined the duke of Brittany, and who ſtill preſerved their attachment to his cauſe—among whom were the counts of Dunois and Dammartin, the mareſchal de Loheac, and the lord of Leſcun—were expreſsly included in the treaty; which, however, was drawn up in ſuch ambiguous terms, that Philip de Commines, on the authority of Lewis himſelf, aſſures us, that neither the king nor the duke perfectly underſtood it.

Lewis returned to Pont-à-l'Arche, in order to preſs the reduction of Rouen, where his brother remained, without friends or experience, and relying ſolely for aſſiſtance on the fidelity of the inhabitants. In this emergency, he firſt applied to the count of Charolois, who being engaged in a war with the people of Liege, was unable to afford him that ſpeedy ſuccour which his ſituation required: he ſent however a part of the troops, which were ſtationed on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, to enter Normandy, and ſecure the town of Dieppe; but the governor of that place had already ſurrendered it to the king. The duke of Normandy finding himſelf wholly unable to reſiſt, and being afraid of falling into his brother's hands, reſolved to

provide for his perſonal ſafety by a timely flight. He was at firſt tempted to repair to the Low Countries, but the dread of being intercepted by the French troops made him give up that deſign; and, after much heſitation, he applied to the duke of Brittany for a paſſport. The duke granted his requeſt, by deſire of the king, who was fearful of driving the prince to deſpair, leſt he ſhould be tempted, in ſpite of all impediments, to fly for protection to the count of Charolois.

Before the departure of the duke of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rouen had ſent deputies to the king to obtain a general amneſty, and a grant of the ſame privileges which he had confirmed to the Pariſians; but the king replied, that he would conſult with his council, and make them acquainted with his will. The duke's departure put an end to the negociation, and the town immediately ſurrendered. Thus in leſs than ſix weeks was the whole province of Normandy recovered by the king, except the towns of Caen and Honfleur, which were ſequeſtered in the hands of the lord of Leſcun. In the treaty lately concluded between Lewis and the duke of Brittany, it was ſtipulated, that all thoſe who had followed the fortunes of the duke of Normandy ſhould be allowed to retire to Honfleur, there to remain till ſuch time as they obtained a pardon from the king.

A. D. 1466.] Had the king's clemency been equal to his good fortune, this rapid revolution would have been effected without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood; but, little accuſtomed to pardon, the recollection of his paſt danger, and of the diſhonourable peace which he had been forced to conclude, ſeemed to have redoubled the natural ſeverity of his temper. Thoſe officers and gentlemen who in the late commotions had joined the confederates, and who were not of ſufficient conſequence, of themſelves, to preſcribe terms to the king, were arreſted, and put to death in various ways, without any previous trial. After theſe acts of cruelty, which ſo ſtrongly marked the ſavage diſpoſition of this royal aſſaſſin, Lewis appointed new governors in all the towns he had recovered; and concluded his expedition to Normandy, by a *pilgrimage* to Mont Saint-Michel, whence he returned to Orleans.

The news of the duke of Normandy's flight, and of the loſs of his new appanage, gave the deepeſt diſpleaſure to the count of Charolois. By compelling the king to cede that province to his brother, he thought he had effectually humbled his pride, and curtailed his power. In fact, both with regard to the revenue it afforded, and the troops it ſupplied, Normandy was always conſidered as equal to one-third of the whole French monarchy. The count's mortification too was encreaſed by his total inability, at this period, to enforce a rigid obſervance of the peace; for the war in which he was engaged with the people of Liege took up all his attention. The Liegeois had firſt been inſtigated to attack him by the king of France, who had promiſed them, in letters written with his own hand, ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance; but when they found no mention made of them in the treaty of peace, they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and, on the return of the count of Charolois from Paris, they had recourſe to entreaties

treaties and ſupplications, and, after various negociations, they were finally compelled to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the prince choſe to impoſe.

Lewis, meanwhile, highly pleaſed with his recent ſucceſs, continued to purſue his plan for ſecuring the favour of the people, and for attaching to his intereſt as many of the nobility as he could[29]. Deeply verſed in the arts of diſſimulation, he frequently beſtowed his warmeſt careſſes on thoſe whom he had devoted to deſtruction. Anxious to gain the houſe of Bourbon, he gave the hand of his natural daughter, Jane, to Lewis, baſtard of Bourbon, with a dower of a hundred thouſand crowns, and an eſtate which produced ſix thouſand livres a year. He alſo ſecretly aſſured the duke of Bourbon, that he deſigned his eldeſt daughter, Anne, for Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. Theſe marks of diſtinction had the deſired effect on the duke, who immediately renounced all his engagements, and ſwore an inviolable fidelity to the king, which he preſerved till his death. The duke was immediately appointed governor of Languedoc, in the place of the count of Maine, who was charged with having maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the confederates, and with various other crimes and miſdemeanours. That nobleman would, probably, have experienced a more ſevere puniſhment, but for the interpoſition of the king of Sicily, whoſe friendſhip Lewis was anxious to preſerve. He had, indeed, juſt agreed to confirm the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them, by a marriage between the marquis of Pont, grandſon to the Sicilian monarch, and his own daughter Anne, whom he had ſecretly promiſed to the lord of Beaujeu. The count of Maine was reſtored to favour the following year, at the ſolicitation of the king of Sicily, who pledged himſelf for his fidelity, and engaged, in caſe he ſhould again deviate from his duty, to declare againſt him. About this period, Lewis, who was diſpleaſed with the conduct of Charles de Melun, deprived him of the command of the Baſtille.

Anthony de Châteauneuf, lord of Lau, was the next perſon who was deſtined to feel the weight of the king's reſentment: this nobleman had enjoyed ſeveral of the firſt offices in the ſtate, and had acquired immenſe wealth; but though he was ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by the favour of his ſovereign, he was nevertheleſs accuſed of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate. Lewis, at firſt, only paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon him, but being found in diſguiſe in the vicinity of Orleans, while the court reſided in that city, he was ſeized and conveyed to the caſtle of Mehun. He was afterward removed to the caſtle of Uſſon in Auvergne, which belonged to the baſtard of Bourbon. The king, being afraid that he would effect his eſcape, ordered that nobleman to confine him in an iron cage; but the baſtard refuſed to execute the commiſſion, and replied, "that if it was his intention to treat his priſoners "in that manner, his majeſty might turn gaoler himſelf." After he had been confined two years, he found means to eſcape; when the chief magiſtrate of Uſſon, the governor of the caſtle, and his ſon, were all hanged for having favoured his evaſion; yet the lord of Lau was

[29] Chron. de France—Cont. de Monſtrelet—Philippe de Comm'nes—Hiſtoire de Louis XI.—Piéces Juſtific.

afterwards

afterwards reſtored to favour. But ſuch contradictions perpetually occur in the hiſtory of the preſent reign; and indeed, when a monarch ceaſes to make reaſon and juſtice the rules of his conduct, it cannot well be otherwiſe.

The admiral de Montauban dying about this time, his poſt was conferred on the baſtard of Bourbon. In the month of July, Francis d'Orleans, ſon to the count of Dunois, who had recently returned to court, married Agnes of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France: and the king preſented the new-married couple with forty-thouſand crowns, and ſeveral eſtates in Dauphiné. Another of the queen's ſiſters was married to the conſtable Saint Paul. Lewis, anxious to detach that prince from the intereſts of the houſe of Burgundy, gave him the county of Guines, with the lordſhip of Novion, and alſo ſettled on him the reverſion of the county of Eu, in caſe the preſent count ſhould die without iſſue male; but as the king had no right to make ſuch ſettlement, the ſucceſſion of the county devolving to another branch of the family, it never took place. Among other noblemen who were reſtored to favour at this period, was Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin; the ſentence which had been pronounced againſt him, having been previouſly annulled.

The king's brother, meanwhile, deſpoiled of his appanage, and even reduced to the neceſſity of ſelling his plate to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence, complained alike of the indifference of his allies, and the ſeverity of Lewis. The king was uneaſy leſt his reſidence in Brittany might afford the malecontents a pretext to excite a freſh revolt, under the ſanction of his name: he therefore ſent the duke of Calabria to engage him to return to France, with an offer of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, or the counties of Valentinois and Diois at his option; but Charles had already rejected theſe offers, and even the wretchedneſs of his preſent ſituation could not induce him to accept them. The duke of Calabria had orders, in caſe he ſhould fail in his negociation, to ſecure the young prince, and, if poſſible, to take him to Orleans; but he was compelled to return without having fulfilled either part of his commiſſion.

The king at the ſame time ſent La Tremoille to the count of Charolois, to juſtify his conduct to his brother; and though the count was not convinced of its propriety, from the apology offered by the ambaſſador, yet he did not appear inclined to interfere in their quarrel. This was all the king required; and in order to keep the court of Burgundy in the ſame diſpoſition, he again ratified the ceſſion of the towns on the Somme, to which he added ſeveral villages in the Vermandois; he likewiſe endeavoured to keep the attention of the count of Charolois confined to another quarter, by ſecretly engaging the Liegeois and the inhabitants of Dinant to break the peace which had been concluded the preceding year, promiſing to afford them effectual aſſiſtance; while, under pretence of an expected invaſion of France by the Engliſh, with whom he had juſt concluded a truce, he ordered all the troops in the kingdom to aſſemble, and ſuch a prodigious quantity of artillery to be founded, that the church-bells were melted down to ſupply the neceſſary quantity of metal. The count of Charolois, who was then at Peronne, alarmed at theſe formidable preparations, iſſued orders to all his vaſſals to take up arms; but though both princes

were

were fully prepared for the renewal of hoſtilities, the ſeaſon paſſed away in embaſſies and negociations, calculated to amuſe and deceive.

The Liegeois, immediately after they had confirmed their alliance with Lewis, attempted, at his inſtigation, to ſeize the count of Charolois at Saintron; but as they were not ſufficiently ſtrong, they failed in the attempt. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the count levied a powerful army, and was fully determined to make them feel the weight of his reſentment; but he firſt reſolved to puniſh the inhabitants of Dinant, who had alſo violated the treaty which they had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, by making an irruption into the county of Namur: he accordingly formed the ſiege of that city, whoſe inhabitants relying on the protection of the king of France, and the aſſiſtance of their allies, the Liegeois, ſeemed determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Some of the neighbouring towns, wiſhing to ſave them from the deſtruction with which they were threatened, exhorted them to ſubmit; but they hanged the meſſenger who was ſent with the advice. A young child was then ſent with a letter, from the idea that they would reſpect his innocence; but the inhuman ſavages tore him to pieces.

The count of Charolois, burning with rage and indignation, determined to inflict a puniſhment equal to their crimes. He collected a prodigious train of artillery, and ſuch a continual and well-directed fire was kept up from the batteries, that not an edifice in the town eſcaped its effects. In three days the walls were laid open on every ſide, and the towers, ſhaken to their foundations, ſeemed ready to fall. The count had cauſed two bridges to be thrown over the Maeſe, in order to ſurround the city, and to prepare for a general aſſault. The garriſon, aware of their danger, had made their eſcape, and left the inhabitants to encounter the ſtorm, which their raſhneſs had provoked. Conſcious of their inability to reſiſt, they now offered to ſurrender, on condition that their lives ſhould be ſafe: this propoſal, however, was rejected by the count, who inſiſted on unconditional ſubmiſſion. They accordingly delivered to him the keys of the town, which experienced the fate of a place taken by aſſault. The pillage laſted three days; all the male inhabitants, except the old men and children, were then maſſacred, and the town ſet on fire; what the flames had ſpared, the peaſants were employed to demoliſh, ſo that not a veſtige remained to diſcover the place were Dinant had ſtood.

Meanwhile the Liegeois, alarmed at the ardour diſplayed by the count of Charolois in purſuing the operations of the war, had ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy, with propoſals for an accommodation. On their arrival at Bovines, where the duke then was, they could ſee the flames reducing to aſhes the habitations of their allies. The terror with which this ſevere chaſtiſement inſpired them, contributed not a little to make them accept the terms that were offered them, and which were more rigorous than any they had yet ſubmitted to. They accordingly laid down their arms, and delivered hoſtages for the performance of a treaty, which they reſolved to break at the firſt opportunity.

Although the king had apparently obſerved a ſtrict neutrality during this conteſt, yet it was well

well known that he had inſtigated the Liegeois to take up arms. He ſecretly congratulated himſelf on having found out the means of keeping his rival employed, without any other expence than that of promiſes; for the fate of thoſe whom he ſacrificed to his own intereſted views gave him but little concern. The conſtable Saint-Paul was himſelf too artful not to ſee through the dark policy of Lewis; but, at the ſame time, he entertained too lofty an idea of his own importance to condeſcend to obſerve that nice circumſpection in his conduct, which ſuch a knowledge ſhould naturally have led him to adopt. He accompanied the count of Charolois to the ſiege of Dinant, not with the king's troops, indeed, but with thoſe which he had aſſembled in his own domains. Ambitious to diſplay his power, and anxious to be conſidered rather as a neceſſary ally than as a vaſſal, he was blind to the danger of appearing in the light of a *formidable* ſubject; for though too weak to ſupport the independence he affected, he was ſtill too great, from the luſtre of his birth, and the extent of his poſſeſſions, to confine himſelf within the narrow limits of paſſive obedience. The king, however, concealed his diſpleaſure, and even appointed the count to the government of Normandy, which he had juſt reunited, by his letters patent, to the domain of the crown.

Inceſſant rains, ſucceeded by exceſſive heat, brought on an epidemic diſtemper in France this year, which the people did not fail to aſcribe to the malignant influence of a comet which had appeared ſome time before. In Paris, alone, during the months of Auguſt and September, upwards of forty-thouſand perſons periſhed by this dreadful diſtemper, which continued to rage, though with abated violence, till the approach of winter. In order to repair the loſs which the capital had thus ſuſtained, Lewis, in the ſucceeding year, had recourſe to an expedient more ſingular than worthy of imitation: he iſſued a general invitation to perſons of every deſcription to repair to Paris, where, he ſaid, they ſhould be exempt from proſecution for all paſt offences, and admitted to the rights of citizens. The metropolis, by this means, became an aſylum for debtors, thieves, and aſſaſſins; none were excepted from the general invitation, but thoſe who had been guilty of high-treaſon. Such an expedient had never ſuggeſted itſelf to the imagination of man, ſince the foundation of Rome; nor is it poſſible to conceive what advantage the king could expect to derive from aſſociating with the Pariſians theſe new inhabitants, who were more capable of corrupting them by the depravity of their manners, than of becoming uſeful to their imprudent protector, or to their fellow citizens.

By the treaty of Conflans it had been ſtipulated, that a council ſhould be formed of thirty-ſix perſons, choſen from the three orders of the ſtate, for the purpoſe of correcting the abuſes in the government; but though a year had paſſed ſince the concluſion of that treaty, no mention had been made of this article, which was almoſt the only one that had the good of the public for its object. The king, in order to efface, in a certain degree, the ſiniſter impreſſions which his conduct was but too well calculated to raiſe, reſolved to ſatisfy the people in this reſpect, at the ſame time that he thought, by ſuch a proceeding, to caſt a reflection on his enemies: with this view he appointed *twenty* commiſſioners, and named the count of Dunois for their preſident. They firſt met at the palace, but the epidemic diſtemper, which raged in the metropolis

polis, compelled them to remove to Pontoiſe. It ſoon, however, became apparent that the king only meant, as a contemporary writer juſtly obſerves, to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar. All the remonſtrances and complaints that were addreſſed to him, he referred to the council, the members whereof were devoted to his will; and not a ſingle reſolution was adopted towards fulfilling the object for which they had met.

A. D. 1467.] In the ſpring of this year the court repaired to Rouen, in order to receive the famous earl of Warwick, ambaſſador from England[30]. The termination of the ancient diſputes between the two crowns was the avowed object of this embaſſy, which Warwick had ſolicited. That nobleman received the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours from Lewis[31], with whom he had ſeveral private conferences, the ſubject whereof was then a ſecret, though it was ſufficiently explained by ſubſequent events. After the earl's departure, who concluded a truce between England and France for eighteen months, the king ſent the archbiſhop of Narbonne and the baſtard of Bourbon to the Engliſh court. Theſe ambaſſadors were highly diſcontented with the reception they experienced from Edward, who made them wait ſix weeks before he granted them an audience, and he then referred them for an anſwer to their propoſals, (which related to the eſtabliſhment of a laſting peace,) to commiſſioners whom he promiſed to appoint, though he never fulfilled his promiſe. The ambaſſadors, during their ſtay in England, witneſſed the commencement of a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh monarch, to which they contributed by their intrigues[32].

Lewis, on his return from Rouen, received intelligence of the death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who expired on the fifteenth of June. His body was conveyed to Dijon, where it was depoſited in the convent of Carthuſians. The ſurname beſtowed on this prince, appears to have been merited by the wiſdom and moderation of his government, as diſplayed in the continued proſperity and happineſs of his ſubjects. He was generous, magnificent, liberal and brave; a ſincere friend, and, his amorous irregularities excepted, a good chriſtian. He had upwards of thirty natural children, but only one legitimate ſon: though he had ever lived in a ſtile of magnificence ſuperior to any monarch in Europe, yet he left immenſe riches; his treaſury was found to contain, at his death, four hundred thouſand crowns of gold, ſeventy-two thouſand marks of ſilver, and other effects to the amount of two millions of livres; all of which, together with his extenſive dominions, devolved on his ſon Charles, count of Charolois.

Lewis, ſuſpecting the duke of Brittany of ſtimulating his brother Charles to reject his propoſals for an accommodation, was anxious to puniſh him by invading his country; but he was deterred from purſuing his ſchemes of revenge, through the fear of an attack from the new duke of Burgundy, whom he could neither ſoothe nor intimidate. That prince was, at preſent, employed in repreſſing an incurſion of the Liegeois, who, regardleſs of their oaths, and incited,

[30] Rymer's Fœdera, t. xi, p. 578. [31] Contin. de Monſtrelet, p. 23. [32] Villaret, t. xvii, p. 239.

as uſual, by the inſidious arts and fallacious promiſes of Lewis, had juſt attacked and taken the ſmall town of Huy, ſituated on the Maeſe, between Liege and Namur.

The duke of Burgundy, juſtly enraged at this infraction of the treaty, would have inſtantly put to death the three hundred hoſtages whom he had received from the people of Liege the year before, but for the interceſſion of the lord of Imbercourt, whom they had taken at Huy, and releaſed on his parole[33]. He was preparing, however, to march againſt the Liegeois, when the count of Saint Paul, and Balue, biſhop of Evreux (who had been lately promoted to the rank of cardinal) were ſent to him by Lewis, to inform him, that he muſt deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt a people who were the allies of his majeſty, and whom his majeſty was bound by treaty to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power; but the conſtable added, that if the duke would permit the king to wage war againſt the Bretons, he would willingly renounce his alliance with the Liegeois; to this the duke replied, that as the Liegeois had wantonly violated the truce which they had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve, he was reſolved to march againſt them, and inflict on them a puniſhment adequate to the offence: with regard to the king's propoſals, he ſhould only obſerve, that he was determined to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Conflans, and that no conſideration ſhould induce him to ſeparate his intereſts from thoſe of the duke of Brittany. Two days after, when he had mounted his horſe, and was ſetting out on his expedition, he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, deſiring them "to beſeech the king not to engage in any enterprize "againſt the duke of Brittany." "My lord," ſaid the count of Saint Paul, "you wage war "at your pleaſure againſt our friends, and yet wiſh us to remain quiet, without daring to attack "our enemies; this cannot be allowed; the king will never ſuffer it." "The Liegeois," replied the duke, "are already aſſembled, and expect me to bring them to action, before the "expiration of three days. If I loſe the battle, I am well perſuaded you will do as you pleaſe; "but if I gain it, you will leave the Bretons at peace." In a private converſation with the count of Saint Paul, "Fair couſin," ſaid the duke, "you are my friend and my relation; let "me, therefore, adviſe you to take care leſt the king ſhould ſerve you as he has already ſerved "ſo many others: if you will remain with me, you ſhall be welcome." The conſtable rejected the duke's invitation, but he had afterward reaſon to repent his refuſal.

The town of Saintron being inveſted by the Burgundians, the Liegeois, with an army of thirty thouſand men, haſtened to raiſe the ſiege; when a deſperate action took place, in which the duke of Burgundy obtained a complete victory, killing ſix thouſand of the enemy, and putting the reſt to flight. Two ambaſſadors of the king of France had appeared in perſon, animating the Liegeois during the battle, though that faithleſs monarch had refuſed to ſend his allies thoſe ſuccours which, by a ſolemn treaty ſtill extant, he had engaged to ſupply. After the victory, the garriſon of Saintron ſurrendered at diſcretion, and ten victims were ſent to the duke of Burgundy, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure: they were all hanged, agreeably to a

[33] Villaret.

ſavage

ſavage cuſtom which was but too common in the times we are delineating. Tongres experienced a ſimilar fate; and Charles, purſuing his march to Liege, entered that city, levied a contribution on the inhabitants, filled up the ditches, demoliſhed the fortifications, and carried off all the artillery and arms he could find.

The duke of Burgundy immediately marched with his victorious army from the Maeſe, to the banks of the Somme; and, at the ſame time, he iſſued orders to all his vaſſals, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries, to arm and join him in the environs of Saint Quentin. The duke of Brittany, meanwhile, had made an irruption into Lower Normandy, where he reduced the towns of Bayeux, Caen, and Avranches; the only reſiſtance he experienced was at Saint Lo, whoſe inhabitants, incited by the exhortations, and encouraged by the example of a woman who reſided in the town, flew to arms, and under her conduct attacked and defeated the Bretons. This heroine, whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory, is ſaid to have killed ſeveral of the enemy with her own hand. Lewis, paſſing through Saint Lo ſome years after this event, had the curioſity to enquire after her, and when ſhe came into his preſence, he had the meanneſs to preſent her, as a reward for her courage and fidelity, with the pitiful ſum of twenty crowns [34]. The duke of Alençon, having joined the duke of Brittany, ſurrendered to him all the towns in his poſſeſſion.

On the firſt news of this invaſion, the king ſent a ſmall body of troops, under the command of the mareſchal de Loheac, and the baſtard of Bourbon, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. He ſoon followed, himſelf, with a more conſiderable force, and having in a ſhort time retaken all the places of which the Bretons had made themſelves maſters, he formed the ſiege of Alençon, which the count du Perche, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Alençon, ſurrendered to him, after expelling the garriſon. The king then entered Brittany, at the head of forty thouſand men, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations. Theſe mutual incurſions, by which a tract of country, forty leagues in extent, was laid waſte, were ſuſpended by a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt proper meaſures, as well for ſettling all diſputes between the king and the duke, as for fixing the appanage of prince Charles.

Eager as was the king's deſire to extend his conqueſts, and to humble the duke of Brittany, he had found himſelf compelled to haſten the concluſion of the treaty, by the intelligence he received of the prodigious number of troops which the duke of Burgundy was collecting in Picardy. Alternately preſſed by theſe two princes, he had no ſooner made terms with one than the other renewed his alarms; though he might certainly think himſelf fortunate, in not being expoſed to more ſerious danger, which muſt inevitably have been the caſe, had they combined their projects with greater ſkill, and always acted in conjunction. Such was the king's ſituation during the greater part of his reign, which led a biſhop, who had been long haraſſed by

[34] About fifty ſhillings Engliſh.

the litigious diſpoſition of his grand-vicar, to obſerve, that the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the king's two grand-vicars. The neceſſary preparations were made for defending the frontiers, and freſh troops were raiſed in every province. The Paris militia were reviewed by commiſſioners appointed by the king; and it was proved, by the muſter-roll, that the capital, notwithſtanding the number of inhabitants which had periſhed during the epidemic diſorder of the preceding year, could ſupply eighty thouſand fighting men, thirty thouſand of whom were completely armed: the king, however, who was preſent at the review, could not forbear to expreſs his contempt of theſe *citizen-ſoldiers*, and, with more juſtice than policy, perhaps, to compare them, in certain reſpects, to their wives; and he concluded his ill-timed remarks with ſome obſcene jokes, which it was not becoming in him to utter, nor would it be decent in us to repeat. But while every diſpoſition was making for purſuing the war with vigour, the king, ſenſible of the importance of avoiding a deciſive action, employed every means in his power to effect an accommodation; and as the duke of Burgundy found himſelf left to ſupport the conteſt alone, he was prevailed on, without much difficulty, to conclude a truce.

The king's conduct evidently tended to render the power of the monarch wholly independant of all other authority; and this diſpoſition to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government was, indeed, viſible in all his actions. Yet was he now induced to liſten to the remonſtrances of the parliament, and to paſs the memorable edict, which ſecured, to magiſtrates and other officers of juſtice, the poſſeſſion of their places for life, unleſs vacated by voluntary reſignation, or legal forfeiture[35].

A. D. 1468.] In order to juſtify his behaviour to his brother, which had repeatedly ſerved as a pretext both for domeſtic commotions and foreign invaſions, Lewis convened an aſſembly of the three orders of the ſtate, at the city of Tours[36]. All the princes and nobles of the realm were invited to attend; and ſuch as did not chuſe to be preſent ſent their ambaſſadors and repreſentatives. The king, it is ſaid, named the perſons himſelf whom he wiſhed to be appointed deputies from the different towns; certain it is, that the aſſembly were wholly devoted to his will. The chancellor, Des Urſins, after a prefatory encomium on the nation, and its *ſovereign*, explained the motives which had induced the king to convene the repreſentatives of the ſtate, in order to conſult on the moſt efficacious means of enſuring the tranquillity of the kingdom. He expatiated on the impoſſibility of defraying the neceſſary expences of the government, if the extenſive province of Normandy were diſmembered from the monarchy, and aſſigned, as an appanage, to his majeſty's brother; obſerving that the authors of thoſe troubles, by which the ſtate was convulſed, only ſought to render them perpetual, by urging that prince to perſiſt in a pretenſion which deprived the ſovereign of one third of the revenues of the crown, and which opened to the enemy one of the moſt important barriers of the kingdom. The aſſembly betrayed no diſ-

[35] Conférence des Ordonnances, Lib. x. Tit. 5.

[36] Chronologie de France—Contin. de Monſtrelet—Chronique Scandaleuſe—Preuves de Phil. de Commines.

poſition

poſition to *deliberate* or *diſcuſs*, but acted as if they had only met for the purpoſe of affording a ſanction to the reſolutions which had been previouſly adopted by the king[36]. It was unanimouſly decided, "That the province of Normandy could not, on any pretext whatever, be "ſeparated from the domain of the crown; that, ſince its reunion to the body of the monarchy, "the ſovereigns had deprived themſeves, by an *irrevocable* law, of the power of alienating it; "that Charles the Wiſe had fixed the appanage of a king's ſon at an eſtate producing twelve "thouſand livres a year, and conferring the title of Duke or Count; That his majeſty, by "adding a penſion of ſixty thouſand livres tournois, had given an *uncommon* proof of his "affection for his brother, and that he ſhould be urgently entreated to declare, that his conduct, "in that reſpect, ſhould never be conſidered as a precedent." It was then determined, that the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes of the blood, ſhould be invited to confirm the reſolution of the ſtates, with regard to the appanage of prince Charles. The conduct of the duke of Brittany was loudly cenſured: he was accuſed of ſeducing and detaining the king's brother; of taking ſeveral towns in Normandy; and of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the Engliſh, the ancient and irreconcileable enemies of France. Each of theſe attempts was ſtated to amount to high-treaſon; and the aſſembly unanimouſly decreed, that the duke ſhould be ſummoned to reſtore the places he had *uſurped*; that in caſe he ſhould refuſe, and that ſufficient proof of his alliance with the Engliſh ſhould be obtained, the king ſhould immediately declare war againſt him. Before the aſſembly was diſſolved, the members promiſed to devote their lives and fortunes to the promotion of the king's deſigns[37].

While the ſtates were aſſembled at Tours, Charles de Melun, whoſe deſtruction had long been reſolved on by the king, was brought to trial, for having maintained a correſpondence with, and favoured the plans of, the confederated princes, during the time of the war for the public good. Some other charges of inferior magnitude were preferred againſt him; and after an irregular trial, and a confeſſion, extorted by the pangs of the rack, he was ſentenced to die, and accordingly ſuffered decapitation.

On the concluſion of the truce, at the cloſe of the preceding campaign, it had been ſettled,

36 Nothing can ſet the mean obſequiouſneſs of this ſervile aſſembly in a ſtronger point of view, than the conſideration of their conduct with regard to the king's brother. The duchy of Normandy had been ceded to prince Charles, by the treaty of Conflans; he had ſtrictly complied with all the terms of that treaty; he had ſworn to obſerve it; he had renewed his oath when called on by the king for that purpoſe; and he had committed no one act which could, even by the ingenuity of malice itſelf, be conſtrued into an inſtance of diſloyalty: yet had Lewis, in violation of a ſolemn oath, and without the ſmalleſt provocation, commenced hoſtilities againſt him, diſpoſſeſſed him of his appanage, and treated his adherents as rebels: though every member of the aſſembly was acquainted with theſe circumſtances, not one of them had the ſpirit or honeſty to ſtand forward and avow the truth: on the contrary, they all united in giving their ſanction to the perjury of their ſovereign, and, by equivocation and falſehood, to juſtify what it was their *duty* to condemn.

37 Chron. de France—Additions de Monſtrelet—Preuves de Commines—Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

that

that the princes ſhould ſend deputies to Cambray, to endeavour to reſtore tranquillity to the nation through the medium of a general convention. The king, who placed but little reliance on the ſucceſs of theſe conferences, thought of employing more efficacious means for enforcing the reſolutions adopted by the ſtates at Tours. He had the addreſs, in a prorogation of the truce which the conſtable had juſt negociated with the duke of Burgundy, to omit the duke of Brittany, who had always been included in every treaty as the ally of Charles; conſenting, at the ſame time, that no mention ſhould be made of the Liegois. The duke's conduct in this reſpect did not proceed from neglect or indifference for an ally, whoſe intereſts he had hitherto conſidered as inſeparable from his own, but from a belief that the alliance which the duke of Brittany had recently concluded with the Engliſh monarch, would enable him, without farther aſſiſtance, to check the progreſs of the French arms.

A marriage having been agreed on in the preceding year between the duke of Burgundy and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Edward the Fourth of England, Lewis had exerted his utmoſt influence with the court of Rome to prevent the projected alliance from taking effect; but all his endeavours for that purpoſe having proved ineffectual, and all the preliminaries being finally ſettled, the princeſs embarked at Margate, on the firſt of July, arrived next day at Sluys, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Dam, on the ninth of that month[38].

Edward, by his treaty with the duke of Brittany, had engaged to furniſh that prince with three thouſand archers for ſix months, on condition that all the conquered places ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh; but Lewis being apprized of this convention, averted its effects, by the promptitude of his attacks. The French troops under the conduct of the Marquis de Pont, grandſon to the king of Sicily, entered Brittany, while the count of Rouſſillon completed the expulſion of the Bretons from Lower Normandy. The duke immediately aſſembled the provincial militia, and ſent a courier to haſten the departure of the Engliſh auxiliaries. The king, meanwhile, in order perſonally to mortify the duke, had confiſcated all the eſtates belonging to Antoinette de Maignelais, his favourite miſtreſs, that were ſituated in France, and beſtowed them on Tanneguy du Châtel, of whoſe diſgrace ſhe had been the principal cauſe. The king by this act of injuſtice at once gratified his reſentment, and ſecured the attachment of a man, who was capable of rendering him eſſential ſervice.

The French army, daily encreaſing in numbers, continued to advance by rapid marches into the heart of Brittany. No ſuccours arrived, and the capture of Chantocé and Ancenis, two of the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, compelled the duke, however reluctantly, to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the king thought proper to impoſe on him. Some heſitation indeed was pro-

[38] Stow, p. 421.—W. Wyrceſter, p. 515.

duced

duced by the difficulty attending the appanage of prince Charles; but this was ſpeedily removed by the influence of Odet Daidie, lord of Leſcun, who had acquired an abſolute aſcendancy over the mind of the prince, and who, being bribed by Lewis, perſuaded him to leave the ſettlement of his appanage to the duke of Calabria, and the conſtable Saint-Paul, and to accept the penſion which had been offered him, till ſuch time as a final arrangement could take place. The duke of Brittany then ratified the treaty, the conditions whereof had been ſettled by the French and Breton plenipotentiaries at Ancenis. He agreed to renounce all alliance whatever that was prejudicial to the king, not even excepting that with the duke of Burgundy. To give greater force to the treaty, it was agreed that the principal nobility on both ſides ſhould affix their ſeals to it.

During theſe tranſactions, the king was at Compiégne, employed in a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, who, on the news of the irruption of the French into Brittany, had re-aſſembled his army, and advanced as far as Saint-Quentin. As ſoon as Lewis received the treaty of Ancenis, which was brought to him by a Breton herald, he forwarded it by the ſame meſſenger to the duke of Burgundy. Charles on receiving it could ſcarcely credit his ſenſes; he even threatened to puniſh the herald as an impoſtor; but when he found the proofs too ſtrong to be doubted, his ſurpriſe and indignation were extreme; he vented his rage in reproaches againſt the inſidious policy of Lewis, and the weakneſs of the duke of Brittany. Still, however, he appeared reſolved to purſue his enterprize; and the king was obliged to ſubmit to the degrading expedient of *purchaſing* a peace, for which the duke exacted the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, half of which was paid immediately.

The king was always vain of his talents, and thought it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſuperiority of his genius in political negociations; Cardinal Balue, his favourite miniſter, encouraged this opinion, and endeavoured to perſuade his maſter, that if he could once obtain an interview with the duke of Burgundy, there could be no doubt but that he might turn it to his advantage, by the facility with which he could bend to his views a mind ſo greatly inferior to his own. The propoſal was too flattering to the vanity of Lewis, not to be adopted with eagerneſs; he therefore haſtened to inform the duke of Burgundy, that he was extremely anxious to terminate, by a perſonal conference, all the diſputes which ſtill ſubſiſted between them. Charles was by no means inclined to accept the propoſal; and, as the motive of his refuſal, he alledged his apprehenſions, that the Liegeois might again attack him. Cardinal Balue replied, that he ought to be above any apprehenſions of that kind, ſince in the laſt campaign he had diſarmed them, razed their walls, demoliſhed their fortifications, and totally diſabled them from attempting any thing to his prejudice:—Yet the king had juſt ſent agents privately to Liege to excite the turbulent inhabitants of that town to renew hoſtilities againſt the duke; and to aſſure them, at the ſame time, that they might depend on receiving effectual aſſiſtance from France. The duke, however, ignorant of this circumſtance, was at length perſuaded to conſent to the interview; and Peronne, a town of Picardy, in his own poſſeſſion, was accordingly fixed on as the place of conference.

But

But the king, who had hitherto appeared ſo anxious to promote the interview, now began to heſitate. Some of his moſt faithful miniſters had repreſented to him the dangerous conſequences of the ſtep he was about to take; and on conſulting his own conſcience, he could find no motives for aſſurance. In ſhort, he was on the point of giving up his deſign, when Cardinal Balue, who had conducted the negociation, and was conſequently intereſted in its ſucceſs, uſed all the arguments he could think of to inſpire him with confidence. A letter which the king received, at this juncture, from the conſtable, rendered the efforts of the cardinal ſucceſsful[39]. The count of Saint-Paul informed Lewis, that the duke of Burgundy was reſolved in future to have no other friend or ally than himſelf; and that, beſides thoſe general affairs, the diſcuſſion of which might be left to their miniſters, there were others of ſuch a private nature, that it would be neither ſafe nor proper to entruſt them to any agents whatever. By theſe ſolicitations was the moſt ſuſpicious and deceitful of mankind induced to commit himſelf to the faith of a prince, whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude, and againſt whoſe repoſe his inſidious machinations were at that very moment directed.

Lewis, having entruſted the count of Dammartin with the command of his troops, left Noyon at the beginning of October (1468), and arrived the ſame day at Peronne. He was accompanied by the duke of Bourbon; Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the archbiſhop of Lyons; the count of Perche; the conſtable; the lords of Laigle, Lyon, and Longueville; cardinal Balue; and his confeſſor, the biſhop of Avranches. A few ſervants, eighty archers of the Scotch guard, and ſixty horſe, compoſed his eſcort. On the road he was received by a body of two hundred lances, ſent by the duke of Burgundy to attend him; and that prince alſo went himſelf to meet the king. They entered the town, converſing together in a familiar manner, the king's hand being placed on the duke's ſhoulder. Lewis was conducted to an extenſive building, near the caſtle gate, which had been prepared for his reception.

Before the firſt day was paſt, the king began to be ſenſible of the danger into which his imprudence had betrayed him. The troops, which the duke had ordered to be raiſed in his duchy of Burgundy, arrived at Peronne ſoon after Lewis, under the conduct of the mareſchal of that province, who was the king's perſonal enemy. And, as if all thoſe whom he had reaſon to fear, had combined to torment him, prince Philip of Savoy, whom he had ſo long detained in captivity, in violation of his proffered word, and of the laws of hoſpitality, entered the town at the ſame time, accompanied by the lord of Lau, who had but juſt eſcaped from confinement; Poncet de la Riviere and Durfé, all ſworn enemies to Lewis. When he ſaw this formidable troop paſs under his window, he was unable to conceal his apprehenſions, nor could the duke by any means quiet him, till he aſſigned him an apartment in the caſtle. As that fortreſs was not ſufficiently ſpacious to contain all his retinue, he took with him only twelve attendants; ſo that he reſigned himſelf entirely to the duke's diſcretion, and deprived himſelf of

39 Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

every

every reſource, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made to abuſe his confidence. The two firſt days paſſed in conferences between the French and Burgundian miniſters. The king offered to accede to all the demands of the duke of Burgundy, provided that, when ſatisfied with the conditions which immediately affected his own intereſts, he would renounce every other alliance, and bind himſelf, by a ſimilar oath to that which the duke of Brittany had taken, to ſerve him againſt all men. The duke, however, poſitively rejected this condition, obſerving, that he could never think of forſaking his friends and allies.

While the agents on either ſide were employed in deviſing means for removing theſe difficulties, Lewis and Charles appeared perfectly ſatisfied with each other, and the mutual profeſſions of eſteem that paſſed between them, gave reaſon to hope, that a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation would be the conſequence of their interview; but a ſudden and unexpected event occurred to deſtroy theſe pleaſing hopes. The ambaſſadors whom the king had ſent to Liege to excite the inhabitants to take up arms, had fulfilled their commiſſion with alacrity and effect. Lewis, previous to his departure from Peronne, had diſpatched meſſengers with freſh orders to the Liegeois, enjoining them to ſuſpend the projected revolution[40]; but they arrived too late. The Liegeois, inflamed by his arts, and eager to retrieve the loſs, and to wipe out the diſgrace, they had ſuſtained in the preceding campaign, had obeyed his ſummons with promptitude and zeal; and haſtening to Tongres, took poſſeſſion of that town, captured their biſhop, and maſſacred ſixteen canons of the cathedral in his preſence. The unhappy prelate had the mortification to ſee one of theſe eccleſiaſtics, for whom he entertained a particular friendſhip, torn to pieces by the barbarians, who amuſed themſelves by toſſing his palpitating limbs from one to another. The French ambaſſadors were preſent at the time; and, not content with being paſſive ſpectators of theſe inhuman acts, they approved them by their ſmiles, and encouraged them by their exhortations.

Intelligence of this event was received at Peronne, on the third day after the king's arrival. Language the moſt expreſſive would convey but an imperfect idea of the duke of Burgundy's rage; he openly accuſed the king, and after branding him for *a perjured traitor*, confined him to his apartment. In vain did Lewis call Heaven to witneſs his innocence; in vain did he ſwear by *The Lamb of God*, (his favourite adjuration) that, ſo far from having contributed to the revolt of the Liegeois, if the duke of Burgundy would lay ſiege to that city, he would willingly aſſiſt him. His oaths and proteſtations were alike treated with contempt, and the duke breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

The king's life appears at this period to have been in imminent danger, as moſt of the officers who attended the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to aggravate his reſentment. The next day the duke aſſembled his council, when opinions were divided; ſome of the members

[40] Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 278.

adviſed him to make the king conſent to ſuch terms as beſt ſuited his intereſt; while others propoſed to keep him in captivity, to ſend for prince Charles, and to conclude a treaty, in which the intereſts of all the princes of the blood ſhould be equally conſulted. Commines obſerves, that he ſaw the courier ready to depart for Brittany with letters to the duke of Normandy; but the duke changed his mind, and the deliberations were renewed.

Meanwhile the captive monarch, alternately preyed upon by fear and repentance, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. The dupe of his own miſtaken policy, he found himſelf in the power of an enemy, violent in his temper, and whoſe indignation he had excited by the moſt treacherous conduct. The author of his own deſtruction, the ſhame he experienced at having, himſelf, laid the ſnare into which he had fallen, encreaſed the acuteneſs of his feelings. The ſight of the tower of Peronne, which he could ſee from his windows, made him ſhudder; it was the very place in which the unhappy Charles the Simple had been confined by Herbert, count of Vermandois. Reduced to this dreadful extremity by his own imprudence, he ſpared no pains to repair the error he had committed. He diſtributed large ſums of money among thoſe officers whoſe opinions were moſt likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, by which means he engaged them to preſent his propoſals. He offered to ſubmit to any conditions which the duke might wiſh to impoſe, and to deliver, as hoſtages, for his obſervance of the treaty, the duke of Bourbon and his brother, the count of Saint-Paul, and ſeveral other noblemen. He required that, after the treaty ſhould be ſigned, he ſhould be permitted to retire to Compiégne, whence he engaged to ſend to the Liegeois, and either make them repair the diſorders they had committed, or elſe declare war againſt them. The hoſtages ſeemed to conſent to his propoſals; but Commines, who knew both them and the king, was of opinion, that had they been put to the trial, they would have retracted; and that the king himſelf would have made no ſcruple to break his engagements, and leave them expoſed to the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. The ſame author, who was at that time chamberlain to the duke, inſinuates, that he was one of thoſe who moſt contributed to moderate the anger of Charles; and this act of friendſhip was afterwards acknowledged by Lewis himſelf.

At length the duke was prevailed on to conſent to an accommodation, the plan of which was immediately preſented to the king, who, after ſome heſitation, ſigned it. But ſtill the danger was not over; Charles, agitated by the moſt violent paſſions, paſſed the third night without undreſſing: he threw himſelf from time to time on the bed; then, ſuddenly ſtarting up, walked to and fro in the room, followed by Commines, who waited for a favourable moment to quell the violence of his tranſports. In the morning his anger ſeemed to be raiſed to the higheſt pitch; he broke out into threats, and appeared prepared to proceed to the moſt dreadful extremities. After pauſing a ſhort time, he ruſhed out of the room, and repaired to the king's apartment; where Lewis, who had been informed of all his motions, was waiting his determination, in a ſtate of anxiety inconceivably wretched. Neither the looks nor geſtures of the duke were calculated to inſpire him with confidence. With a gloomy, but determined countenance, Charles approached, and aſked him, Whether he meant to fulfil the treaty of peace

which

which he had ſigned, and whether he was prepared to bind himſelf by an oath to obſerve it? The monarch, without heſitation, replied in the affirmative. Charles, continuing his interrogations, next enquired, Whether he was determined—agreeably to the offer he had made—to accompany him to Liege, and to aſſiſt him in puniſhing the Liegeois for the inſults offered to him, as well as to all the royal family of France, in the perſon of the biſhop of Liege, who was brother to the duke of Bourbon? The king promiſed to accompany him, and to aſſiſt him in exterminating his ancient allies with any number of troops which the duke ſhould think requiſite. Every obſtacle to an accommodation being now removed, both princes ſwore, on the croſs of Charlemagne, which was called *The Croſs of Victory*[41], to fulfil the terms of the treaty.

The treaty of Peronne was in fact only a renewal of the treaty of Arras, with the addition of ſuch articles of the treaty of Conflans as had not yet been fulfilled. The king, however, farther conſented, by the preſent convention, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould be at liberty to maintain any alliance which he had contracted with the king of England, provided only, that he ſhould not afford any aſſiſtance to that monarch in caſe he ſhould invade France; he alſo releaſed the duke from the obligation of homage for all the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaty of Conflans. In caſe of any violation of the preſent treaty, on the part of the king, it was ſtipulated, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould be abſolved from his oath of allegiance, and exempted from all the duties of vaſſalage; and, that the princes who guaranteed the treaty, releaſed from all obligation to their ſovereign, ſhould be at liberty to join the duke; who on his ſide conſented, in caſe he ſhould fail to fulfil his engagement, that all his dominions ſhould be confiſcated and annexed to the crown.

The appanage of prince Charles, brother to the king, was ſettled at the ſame time. Lewis conſidered it as a ſingular favour, that the duke of Burgundy no longer inſiſted on the ceſſion of Normandy, but contented himſelf with demanding for his friend the provinces of Champagne and Brie. The fact is, that the duke had been led to change his mind in this reſpect, from the recent conduct of his ally, the duke of Brittany, in being frightened into a treaty without waiting for his aſſiſtance. He was aware that the king would always be able to recover Normandy with the ſame facility, and that it would not be poſſible for him to prevent it. This conſideration induced him to believe, that it would be more advantageous to him to procure for the prince the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which would ſecure him a communication between his dominions in the Low Countries, and his duchy of Burgundy. This matter being ſettled, the treaty was ſent to prince Charles, and the duke of Brittany, in order to obtain their acceſſion to ſuch articles as concerned themſelves.

Lewis and Charles now began their march to Liege; and, as that town was ſaid to be in no

[41] Philippe de Commines.

condition to ſtand a ſiege, it was propoſed, in a council of war, to diſmiſs a part of the troops. Lewis ſupported the propoſal, but it was rejected by the duke; and the event proved the wiſdom of his conduct. The Liegeois having received intelligence of the king's detention, and its conſequences, became ſenſible of their error, when too late to repair it. They now ſaw themſelves expoſed to the rage of a prince whom they had offended beyond all hopes of forgiveneſs, by a repetition of injuries the moſt groſs, and by perpetual violations of treaties the moſt ſolemn. In this emergency they had recourſe to their biſhop, whom they releaſed from captivity, on condition of becoming their mediator with the duke of Burgundy. As their reconciliation was cemented by intereſt, its ſincerity cannot be doubted; for, if the town was deſtroyed, the prelate muſt loſe all he poſſeſſed.

But all the prayers and ſolicitations of the biſhop were ſternly rejected by Charles, who had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on that ferocious and turbulent people. The ſituation of the Liegeois had now become deſperate: hopeleſs of aſſiſtance; deſtitute of regular troops; and even unprovided with fortifications, they had no other reſource but what their own courage could ſupply. Their whole garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred militia, from the diſtrict of Franchemont, a ſmall country in the territory of Liege. With theſe forces they reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. This reſolution, indeed, was the effect of neceſſity; for they could expect no quarter, ſince they knew that the duke had made a vow to exterminate them.

The mareſchal of Burgundy, who commanded the advanced guard, had eſtabliſhed his quarters in one of the ſuburbs, where he was attacked by the Liegeois, who made a ſally, under the conduct of *John Wild*, provoſt of the city, and ruſhed on the Burgundians with ſuch reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that they bore down all before them: after killing eight hundred, and putting the infantry to flight, Wild retreated in good order, and died, two days after, of the wounds he received in the action. The death of this brave man, the only perſon in the town who was capable of acting as a commander, proved an irreparable loſs to the Liegeois.

The news of this check, of which an exaggerated account was conveyed to the duke of Burgundy at Namur, induced that prince to haſten his march. The ſeaſon was far advanced; the weather was extremely cold; the autumnal rains had rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable, and the troops were encamped in the environs of the city, on a marſhy ground, where they were compelled, in ſome places, to make a circuit of three leagues, in order to keep up the communication between the different poſts. The troops were exhauſted with fatigue, and in want of proviſion, ſo that the duke of Burgundy was almoſt as unable to form a ſiege, as the Liegeois were to ſuſtain one. On the firſt night after his arrival, that prince was attacked in the ſuburbs where he had fixed his reſidence; and though he defended himſelf with great valour, he would have had ſome difficulty in repulſing the enemy, but for the timely arrival of the king, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance with three hundred men at arms, and the archers belonging to his guards, which were the only troops he had been ſuffered to bring with him.

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The day after this action, Lewis took poſſeſſion of a ſmall houſe in the ſuburbs, which was only ſeparated from the duke's quarters by a barn, where three hundred Burgundian men at arms were poſted, at once to watch the enemy and the king. The two princes, though apparently reconciled, were ſtill miſtruſtful of each other; Lewis was apprehenſive, that if the Liegeois ſhould prove victorious, the duke would wreak his vengeance upon him; and Charles was afraid that the king would take an opportunity to eſcape, or, perhaps, attack him in the rear while he was fighting the enemy. Theſe mutual ſuſpicions occaſioned the aſſault to be delayed, although the ſeverity of the ſeaſon called for the moſt ſpeedy and deciſive meaſures.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Liege, conceiving it impoſſible to prevent the deſtruction of the town, were careful to provide for their perſonal ſafety by a timely departure. Eight days paſſed in trifling ſkirmiſhes, which only tended to fatigue the troops, who, as well as the duke, remained under arms during the whole time. At length Charles, in oppoſition to the king's advice, reſolved to make a general aſſault; and the army had orders to reſt that day, and to be in readineſs to commence the attack the next morning at eight o'clock. The Liegeois having received advice of this reſolution, determined to anticipate the attack; and to profit by that interval of repoſe to execute a plan, which, notwithſtanding its temerity, had nearly been juſtified by its ſucceſs. In the middle of the night, the ſix hundred militia, all that now remained to defend the place, men of intrepid ſouls, reſolved to conquer or to die, ſallied forth from the town, with intent to ſeize the perſons of the king and the duke of Burgundy. The landlords of the two houſes in which thoſe princes were quartered, ſerved them for guides; the night was extremely dark, and as they marched through a hollow way, cut out of a rock, which led from the town to the ſuburb, they paſſed unperceived, and, after they had maſſacred a few centinels, by whom they were challenged, they arrived at the appointed place, where the moſt perfect ſilence and ſecurity prevailed. They muſt infallibly have ſucceeded in their attempt, if they had not ſtopped at a tent which was occupied by the count of Perche, ſon to the duke of Alençon. They ſoon became ſenſible of their error, but it was too late to repair it: the critical moment was paſt; the noiſe they made had ſpread the alarm; and the three hundred men at arms, who were poſted in the barn, were prepare to received them. The Liegeois ſtill loſt more time, in attempting to force theſe troops; and when they came to attack the two houſes, the king and the duke of Burgundy, whom a quarter of an hour before they might have ſurprized in their beds, were armed, and in a condition to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, and to defend themſelves till their troops ſhould come to their relief. On one ſide, deſpair at having ſuffered ſo glorious an opportunity to eſcape, and the greatneſs of the danger on the other, rendered the combat dreadful; and for ſome minutes the victory was doubtful. As Lewis and Charles had only a part of their guards with them, all they could do was to prevent the enemy from forcing their apartments. Even this was a matter of extreme difficulty, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt exertions, the landlord of the houſe where Lewis was quartered, burſt open the door, and made his way to the king's chamber, where he was killed: the monarch, on this occaſion, diſplayed great perſonal courage, and being ably ſeconded by the archers of his Scotch guards, he drove the enemy back; while the duke of Burgundy was equally ſucceſsful on his part. The ſound of arms,

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the uncertainty whence the danger proceeded, or *who* was the enemy; the repeated cries of "*Long live the king! long live the duke of Burgundy! kill! kill!*" the darkneſs of the night, all tended to encreaſe the confuſion of this dreadful ſcene. The Liegeois, now certain of being defeated, fought like men in deſpair, nor did they ſhrink from the unequal conteſt, till every one of them was maſſacred. The king and the duke of Burgundy met ſword in hand in the middle of the ſtreet, at the head of their reſpective guards; the ſuſpicions which each had entertained of the other, as being the author of this unexpected attack, now vaniſhed, and, after reciprocal congratulations on their happy eſcape, they parted with mutual ſatisfaction.

The duke immediately called a council, in which it was determined to make a general aſſault at the appointed time. The king, who had not been preſent when this reſolution was adopted, ſpared no pains to diſſuade the duke from putting it in force, as well from the wiſh to procure favourable terms for a people whom he had been the means of bringing into their preſent perilous ſituation, as from the dread that Charles might make him anſwerable for the conſequences, ſhould he fail in his attempt. But the remonſtrances which the duke's principal confidents, who had been bribed by Lewis, made on the ſubject, were ſo ill-received, that they were not tempted to renew them; Charles obſerved, that nothing ſhould engage him to defer his attack on a town that had neither gates nor walls; that ſuch advice could only be the effect of ill-timed fear, or of a deſign formed to betray him; that the king, however, was at liberty to retire to Namur, and there wait till the town was taken. When the duke's anſwer was reported to Lewis, he replied, "That he would not go to Namur, but remain where he was, to ſhare the "dangers of the day."

While the duke was employed in adopting ſuch meaſures as he thought requiſite to enſure ſucceſs to his plan, ſuch of the Liegeois as had not fled haſtened to leave the town, taking with them as many of their effects as they were able to carry. In ſhort, none were left behind, but old men, women and children, and thoſe whom extreme indigence had rendered, in a manner, inſenſible to the general miſery. That ſuperb city, which but a few months before had reſounded with the rude clamours of ſedition, was now buried, as it were, in conſternation and ſilence. When the troops advanced to the attack, they met with none to oppoſe them; the wretched inhabitants who ſtill remained in the town had fled for ſhelter to the churches; vainly imagining to obtain, from the ſacredneſs of the place, ſecurity againſt the brutal attempts of a licentious ſoldiery.

The town was reſigned to pillage; every diſorder that uſually occurs on ſuch occaſions was committed; every ſpecies of violence which the imagination can conceive was practiſed. Lewis, from the windows of the epiſcopal palace, whither he had retired, beheld the horrid ſcene of deſolation; while his ears were aſſailed by the groans of murdered age, and the ſcreams of violated chaſtity. Conſcious, as he muſt be, that he was the principal author of theſe calamities, his mind, unleſs he were callous to the common feelings of human nature, muſt have been a prey to reflections the moſt horrid; but, faithful to his maxims of policy, he concealed his

ſhame

ſhame and remorſe beneath an appearance of ſerenity, of which no one was the dupe. He dined with the utmoſt tranquillity during the tumult, and expreſſed the greateſt ſatiſfaction at the ſucceſs of the day. He launched out into the moſt extravagant commendations of the duke of Burgundy's wiſdom and proweſs; and, leſt they ſhould not be faithfully reported to Charles, he took care to repeat them in his preſence.

A few days after the reduction of Liege, the king ventured to aſk permiſſion to retire; telling the duke, that if he had any farther occaſion for him, he begged he might not be ſpared, but that if that was not the caſe, he ſhould wiſh to go to Paris, in order to regiſter their late convention in the court of parliament. He expreſſed a wiſh, at the ſame time, that they might meet again the following ſummer in Burgundy, and paſs a month together, *faiſant bonne chere*. Charles, however, was not to be deceived by theſe demonſtrations of friendſhip; Commines, who was preſent, ſays, that he had frequent ſtarts of ill-humour, and could ſeldom refrain from murmuring; yet he complied with the king's requeſt, contenting himſelf with ordering the treaty of Peronne to be again read to him before his departure, and with making him again ſwear to obſerve it. The duke accompanied the king to ſome diſtance from Liege, and when they parted, Lewis enquired of Charles what conduct he expected him to obſerve, if his brother ſhould not be ſatisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that caſe," replied the duke, "I ſhall leave you to ſettle the matter by yourſelves, provided, however, that you find the "means of contenting your brother;" an important anſwer, which ſupplied the king with a pretext for eluding the execution of his promiſes: but the duke, intent on higher ſchemes, diſdained ſuch vain ſubtilties, convinced of his own ability to *make* his rival true to his word.

Soon after the king's departure, the duke of Burgundy ordered the city of Liege to be demoliſhed, excepting only, from the general ruin, the churches, and the houſes belonging to the clergy. He then entered the diſtrict of Franchimont, and laid waſte the whole country.

Lewis, meanwhile, continued his march, with incredible rapidity, to the frontiers of his own dominions. The deputies from the parliament, and the other ſovereign courts, had received orders to meet him at Senlis, where the treaty he had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, was read to them by cardinal Balue; and, in order to avoid all remonſtrance on the ſubject, he ſtrictly enjoined them to regiſter it without reſtriction, and in the moſt authentic manner[42]. This appearance of honour proceeded from the influence of ſhame; he wiſhed to bury in oblivion the late tranſaction at Peronne, and could not ſupport the idea of becoming, from his own folly and imprudence, an object of public deriſion. The magiſtrates did not oppoſe his will, though they delayed to regiſter the treaty for upwards of four months. The proclamation of peace was followed by an ordinance, forbidding all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, to utter or publiſh any thing injurious to the honour of the duke of Burgundy.

[42] Villaret.

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So truly aſhamed was Lewis, at this period, of having become a dupe to his own arts, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to viſit the metropolis, with the volatile and inconſtant diſpoſition of whoſe inhabitants he was perfectly acquainted; though, in the preſent inſtance, he probably dreaded their propenſity to ridicule more than their promptneſs to revolt. Whether from a wiſh to divert the attention of the Pariſians to other objects, or from a whimſical curioſity to be informed of any jokes that might eſcape them, he ordered all their houſes to be ſearched, and all magpies, jays, and other birds, which ſhould be found there, to be ſeized; and the perſon who was employed to execute this ridiculous commiſſion, had orders to regiſter the names of the citizens to whom the birds belonged, as well as the words which they had been taught to repeat. Some days after this ſingular ſeizure, he iſſued a proſcription againſt the ſtags, fawns, and cranes, which the citizens uſed to train up in their houſes, as domeſtic animals[43].

A. D. 1469.] Though Lewis expreſſed his readineſs to comply with that article of the treaty of Peronne, which had ſtipulated for the ceſſion of Champagne and Brie to his brother, he ſecretly adopted every meaſure which could ſeem to render it illuſive; his agents found little difficulty to ſhake the reſolution of prince Charles, whoſe young mind was ſtill ſuſceptible of any impreſſions which his friends and confidents might ſeek to give it. The lord of Leſcun, who afterwards enjoyed the title of count of Comminges, was his principal adviſer. This nobleman, being bribed by the king, repreſented to his maſter, that as he was the preſumptive heir to the throne, Lewis having yet no male child, it was his intereſt to reſiſt every effort that could tend to weaken the power, and curtail the influence of the crown; and Charles, perplexed by arguments more ſpecious than ſolid, was eaſily prevailed on to renounce all claims to the ceded provinces, and to accept, in lieu of them, the duchy of Guienne. As ſoon as the duke of Burgundy was apprized of this negociation, he exerted himſelf with vigour to impede its concluſion. With this view he ſent ambaſſadors to Brittany, who repreſented to the prince, that the proximity of the Low Countries to Champagne would, at all times, enable him to receive aſſiſtance, ſhould his brother be induced, as heretofore, to give him diſturbance; whereas, by accepting, as his appanage, a province that was diſtant from the domains of his allies, he would effectually deprive himſelf of every reſource.

This affair engroſſed the attention of the courts of France and Burgundy for ſome time. The king maintained, that ſo long as his brother ſhould remain in the power of his enemies, it would not be poſſible for him to enjoy one moment of repoſe; but while he was congratulating himſelf on the ſucceſs of his efforts to detach the prince from their intereſts, he detected an intrigue, the object of which was the deſtruction of all his plans. This incident amply confirms the obſervation we have before had occaſion to make, that it is as much the intereſt as it is the *du'y* of

43 Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 319, 320—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 452—This laſt author is of opinion, that ſome Pariſian had taught his parrot to ſay, "*Peronne*," which induced the king to adopt this ſtrange mode of checking their raillery.

ſovereigns

ſovereigns to ſet an example of candour and juſtice to their ſubjects, and to be careful that, in the ſelection of friends and miniſters, purity of manners, rectitude of conduct, and integrity of mind, combine to juſtify their choice. The artful and hypocritical diſpoſition of Lewis had rendered perfidy and deceit the faſhionable vices of the court. Never were ſo many traitors ſeen in France as appeared during his reign. Though fully convinced of the ſuperiority of his penetration, never was prince ſo often deceived! He continually proſtituted his favour to thoſe who were unworthy to enjoy it, and raiſed thoſe to places of ſplendour and truſt, whom nature deſigned to remain in perpetual obſcurity. Cardinal Balue was now his prime miniſter and chief confident; the management of affairs, both domeſtic and foreign, was entruſted to him; and the king, ſuſpicious as he was, and jealous of his authority, would rather follow the advice of that prelate, than liſten to the perſuaſions of the princes of his blood, or of his moſt faithful ſervants. The reſult of this miſplaced confidence was ſuch as might naturally have been expected from a man deſtitute of principle, and inured to vice: his crimes, indeed, had firſt recommended him to the notice of Lewis; and, as he was apprehenſive that the reconciliation of that monarch with his brother, might effect a diminution of his own credit, he reſolved to prevent it. He had engaged William d'Harancourt, biſhop of Verdun, who was attached to prince Charles, to ſecond his deſign. The king, who made a point of bribing all thoſe who enjoyed his brother's confidence, ſpared no pains to gain this prelate to his intereſts; and the biſhop accordingly promiſed to comply with his wiſhes, though, at the ſame time, he was engaged in aſſiſting the cardinal to counteract them. While the two aſſociates were flattering themſelves with the idea that their perfidious machinations would prove ſucceſsful, and that their characters and their ſituation in life would exempt them from ſuſpicion, a ſervant belonging to the biſhop of Verdun was ſtopped with a packet of letters from cardinal Balue. Among theſe letters, written by the cardinal himſelf, (according to Commines) was one directed to the king's brother, exhorting him to accept no other appanage than that which the duke of Burgundy had obtained for him by the peace of Peronne. This letter was probably intended to be forwarded by ſome other perſon, ſince it is certain, that the meſſenger, when he left Tours, did not take the road to Brittany, and that he had other letters with him, addreſſed to the duke of Burgundy, in which the duke was informed, that prince Charles was on the point of concluding an accommodation with his brother; that the king had ſigned a treaty with England and the duke of Brittany, merely with the view of directing his hoſtile operations againſt Flanders; and that if the duke wiſhed to avert the danger with which he was threatened, he had no time to loſe. He was adviſed to fortify his towns in Picardy, to perſuade the king's brother to retire to the Low Countries, and then openly to inſiſt on the full execution of the treaty of Peronne. He was aſſured that, by the adoption of theſe meaſures, he would be enabled to impoſe ſuch terms as he might chuſe to preſcribe; that the time was favourable for the accompliſhment of his plans; that the counts of Foix and Armagnac were only waiting for a proper opportunity to declare themſelves; that the duke of Bourbon's loyalty was of a doubtful complexion, and that nothing would be more eaſy than to gain the conſtable. That nothing might be left unnoticed which could tend to irritate the duke of Burgundy, Balue gave him an account of all the attacks

which the king made on his honour, affirming, that not a day paſſed but Lewis reproached him with the commiſſion of ſome groſs fault, or ſome flagrant crime.

The meſſenger was conducted to Amboiſe, where the court then reſided, and the letters were delivered to Lewis, the violence of whoſe indignation may be conceived from the nature of the offence. The two miniſters were immediately ſummoned to attend him, and they accordingly made their appearance with an air of confidence, that guilt, from long habit and impunity, is too apt to aſſume. But all their impudence forſook them as ſoon as the proofs of their crime were exhibited to their ſight. The culprits were firſt taken to Tours, and from thence were conveyed to the caſtle of Montbazon, where they were committed to the care of John d'Eſtouteville, lord of Torcy. All ſuch as were ſuſpected of being accomplices in their crime, or as were ſuppoſed to be able to throw any light on the ſubject, were likewiſe apprehended. Commiſſioners, preſided by the chancellor, were appointed to try them. The biſhop of Verdun, in the hope of moving the king to mercy, confeſſed his guilt; but cardinal Balue perſiſted for ſome time in his denial of the crimes that were laid to his charge, but finding the proofs too ſtrong to be reſiſted, he at length conſented to make a confeſſion, on condition that he ſhould obtain a pardon. This the king promiſed, but without any intention of keeping his word.

Balue acknowledged, that all the letters and memorials which had been intercepted, were written by him. His wretched ambition had led him to break through all ties of honour and honeſty, in order to maintain the credit he had acquired. By him the duke of Burgundy had been informed of all the ſecrets of government; he had adopted every plan which his ſagacity could deviſe for perpetuating the diſputes between prince Charles and his brother, for encreaſing the hatred which ſubſiſted between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and for extending the power of the latter, in order to render his own ſervices neceſſary to Lewis, and by that means to ſecure his continuance in office. He had encouraged the king to attend the fatal interview at Peronne, in order that the enmity between the two princes might become irreconcileable. He foreſaw the conſequences of that interview[44], and he drew up the diſhonourable treaty to which it gave riſe. He, too, was the man who adviſed the duke of Burgundy to accept the king's propoſal to accompany him to Liege, and to make him adhere to it, in order that he might aſſiſt in the deſtruction of his own allies.

Crimes of this magnitude were certainly deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment, but the interference of the pope ſaved the lives of the culprits, who were confined in two iron cages, eight feet ſquare[45], which they had themſelves invented. After a captivity of twelve years they both

44 Villaret.

45 One of theſe iron cages which has preſerved the appellation of *Cage Balue*, is ſtill to be ſeen at the caſtle of Loches. Theſe horrid places of confinement were much in vogue, during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. That monarch cauſed a vaulted dungeon to be conſtructed at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, immediately under his own ſtudy, ſo that

obtained

obtained their liberty, and the cardinal was even reinſtated in the biſhoprick of Angers, and in ſome other of his church preferments.

Soon after the detection of this plot, the king concluded the negociation with his brother, who, at length, was prevailed on to accept the duchy of Guienne, and to reſign all pretenſions to the more important provinces of Champagne and Brie. But before prince Charles left Brittany, he ſigned a private treaty with the duke, of which the king received immediate information, although he concealed his knowledge of it.

The two brothers were ſo miſtruſtful of each other's integrity, that precautions the moſt extraordinary were deemed requiſite to provide againſt the machinations of treachery and fraud. *The croſs of Saint Lo*, a ſacred relic, holden in the higheſt eſtimation, and to which the ſuperſtitious terrors of the age had attached the power of inflicting death, within the year, on any one who, after having invoked it to ſanction an oath, ſhould be guilty of perjury, was conveyed, with great ſolemnity, by two prieſts, from Angers to the epiſcopal palace at Xaintes; where the duke of Guienne ſwore by it, in the preſence of the count of Dammartin, and others of the French nobility, *never to make, himſelf, nor to conſent to the making by others, any attempt on the liberty or life of his brother, king Lewis*[46]: he farther engaged never to liſten to any propoſal concerning his marriage with the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, without the expreſs and *free* conſent of his brother. Lewis, by impoſing this laſt condition on Charles, exacted from that prince a degree of ſubmiſſion, which, when dauphin, he himſelf had refuſed to pay to his father; though, it is certain, that the conſequences to be dreaded from ſuch an alliance juſtified his interpoſition, in the preſent inſtance.

After this agreement had taken place, the king propoſed an interview with his brother; for which purpoſe he cauſed a bridge to be conſtructed over the river Bron, near the caſtle of Charon; in the center whereof a lofty barrier was erected, with a grated window. Thither the king repaired, attended only by the duke of Bourbon; the lord of Bueil; Charles de Cruſſol, ſeneſchal of Poitou, and nine other perſons, all unarmed. His guard conſiſted only of four Scotch archers, without their bows and quivers. The reſt of his troops, to the number of four thouſand, were ſtationed at the diſtance of a mile from the bridge: the retinue of prince Charles was equally ſlender; he was welcomed, by Lewis, with profeſſions of eſteem and fraternal affection, but all his ſolicitations for permiſſion to paſs the barrier, were firmly rejected by the ſuſpicious monarch. The next day, however, they had a ſecond interview, in which none of thoſe precautions were obſerved. It paſſed, like the firſt, in abject ſupplications for pardon, on the one ſide, and the warmeſt teſtimonies of friendſhip and attachment on the other.

he could diſtinctly hear the groans and complaints of the wretched priſoners. This dreadful abode of miſery was provided with an iron door, and the aperture for the admiſſion of light and air was extremely ſmall. The dungeon ſubſiſted ſo late as the middle of the preſent century. *Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France.*

[46] Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 342.

Prince Charles now viſited his new appanage, and could not forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the limits which his brother had aſſigned to the duchy of Guienne; he found himſelf ſurrounded, on all ſides, by ſtrong fortreſſes, which, though properly belonging to the province, the king had reſerved for himſelf; the towns which had been ceded to him had, after the expulſion of the Engliſh, obtained ſuch conſiderable privileges, that the revenue of the duchy was reduced almoſt to nothing; Lewis, too, had taken from the prince the direct homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret, who had always holden immediately of the dukes of Guienne. By this new arrangement, the prince was deprived of his moſt powerful vaſſals, and his revenues were rendered inſufficient for the proper ſupport of his rank and conſequence, ſo that he was wholly expoſed to the mercy of the king, who might, whenever he choſe, deſpoil him of his appanage.

The complaints preferred by the prince, on this occaſion, greatly embarraſſed the king, who was determined to make no conceſſion which might prove a ſource of anxiety to himſelf, and who yet perceived the neceſſity of ſatisfying his brother[47]. In order to accompliſh this object, he conferred ſome farther favours on Charles, which, while they wore an appearance of liberality, could not fail to render odious the perſon who received them, ſince he muſt infallibly be ſuſpected of having ſolicited them. Lewis ceded to his brother the county of Soule, and the town of Mauleon, which were in poſſeſſion of the count of Foix; the diſtricts of Verdun and Riviere, with the county of Gaure, which he detached from the province of Languedoc; the ſovereignty of the counties of Eſtrac, Perdriac, and Bigorre; and, in order to increaſe the duke's revenue, he revoked the privileges which had been granted to the different towns in Guienne, and reſigned them to him in the ſame ſtate, in which they were under the domination of the Engliſh. In return for theſe conceſſions, he exacted from his brother a formal renunciation not only of all his pretenſions to the Limouſin, Angoumois, and Poitou, but likewiſe to the homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret; promiſing, at the ſame time, that if his future conduct was ſuch as he ſhould approve, he might depend on feeling, in a ſtill more extenſive degree, the effects of his liberality. The young prince, moved by theſe ſpecious profeſſions, promiſed all he deſired, and ſeemed reſolved to deſerve his confidence and eſteem.

But the principal difficulty was yet to be removed; Lewis had no male child; his brother, who was preſumptive heir to the throne, was of a proper age to be married, and the malecontents had urged him to caſt his eyes on the only daughter of the duke of Burgundy. From this, however, he had been deterred, by the interpoſition of Lewis, who now flattered him with the proſpect of obtaining the crown of Caſtile[48]. Henry the Impotent, the preſent king of Caſtile, had only one daughter, whoſe title to the crown no one could have diſputed, if the legitimacy of her birth had not been expoſed to ſerious doubts. It was reported, that Henry, who had, by exceſs of debauchery, deſtroyed his own powers of generation, anxious to have an

[47] Hiſtoire de Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſſette—Preuves des Memoires de Commines.
[48] Manuſcr. de Le Grand—Ferreras, Hiſtory of Spain.

heir,

heir, had introduced one of his favourites into the queen's bed, and that the princeſs Jane was the offspring of that infamous connection. This report obtained ſuch general credit, that the ſtates of the kingdom made no ſcruple, even during the king's life, to declare his ſiſter Iſabella ſole heireſs to the crown of Caſtile. From that moment the hand of Iſabella was eagerly courted by various princes; but Ferdinand, only ſon to the king of Arragon, was preferred to the reſt by the princeſs and her partizans; though her brother Henry ſpared no pains to prevent an union with a prince, who, he feared, might become a too formidable neighbour. Affairs were in this ſituation, when Lewis ſent the cardinal of Albi to Madrid, to propoſe the marriage of the duke of Guienne with one of the two princeſſes. He had orders firſt to aſk the hand of Iſabella, but if his ſuit were rejected, to conclude an alliance with Jane; only exacting from her father a promiſe, that he would publicly acknowledge her for his daughter and heireſs. Henry liſtened to the ambaſſador's propoſals, without betraying any diſpleaſure at the preference that was given to his ſiſter over his daughter; and he permitted the cardinal to apply to Iſabella for her conſent to the marriage. That princeſs, however, who had retired to Madrigal, where her partizans were aſſembled, not only rejected the propoſals of the French ambaſſador, but, in diſobedience to the orders of her brother, celebrated her marriage with Ferdinand. The cardinal then proceeded, in compliance with his inſtructions, to demand the hand of Jane, and to exact from Henry a public acknowledgment of her legitimacy; with which demands the Caſtilian monarch chearfully complied.

This embaſſy alarmed the enemies of Lewis; and the duke of Burgundy, aware of the importance of interrupting that harmony which ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the two brothers, preſſed the duke of Guienne to accept the hand of his daughter, though he by no means intended to beſtow it on him[49]. Lewis, who had ſpies in all the neighbouring courts, was ſoon apprized of the duke of Burgundy's intentions; and as he knew the mind of his brother to be weak and irreſolute, he immediately diſpatched de Bueil, du Bouchage, and Doriole to remonſtrate with him on the impropriety of confiding in the promiſes of a prince who, under the ſpecious maſk of friendſhip, endeavoured to diſmember the monarchy, and probably hoped to get poſſeſſion of the throne. Soon after this, the count of Saint Paul, brother to the conſtable, and the lord of Remiremont, arrived at the court of the duke of Guienne, as ambaſſadors from the duke of Burgundy. They complimented the prince on the acquiſition of his new appanage, and enquired whether the king had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty of Peronne; they then complained of certain reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of their maſter, accuſing him of having been deſirous to ſecure the king's perſon for a time, in order to have a favourable opportunity for deſtroying his brother. They obſerved, that the duke's conduct ſet him too far above imputations of that nature, to permit him to believe that he ſtood in need of juſtification; all his actions tended to demonſtrate, that he had ever had the intereſts of the prince, his ally, more at heart than his own; and in order to prove, they ſaid, the warmth of

[49] Manuſcr. de le Grand—Cabinet de Louis XI.

his

his friendſhip, in a manner more unequivocal, their maſter had ſent him the order of the Golden Fleece, with an offer of his daughter's hand, and the liberty of fixing the terms on which their alliance ſhould be contracted.

The duke of Guienne, after he had privately conferred with his brother's ambaſſadors, on the ſubject of theſe propoſals, replied to the count of Saint Paul and the lord of Remiremont, that he was highly obliged to his couſin, the duke of Burgundy, for this new mark of attention; that having met with nothing that ſuited him in the different treaties which had been made for ſettling his appanage, he had accepted the duchy of Guienne, where he lived contented; that the reports of which the duke complained had never reached his ears, and, he was convinced, they were wholly undeſerving of attention; that having been honoured by his brother with the collar of the order of Saint Michael, he neither would nor could wear any other; that he was fully ſenſible of the advantages of the propoſed alliance, but that he could not contract an engagement of that nature without the king's conſent; that he was reſolved, in future, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies; and not doubting that the duke of Burgundy entertained the ſame ſentiments, he ſhould certainly preſerve his friendſhip for him.

This anſwer, ſo far from being ſatisfactory in itſelf, was followed by a circumſtance, which ſeemed to promiſe an open rupture: the duke of Guienne, when the Burgundian ambaſſadors took their leave, neglected to make them the uſual preſents. Lewis triumphed at this circumſtance, and his joy encreaſed when he learnt that his brother was coming to pay him a friendly viſit. The queen, the ducheſs of Bourbon and her daughter, with every perſon of diſtinction then at court, went forth to meet the duke; the king loaded him with careſſes, and during the whole time that he remained at court, Lewis paid all the expences of his houſehold, and made conſiderable preſents to his officers; Garnier remarks [50], that he did not even forget *his waſherwoman*, to whom he gave fifty crowns. Perhaps ſhe was handſome, and might therefore be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſome influence over the mind of her maſter.

In the midſt of amuſements, Lewis never loſt ſight of buſineſs; he now reſolved to profit by the favourable diſpoſition of his brother, to intereſt him in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſovereign authority, in the ſouthern provinces [51]. Gaſcony was, at this time, divided between ſeveral potent vaſſals, whoſe ſituation, at the extremity of the kingdom, joined to the calamities of former reigns, had rendered them almoſt independent of the crown. At the head of the moſt ſeditious of theſe were the princes of Armagnac. John the Fifth, chief of this illuſtrious houſe, the moſt ancient in Europe, had excited the public indignation by revolting againſt his ſovereign; by his marriage with his own ſiſter, and by the depredations and other acts of violence which he continually committed on his neighbours; he kept a ſtanding army, and being unable to ſupport them by other means, he ſuffered them to commit what devaſtations they choſe on

[50] Hiſtoire de France, tom xvii, p. 361 [51] Manuſcr. de le Grand—Hiſt. de Languedoc, par Naiſſatte.

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the ſurrounding country. While the king was in confinement at Peronne, he had ſecretly endeavoured to perſuade the Engliſh monarch to attempt the recovery of Guienne, offering to admit him into all the towns in his poſſeſſion, and to join the Engliſh with fifteen thouſand diſciplined troops; but having failed in his efforts to ſtimulate Edward to this enterprize, he had maintained a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate, and fomented new diſorders in the interior parts of the kingdom. Lewis, apprized of theſe attempts, but unable, at the time, to apply an effectual remedy, offered the count ten thouſand livres to diſmiſs his troops. The count took the money, but kept his men. This conduct rouſed the king's reſentment, and he had now an additional cauſe for anxiety; he was afraid that the count of Armagnac, notwithſtanding the precautions he had taken to prevent him, would have art enough to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the duke of Guienne, by chuſing him for his Lord Paramount, and would, by that means, ſooner or later, excite him to revolt. Lewis, while he carefully concealed this laſt ſubject of apprehenſion from his brother, repreſented to him of what conſequence it was to the good order and tranquillity of the ſtate, not to ſuffer ſuch attempts to paſs with impunity; and, for the purpoſe of engaging him to ſecond his views, he promiſed to augment his appanage with the ſpoils of the culprit. He then ſent the count of Dammartin, with a ſtrong body of forces, to execute his orders, after inveſting him with more ample powers than ever were entruſted by a monarch to a ſubject. Dammartin was authorized to receive informations againſt the rebel and all his accomplices; to confiſcate their property; to prohibit the count of Foix, the lord of Albret, and the duke of Nemours, from raiſing troops, in future, without an expreſs commiſſion from the king: in ſhort, he was empowered to diſpoſe, at his pleaſure, of the eſtates and effects of the parties accuſed; to puniſh, pardon, or reward. The king promiſed to ratify all the proceedings of his general.

At the approach of a formidable army, commanded by an experienced captain, the count of Armagnac loſt his courage, and only thought of providing for his own perſonal ſafety, by retiring into the territories of his ally, the king of Arragon. The garriſons and inhabitants of the different towns, finding themſelves forſaken, only reſiſted long enough to ſecure their pardon and the preſervation of their privileges, ſo that Lewis, in a very ſhort time, and without bloodſhed, obtained poſſeſſion of the whole country.

By the count of Armagnac's precipitate flight, the duke of Nemours was left to ſuſtain the whole weight of the monarch's reſentment. This nobleman, ſon to Bernard d'Armagnac, governor to Lewis, had been brought up with the king, and was long honoured with his favour: he had even been created duke and peer of France, an honour which was, in thoſe days, confined to the princes of the blood. But theſe marks of friendſhip having proved inſufficient to ſecure his attachment, he had ſtood forward as one of the moſt zealous promoters of the league for the public good. Surrounded in the Bourbonnois, and reduced to the neceſſity of negociating with the king, he had ſworn, on the croſs of Charlemagne, to obſerve an inviolable fidelity towards him; yet, in violation of his oath, he had joined the army of the confederated princes at the ſiege of Paris; and at the councils, which were holden under the

walls

walls of the capital, he had ever adviſed the rejection of all moderate meaſures. Compelled to acquieſce in the treaty which put an end to that conteſt, he had again ſworn, on the Crown of Thorns, and all the ſacred relics contained in the royal chapel, that nothing ſhould, in future, induce him to ſwerve from his attachment to the king; and that, ſhould he ever be apprized of any plot againſt his ſacred perſon, he would inſtantly reveal it: this oath was no better obſerved than the former. The duke had been an accomplice in all the acts of violence committed by the count of Armagnac, the head of his houſe; and Lewis, enraged at ſuch repeated inſtances of perfidy, had cauſed him to be declared guilty of high-treaſon, and publickly proclaimed a traitor. Dammartin now advanced with his troops in order to enforce this ſentence, while Nemours, juſtly alarmed at his ſituation, employed the protection of thoſe very men who had been ſent to puniſh him. He was allied to the houſe of Bourbon; three of whoſe members, Gilbert de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvergne; Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; and the Baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France, were with the royal army: theſe powerful friends, who were joined by the count of Dammartin, ſucceeded in their efforts to appeaſe the king's indignation; but while Lewis pardoned the paſt offences of the duke, all poſſible care was taken to deprive him of the ability to renew them.

It was ſtipulated, that if at any future period he ſhould violate the oath that was now exacted from him, he ſhould be liable to be tried even for the crimes for which he had received a pardon; that he ſhould not avail himſelf of his privilege as a peer, but muſt conſent to be tried as a private individual; that his lands and lordſhips ſhould be confiſcated, and irrevocably united to the crown; and, that all his officers, both civil and military, ſhould ſwear to obey him no longer than he himſelf ſhould continue to pay proper obedience to his ſovereign. Farther to enſure his fidelity, the king placed a garriſon of his own in moſt of his fortreſſes, which the duke was compelled to maintain. While Dammartin was employed in reducing to obedience the refractory vaſſals of the crown, the king ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed againſt the fugitive count of Armagnac, who was accordingly convicted of high treaſon, and all his property confiſcated; but Lewis, faithleſs to his word, diſtributed his eſtates among the principal officers who had ſerved in the expedition, and only aſſigned to the duke of Guienne the ſtrong fortreſs of Lectoure.

This ſtroke of authority, at a time when the king was ſuppoſed to be rendered incapable of any exertion of vigour, excited the moſt ſerious alarms at the court of Brittany[32]. That province was expoſed, from its ſituation, to the danger of a ſudden invaſion, ſimilar to that which had juſt completed the ruin of the houſe of Armagnac; the duke, therefore, haſtened to adopt ſuch meaſures as he deemed neceſſary for his own defence. He ſtrengthened the fortifications of his towns; he applied for aſſiſtance to England; he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy; and he endeavoured to communicate a portion of his own anxiety to all the neigh-

[32] Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.

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bouring powers. In fact, Lewis would certainly have treated him with as little ceremony as the count of Armagnac, had the reduction of Brittany been a matter of equal facility with the confiscation of that nobleman's territories; but that not being the case, he resolved to humble the prince he could not subdue. As some pretext, however, was necessary for attacking him, he had recourse to an expedient which no one but himself could have devised; this was, to send the duke the order of Saint-Michael (which Lewis had lately instituted): if he accepted it, he must bind himself to the king by new oaths, the execution of which he would immediately be called on to fulfil; and if he refused it, his refusal would be construed into an affront, for which the king would demand satisfaction. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to Brittany with the insidious offer: the duke, extremely surprized, suffered some petulant expression to escape him; but, on cool reflection, he rejected the proffered mark of distinction with firmness and respect: alledging, as the motive of his refusal, that his unwillingness to contract an obligation, with the extent whereof he was unacquainted, had induced him to submit the statutes of the order of Saint-Michael to the examination of his council, who had found several of the articles—which he specified—to be incompatible with his rank and privileges.

Lewis did not stop to discuss the validity of these objections, but immediately caused a report to be propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English; and having collected the troops of the neighbouring provinces, he advanced to the frontiers of Brittany. The duke, perceiving his intentions, prepared to defend himself, and claimed the assistance of his allies. The duke of Guienne represented to the king, that after the engagements he had contracted with the duke of Brittany, he could not abandon him without covering himself with shame; he, therefore, exhorted him not to interrupt the harmony which prevailed in every part of his dominions, but to terminate, by a treaty, any disputes which might have arisen between him and the duke. This was all Lewis desired; the French and Breton plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Angers, where a treaty was concluded, by which the duke of Brittany formally renounced every alliance which could tend to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Lewis insisted that all the Breton nobility should guarantee the treaty, in the hope of alluring some of them to enter into his service. Among those who took this step was the viscount of Rohan, a young nobleman of the most promising abilities, who was afterwards so much distinguished under the appellation of mareschal de Gié.

A. D. 1470.] Three days after the conclusion of the treaty of Angers, the duke of Brittany concluded another treaty, at Etampes, with the duke of Burgundy[53]. Lewis, however, felt no anxiety on this account, as he flattered himself that he had effectually secured the attachment of the lord of Lescun, who governed Brittany, while the duke passed his time in amorous dalliance with his fair mistress, Antoinette de Magnelais.

[53] Preuves de l'Histoire de Brétagne.

The duke of Burgundy, however, continued to watch with attention all the motions of Lewis; and that monarch, when he aſſembled his troops to attack the duke of Brittany, having ſummoned ſeveral Burgundian nobles to ſerve in perſon in his army, under pain of loſing the fiefs which they enjoyed in France, Charles took that opportunity to ſend an embaſſy to the French court. His ambaſſadors, Crequi, Carondelet, and Murin, complained of the conduct of the king's officers, in demanding the perſonal attendance of the Burgundian nobility, as a manifeſt violation of the treaty of Peronne; and of the attack made by the king on the duke of Brittany, who was in ſuch ſtrict alliance with the duke their maſter, that their cauſe was the ſame. The king, they ſaid, could not plead ignorance of that alliance, ſince he had himſelf approved and confirmed it by the treaty of Peronne. On theſe two points, therefore, they demanded immediate and complete ſatisfaction.

Lewis, having heard their complaints, immediately diſpatched Guy Pot, bailiff of Vermandois; William de Courcillon, and James Fournier, with his anſwer to the duke. On their arrival at the Burgundian court, they declared to Charles, that on a report being propagated of a projected invaſion of Normandy by the Engliſh, the king had iſſued the uſual orders to his vaſſals, without either ſpecifying or excepting any perſon whatever; that, nevertheleſs, it had not been his intention to moleſt the ſubjects of the duke; and that he had juſt given the moſt poſitive orders to prevent any ſuch moleſtation.

"As to what has paſſed in Brittany," ſaid the ambaſſador, "the king cannot conceive what "objections you can ſtart to his conduct. Has he injured the duke in any manner? Has he "even threatened him? The duke alarmed himſelf without reaſon; he was, probably, diſcon-"tented with ſome of the clauſes of the treaty of Ancenis, and therefore beſought the king to "conclude a new treaty. How did his majeſty act on the occaſion? Although he knows that "the duke is his ſubject; and that, after all, he is neither one of the firſt princes of the blood, "nor one of the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown, yet he condeſcended to comply with "his requeſts, and to give him this new mark of his friendſhip. The treaty was concluded "at Angers, where every point was ſettled by mutual conſent.

"After having thus anſwered your complaints," purſued the ambaſſador, "permit the king "to aſk you, in his turn, What he ought to think of the warmth with which you eſpouſe the "quarrels of the duke of Brittany? What relation have the duchies of Burgundy and Brit-"tany to each other? On what is this ſtrange union founded, and what can be its object? "The king himſelf, you ſay, acknowledged its validity, by ſigning the treaty of Conflans: you "certainly know, that the king entered a proteſt again that treaty, which he declared null and "abuſive, as being the work of violence and rebellion. If, notwithſtanding its invalidity, the "king has ſtill inviolably fulfilled every article which relates to yourſelf, you muſt regard his con-"duct, in this reſpect, as a flattering diſtinction, for which you ought to hold yourſelf "obliged to him; but which cannot, by any means, authoriſe you to demand its obſervance in "every point. Let us ſuppoſe, however, for a moment, that this treaty exiſts in full force, and

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" has not been affected by ſubſequent treaties; what advantage can you expect to derive from " it? Though the duke of Brittany and yourſelf engaged mutually to aſſiſt each other, yet " both of you ſwore allegiance and obedience to the king, your ſovereign. Which of the two " oaths ought to be moſt reſpected? One is only an arbitrary convention, ſubordinate to a " firſt engagement; while the other is a ſacred duty, contracted at your birth, not to be diſ- " penſed with on any account, not to be limited by any other convention; a duty, in ſhort, " inherent in the domain, in the rank, in the perſon. The nearer a ſubject is placed to the " throne, by his birth and dignities, the ſtronger are the engagements which he contracts " with his ſovereign; and what man in France has engagements of more importance than the " duke of Burgundy, a prince of the blood, and firſt peer of the realm?

" Recollect your origin, prince, and the titles on which your greatneſs is founded, and you " will then feel more ſenſibly the whole extent of your duties: the air which you breathe, the " rank which you enjoy, the power to which you have attained—you are indebted for them all " to the monarchs of France. King John conferred the duchy of Burgundy on the founder " of your family: Charles the Wiſe obtained for him the heireſs of Flanders; and in order to " facilitate the marriage, he generouſly ceded to him the towns of Douai, Lille, and Orchies. " Yet, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the dukes of Burgundy would never have maintain- " ed the dignity to which they had been exalted, had not Charles the Sixth gone in perſon to " ſubdue the Flemiſh rebels, and to re-eſtabliſh your grandfather in the poſſeſſion of his do- " minions. Services of ſuch importance cannot be ſo ſoon effaced from your memory; but, " were it neceſſary to recal them to your mind, and to adduce the moſt authentic proofs in " ſupport of our aſſertions, we need only to refer to the archives of the chamber of accompts " at Paris, where thoſe proofs have been carefully preſerved. But, in reminding you, prince, " of the benefactions of his anceſtors, the king has no intention of reproaching you: on the " contrary, he is ready to confer freſh favours on you, whenever, from a due attention to your " real intereſts, you ſhall convince the French, that you have not forgotten who you are, nor " from whom you are deſcended."

As ſoon as the ambaſſador had concluded his ſpeech, Hugonet, bailiff of Charolois, began a methodical reply; but the duke, tired with his prolixity, interrupted him, and finiſhed the anſwer himſelf. " The king," ſaid Charles, " reminds me that I am of the blood of France: is " not the duke of Brittany, then, whoſe deſtruction he has reſolved on, of the ſame blood? He " declares, that he has entered a proteſt againſt the treaty of Peronne; as if the faith of trea- " ties could be annulled by ſuch vain formalities. He has, doubtleſs, forgotten that precious " maxim of one of his anceſtors—*That, though good faith were baniſhed from the reſt of the* " *earth, ſhe ought ſtill to retain her habitation in the breaſt of princes.*" He adds, " That I " owe him loyalty and obedience; but do the titles he has aſſumed give him the right to excite " my ſubjects to revolt, and to take under his protection all the criminals in my dominions? " He relates the ſervices which his anceſtors have rendered to mine; but does he then make " no account of the ſervices of equal importance which mine have rendered to his? Ser-

" Services by which they acquired, and deſerved the fortune which they have tranſmitted to me, " and of which he now wiſhes to diſpoſſeſs me. Will he dare deny, that he has opened his " dominions to the perfidious Liegeois, and aſſigned them an eſtabliſhment on the frontiers of " my provinces? How many of them are now reſident in the county of Rhetel? Let him, " therefore, no longer hope to deceive me by artful ſpeeches, and deceitful profeſſions: the duke " of Brittany is my ally; and I will defend him!"

From ſuch warm remonſtrances on both ſides, the moſt ſerious conſequences were to be apprehended; but Lewis, who had already ſacrificed ſo much to obtain a peace, was reſolved not to engage in a war, unleſs with a certainty of conſiderable advantage. Fortune ſoon furniſhed him with ſuch an opportunity, and it came from a quarter whence he had leaſt reaſon to expect it.

Richard Nevile, the famous earl of Warwick, whoſe valour and popularity had ſo eminently contributed to the depoſition of his lawful ſovereign, and the elevation of his rival, the uſurper Edward, to the throne of England, being diſguſted with the conduct of the latter, had recently deſerted his cauſe, and was now labouring to deſtroy that very fabric which he had lately taken ſuch pains to erect. In the proſecution of this plan he was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the duke of Clarence, (Edward's brother) who had married his eldeſt daughter, and who was highly diſcontented with the king for the decided preference which he gave to the queen's relations over his own. On the twenty-fourth of March, (1470) the Engliſh monarch publiſhed a long declaration at York, ſummoning his brother and Warwick to appear before him on the twenty-eighth, to anſwer to the charges which had been exhibited againſt them; and, as they did not chuſe to obey the citation, a ſecond declaration was publiſhed at Nottingham, on the thirty-firſt of March, proclaiming them rebels and traitors, offering rewards for apprehending them; and prohibiting all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, from aſſiſting them and their adherents[54].

Clarence and Warwick, unable to reſiſt the ſuperior forces of Edward, were compelled to leave the kingdom; and having effected their eſcape to Dartmouth, they there embarked for Calais, of which Warwick was governor. The deputy-governor, to whom the earl had entruſted the command of the place during his abſence, was one Vauclair, a Gaſcon, who ſeeing Warwick return in the deplorable ſtate of an exile, refuſed him admittance, and would not even ſuffer the ducheſs of Clarence to land, though ſhe had been taken in labour, and delivered of a ſon, on ſhip-board. With difficulty was permiſſion extorted from him to carry two flaſks of wine to the veſſel for her uſe; but as he was a man of ſagacity, he deemed it prudent to make a ſecret apology to Warwick, whom he aſſured, that his conduct was entirely influenced by motives of perſonal regard and zeal for his ſervice. He ſaid, that the fortreſs

[54] Claus. 10. Edw. IV. apud Carte, p. 780.

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was ill-ſupplied with proviſions; that he could place no reliance on the fidelity of the garriſon; that the inhabitants, deriving their principal means of ſubſiſtence from their commercial intercourſe with England, would certainly declare for the eſtabliſhed government; that the place, in its preſent ſituation, was unable to reſiſt the attacks of the duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and thoſe of England on the other; and that, by ſeeming to preſerve his loyalty to Edward, he ſhould acquire the confidence of that prince, and ſtill keep it in his power, when a proper opportunity ſhould occur, to reſtore Calais to its ancient maſter. Whatever were the real intentions of Vauclair, his conduct was ſo highly approved both by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a penſion of one thouſand crowns; on which he took a ſolemn oath to remain faithful to the king, and to reſiſt every ſolicitation that could tempt him to ſwerve from his duty[55].

It is uncertain whether Warwick was ſatisfied with the apology of Vauclair, or ſuſpected him to be guilty of a double infidelity; but he ſeemed to be entirely convinced by his arguments; and, having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels, which he found lying off Calais, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Normandy, and arrived at Honfleur on the ſecond of May.

Lewis, alarmed at the cloſe connection of Edward with his two inveterate enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received with tranſport the only man who was then capable of effecting a revolution in England. He could have wiſhed, indeed, that inſtead of diſembarking at the mouth of the Seine, Warwick had retired to the leſs-frequented ports of Cherbourg and Grandville, which belonged to the Baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France; for, foreſeeing the complaints and reproaches to which the protection afforded to the earl would neceſſarily give riſe, he was anxious to have it in his power to ſay, that that protection was probably the conſequence of a private aſſociation, and confraternity of arms between the admiral and Warwick; an aſſociation, authorized by the laws of chivalry, and of which the ſovereign ought not to take cognizance. He, therefore, ordered Dupleſſis Bouré to engage Warwick to proceed to the ports of Lower Normandy, under pretext that he would there be leſs expoſed to the obſervations of the conſtable, who acted as a ſpy to the duke of Burgundy[56].

The predictions of Lewis were ſpeedily verified, by the receipt of a letter from the duke of Burgundy, who, at the ſame time, wrote to the parliament, and to the citizens of Rouen, to demand reſtitution of the prizes which had been made on his ſubjects, and to complain of the protection accorded to his enemy, the earl of Warwick. This letter, from a ſovereign prince to a ſubject town, may appear extraordinary; but it muſt be remembered, that, in thoſe times, the municipal towns bore a ſtrong reſemblance to ſmall republics, ſubordinate to the ſame monarchy. They raiſed taxes for their own uſe; had land and ſea forces, which they had the right to employ in revenging their own quarrels; and ſome of them even concluded commer-

[55] Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 188, 189. [56] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

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cial treaties, and treaties of alliance, with foreign powers[57]. The citizens of Rouen, after they had acquainted the king with the contents of the duke's letters, replied, that it was not their province to take cognizance of any diſputes which might have ariſen between the earl of Warwick and the duke of Burgundy; that they were convinced the king, their ſovereign, would do nothing contrary to ſubſiſting treaties; that it was a matter of public notoriety, that the Burgundian veſſels, which had been taken by the earl, had been afterward re-taken by the Engliſh fleet, and reſtored to their true owners, ſo that they could not poſſibly, as the duke, deceived probably by falſe reports, had repreſented, have been expoſed to public ſale. Charles, diſſatisfied with this anſwer, wrote to them a ſecond time, obſerving, that it appeared ſtrange to him, that the citizens of Rouen ſhould be ſo well acquainted with what paſſed at ſea between Warwick and the Engliſh fleet, and yet be ſo ignorant of what was actually paſſing under their eyes on the river Seine, where three large Burgundian veſſels were then laying; that, if any opinion might be formed of the future by the paſt, it was clear that Warwick would be careful not to offend his good friends in England, and would ſeek to make himſelf amends for ſuch reſtraint, by attacking the Flemiſh; but that, with the aid of God, he would put a ſtop to his depredations, and would neither ſpare his enemy, nor thoſe who ſhould give him aſſiſtance.

In proportion as the duke's warmth and impetuoſity encreaſed in this buſineſs, the greater appearance of moderation and impartiality did Lewis affect. He told the Burgundian envoys, who had been ſent to claim the prizes, that the demand was a juſt one; but that, in an affair of which he was wholly ignorant, he could not poſſibly diſpenſe with the obſervance of the uſual forms of juſtice; he, therefore, referred them to the judges of the admiralty, who, being apprized of his intentions, contrived, by various expedients, to prolong the cauſe, and, at laſt, came to no deciſive reſolution. Meanwhile, a number of French privateers ſecretly joined Warwick's ſquadron, and daily made freſh captures. The duke, who ſaw the drift of this conduct, wrote the following laconic epiſtle to the Baſtard of Bourbon, and the archbiſhop of Narbonne, who were at the head of the admiralty.

"Archbiſhop, and you, admiral—the ſhips which you tell me have been equipped by the "king for the purpoſe of cruiſing againſt the Engliſh, have already attacked the veſſels of my "ſubjects on their return to my dominions; but, by St. George, if an immediate ſtop be not "put to ſuch proceedings, I will myſelf—with the aid of God—ſupply the remedy, without "your permiſſion or your reaſons, or your forms of juſtice, for they are too arbitrary, and "too long. CHARLES."

The duke ſoon put his threats in execution; and, without any other declaration of war, ſeized and confiſcated all the goods belonging to the French, throughout the whole extent of his dominions; and, on a vague report that the admiral of France was watching an opportu-

[57] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

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nity to ſet fire to the Flemiſh fleet, in the ports of Holland, he ordered all his officers to get their ſhips in immediate readineſs, to form a junction with the combined fleets of England and Brittany, and to attack Warwick wherever they might find him. On the receipt of this news, Lewis became ſenſible, that his perfidious conduct would no longer be tolerated, and that he muſt either diſmiſs Warwick, or ſubmit to have the coaſt of Normandy inſulted by the three combined ſquadrons; but before he parted from the earl, he reſolved to bind him more forcibly to his intereſts; hoping, through his means, to overturn the eſtabliſhed government of England, and to effect the reſtoration of the exiled houſe of Lancaſter. The animoſity which had ever ſubſiſted between that unfortunate family and this powerful earl was ſo inveterate, as ſcarcely to allow a hope that a reconciliation could ever take place. The father of Warwick had been executed by orders from Margaret of Anjou; he had himſelf twice reduced Henry to a ſtate of captivity; had promoted the baniſhment of the queen; had put to death all her moſt zealous partizans, either in the field or on the ſcaffold; and, in ſhort, had drawn down ſuch calamities on her houſe, as no future ſervices could, in appearance, poſſibly compenſate. For this reaſon, when Warwick had firſt adopted the reſolution of depoſing Edward, he had no intention of reſtoring his rival to the throne; but meant to confer the regal dignity on his own ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence. Of this deſign he was accuſed by Edward, in his long declaration, publiſhed at York; and it had obtained univerſal credit with the people of England. Finding, however, that his project was ill-received, and would be equally oppoſed by the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, he was now reduced to the neceſſity of adopting the plan propoſed by Lewis, which was, to effect the reſtoration of king Henry. To render this more palatable to Warwick, and to reconcile him, in ſome meaſure, to that flagrant contradiction of principles which his conduct muſt neceſſarily diſplay to the world, it was propoſed, that the adminiſtration of government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould be entruſted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that the prince of Wales ſhould eſpouſe the lady Anne, Warwick's ſecond daughter, and that the crown, in failure of male iſſue from that prince, ſhould deſcend, at his death, to the duke of Clarence, to the total excluſion of Edward and his poſterity.

When theſe arrangements were fixed, meſſengers were ſent to conduct queen Margaret, and her ſon Edward, from their obſcure reſidence in Lorraine, to the court of France. An union of intereſts ſuperinduced an union of ſentiments in the queen and Warwick, which effectually ſtifled all emotions of hatred. Margaret willingly acceded to the terms propoſed; the marriage of the prince of Wales with the lady Anna Neville was celebrated, to the apparent ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned in this unexpected alliance; a treaty, offenſive and defenſive was concluded between young Edward, in the name of his father, and Lewis, which was to remain in force *till the total deſtruction of the houſe of Burgundy ſhould be effected*[38]; and the whole was confirmed, on either ſide, by the moſt ſolemn oaths.

[38] Garnier.

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The joy which Lewis experienced on the ſucceſs of his project, was greatly encreaſed by the birth of a ſon, who afterwards ſucceeded to the throne, under the appellation of Charles the Eighth. As the king had long been extremly anxious for this event, he had made a vow, in caſe it ſhould occur, to offer up, at the ſhrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, the image of a child, compoſed of ſolid ſilver, and in weight equal to the weight of his ſon, when he ſhould have attained his eleventh year. He accordingly appropriated the ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns of gold for that purpoſe.

As ſoon as the rejoicings that took place on this occaſion were over, the king, under pretext of performing a pilgrimage to Saint Michael's Mount, went into Normandy, in order to ſuperintend the embarkation of Warwick, and to be ready to provide a remedy for any accident that might occur. On his return to the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, his uſual place of reſidence, he addreſſed a circular letter to all the principal towns in the kingdom, commanding each of them to ſend him two of their beſt-informed merchants, whom he wiſhed to conſult on the intereſts of commerce. When theſe deputies were aſſembled, he explained to them the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, and the riſks they muſt run by continuing to repair to the dominions of a prince who had juſt confiſcated, in violation of every principle of juſtice, all the merchandize belonging to the French; he then expatiated on the advantages to be derived from his alliance with England, and concluded by aſking their advice. In conſequence of the deciſions of this aſſembly, he forbade all future intercourſe between his ſubjects and thoſe of the duke of Burgundy; and in order to repair, as much as poſſible, the loſſes which the merchants and others would ſuſtain, from ceaſing to frequent the fairs at Antwerp, he eſtabliſhed two *free* fairs in the city of Caen, where all foreign coins were to paſs; and, for the purpoſe of inducing foreigners to attend theſe fairs, he renounced, in their favour, the *Droit d'Aubaine*, and accorded them the privileges of natives.

The king of England, meanwhile, ſecure in the imaginary inability of Warwick to diſturb his government, had diſbanded his army, and reſigned himſelf wholly to the enjoyment of thoſe ſenſual pleaſures, to which he was ſo much addicted. Even the frequent warnings of the duke of Burgundy, who apprized him of the ſtorm that was gathering[59], were inadequate to rouze him from this dangerous ſtate of ſecurity. A vain confidence in his own proweſs, and in the affections of his ſubjects, had rendered him incapable of ſound reflection, and induced him to declare, that he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied could he once ſee Warwick ſet foot on Engliſh ground.

Edward had not long to wait for this deſired ſatisfaction; Warwick landed at Dartmouth on the thirteenth of September, where he was joined by ſuch numbers of his adherents, that in a few days he was at the head of a formidable army. The Engliſh monarch was then in the

[59] Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 193.

north

north of England, when he received the news of Warwick's deſcent; and ſo far was he from being diſcouraged at this event, that he ſent a meſſage to the duke of Burgundy, whoſe fleet was then at ſea, to keep a ſtrict watch, that he might prevent the earl's eſcape. A few days, however, proved ſufficient to convince him, that his expectations were vain as his confidence was groundleſs. His camp was betrayed, in the vicinity of Nottingham, by the ſecret adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, and the partizans of Warwick; and Edward himſelf, with difficulty, effected his eſcape to the coaſt of Norfolk, where he put to ſea on the third of October.

But Edward's danger did not ceaſe with his embarkation. The Eaſterlings, or Hanſe-Towns, were then at war both with France and England; and ſome of their ſhips hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, eſpied the king's veſſels, gave chace to them, and had nearly overtaken them, when they were ſo fortunate as to enter, in ſafety, the port of Alcmaer in Frieſland. He had fled from England with ſuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could beſtow on the captain of the veſſel that brought him over, was a robe lined with ſable, and the promiſe of an ample recompence, if fortune ſhould ever become propitious to him.

The unexpected arrival of Edward greatly embarraſſed the duke of Burgundy, who heſitated, for ſome time, whether he ſhould afford protection to the fugitive monarch, or abandon him to his fate. There were ſtrong arguments to be offered on both ſides of this queſtion. During the bloody wars between the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter, Charles had long eſpouſed the cauſe of the latter, from which he was himſelf deſcended by his mother's ſide. At his court, the wretched remains of the Lancaſtrian party found a refuge. "I have ſeen them in ſuch great "poverty," ſays Philip de Commines, "before the ſaid duke *(of Burgundy)* knew they were "there, that thoſe who aſk alms are not ſo poor; for I have ſeen a duke of Cheſter walking "without ſhoes, in the train of the ſaid duke, begging his bread from houſe to houſe, without making himſelf known." The hope of acquiring the ability to keep France in awe, and to repel the inſidious machinations of her unprincipled monarch, had induced the duke of Burgundy to court the alliance of the victorious party. He had married Edward's ſiſter, and though he did not withdraw his protection from the Lancaſtrian fugitives, he had neglected no meaſure which could tend to conciliate the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch. He had recently accepted the order of the Garter, and, ſo long as fortune continued to ſmile on Edward, Charles, from policy, though not from inclination, had remained firmly attached to him; the caſe was now different, that prince was in a perilous ſituation, and it was even poſſible that he might involve, in his own ruin, whoever ſhould attempt to afford him protection. Flanders, the richeſt province in the dominions of Charles, was indebted for its opulence and its exceſſive population to its numerous manufactures, the raw materials for which were imported from England: if Charles ſhould come to an open rupture with that kingdom, he was aware that the commerce carried on by his Flemiſh ſubjects muſt experience an interruption, and in that caſe it was much to be apprehended, that that turbulent people, already diſcontented with the loſs of a part of their privileges, would ſecretly favour the inſidious intrigues of Lewis, and

eagerly embrace ſuch an opportunity for revolt. To what dangers muſt Charles have been expoſed, if, while his frontiers were attacked by the combined forces of England and France, he ſhould likewiſe have the enmity of his own ſubjects to encounter? All theſe conſiderations urged him not to receive Edward. On the other hand, his mind revolted at the idea of reſigning to his evil fortune a ſuppliant prince, his kinſman and ally; nor was he wholly without his fears, that ſuch an ungenerous mode of proceeding might even prove prejudicial to his intereſt. Warwick was his perſonal enemy, and a forced reconciliation appeared to be almoſt equally dangerous with an avowed enmity. In this delicate conjuncture, the duke ſteered a middle courſe, which, though on great occaſions, it ſeldom proves ſucceſsful, and generally, indeed, is the expedient of a weak mind, anſwered his purpoſe. He received Edward in private, and, in public, affected to eſpouſe the victorious party; he ſent Commines to Vauclair, the governor of Calais, whoſe time-ſerving diſpoſition had now led him to declare for Warwick, to repreſent, that the alliance which ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Burgundians was of a nature not to be broken by a change of ſovereigns; that it was an alliance between the two nations, and had for its excluſive object the intereſts of commerce; that the Burgundians were indifferent whether Edward or Henry ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, and they would not interfere in revolutions which only affected the private fortune of a monarch. Charles likewiſe addreſſed a letter to the people of England, with this ſingular ſuperſcription, *To you my friends*[61], in which he repeated the ſame arguments, adding, that being himſelf deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, he had never failed to intereſt himſelf deeply in every thing which affected the fortunes of that family; that the moſt diſtinguiſhed chiefs of the party were ſtill at his court; and that his only object in contracting an alliance with the oppoſite party, was to favour and confirm the commercial intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two nations.

Lewis, during theſe tranſactions, had not remained inactive; he had concluded a new alliance with the Swiſs; he had diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Henry the Sixth, who had been recently taken from priſon, and replaced on the throne, and procured that monarch's ratification of the treaty which had been ſigned, in his name, by Warwick and young Edward; he cauſed the greateſt honours to be paid to that prince and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, and had made preparations for ſending them to England, to the aſſiſtance of a monarch, too feeble of himſelf to direct the helm of ſtate: nor was he leſs attentive to domeſtic arrangements; the utmoſt efforts of his policy were requiſite to fix the wavering mind of his brother; to repreſs the attempts of the duke of Brittany, his rival's avowed partizan; to ſecure the attachment of the duke of Bourbon, and of the princes of the houſe of Anjou, who dreaded any augmentation of the ſovereign power; and, finally, to inſpire the nation with a deſire of renewing the war, ſo that, whatever might be the event, he ſhould himſelf be exempt from reproach.

Hitherto the king had ſtrictly forbidden all obſervations and ſtrictures on the treaty of

[61] Phil. de Commines.

Peronne,

Peronne, but he now began to cauſe writings to be circulated, in which the perfidy of the duke of Burgundy, and the treachery of cardinal Balue, were cenſured in the ſtrongeſt terms. The parliament of Paris, who had evinced the greateſt repugnance at regiſtering the treaty, ſeized, with avidity, the opportunity which now occurred for violating its conditions: they encouraged appeals from the Flemiſh tribunals, and ſent one of their officers to Flanders, with citations to ſome of the duke's ſubjects to appear at Paris; Charles very properly threw the officer into priſon, as well as one of the preſidents of the parliament of Paris, who had been ſent to receive informations, while ſuch of the Flemings as had appealed to the parliament were executed as traitors to their country. Theſe acts of violence were highly pleaſing to Lewis, as he imagined they would furniſh him with a pretext for reproaching his rival with being the cauſe of the rupture he meditated. The diſtricts of Vimieu, Foulois, and Beauvois, had been ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Peronne, ſubject to the obligation of homage; and as Charles had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe diſtricts without complying with the ſtipulated condition, which, indeed, he had never been called on to fulfil, the parliament declared that he had forfeited all right to them, and, accordingly, ſent two of their members to take poſſeſſion of them.

Haraſſed by theſe attempts, Charles wrote to the king and to the parliament; but finding his remonſtrances treated with contempt, he ſummoned the king of Sicily and the duke of Brittany, either to enforce the obſervance of the treaty of Peronne, which they had guaranteed, or to declare in his favour, according to the engagement which they had contracted. Lewis, on his ſide, immediately ſent envoys into Brittany, with orders, after concerting meaſures with the lord of Leſcun, to repreſent to the duke, that while the king was ſtudious to fulfil, with the utmoſt punctuality, all the terms of the treaty of Peronne, Charles had not yet done homage for the territories which had been ceded to him; that he had even neglected to procure the ſignatures of the Burgundian nobles, who were to have guaranteed the treaty; that, without any previous declaration of war, he had confiſcated all the merchandize belonging to the French merchants, throughout his dominions; that he had recently impriſoned two officers of the parliament of Paris; that he had accepted the order of the Garter, and had, conſequently, declared himſelf the knight of an Engliſh monarch; and, finally, that he afforded protection to Edward, the uſurper of the Engliſh throne, and the avowed enemy of the houſe of Lancaſter. The envoys required, that the duke of Brittany, as a vaſſal of the crown, ſhould join his arms to the king's, in order to compel Charles to give full ſatisfaction for all theſe offences.

Though the charges exhibited by the king againſt the duke of Burgundy were all of them falſe, frivolous, or miſrepreſented, they nevertheleſs threw the duke of Brittany into the greateſt embarraſſment. His inclination prompted him to an immediate declaration in favour of Charles, his friend and ally; but ſome prudential conſiderations led him to reject all precipitate meaſures, and to act with more than uſual moderation. For more than a century, the dukes of Brittany had been chiefly indebted for the ſupport of their power and independence, to the aſſiſtance which they derived from England, and from their alliance with the dukes of Burgundy; but

Francis the Second now found himſelf in a ſituation, in which he had nothing to expect from the Engliſh, but to ſee his coaſts inſulted by their ſquadrons, while the armies of France forced an entrance into the heart of his dominions. He had no forces to oppoſe to ſuch a powerful combination, and the duke of Burgundy was too much embarraſſed with his own affairs, to afford him that ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance which his circumſtances ſeemed to require. Reduced to this dilemma, Francis reſolved to temporize; he determined to deceive the king, by appearing to declare in his favour, and by actually endeavouring to give him a temporary advantage over his rival, with the view to bring them both, imperceptibly, as it were, to liſten to ſuch terms as would occaſion much future embarraſſment to Lewis, at the ſame time that they would ſecure, from regal encroachments, all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. This he meant to effect, by renewing the propoſal for a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the heireſs of Burgundy: the repugnance of Charles to that connexion was well known, but it was ſuppoſed, that in his preſent embarraſſed ſituation he would rather liſten to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt than the dictates of inclination[61]. The duke of Guienne, who, ſince the birth of a dauphin, had no longer the ſame motives for wiſhing to inſinuate himſelf into the king's good graces, was extremely anxious for the alliance. The French princes and nobles, who held penſions, places, or domains under the crown, and who only expected to be favoured by the king ſo long as their ſervices ſhould be neceſſary to him, were ſtudious to alarm his fears, and to increaſe his inquietude. The principal author and ſecret contriver of this intrigue, was the famous conſtable de Saint Paul, a man of genius, deep, artful, and deſigning, who having more to loſe or to hope for than the reſt of the nobility, was always careful to ſupply matter for diſſention between Charles and Lewis: brother-in-law to the king, firſt officer of the crown; an able politician, and an intrepid warrior; he poſſeſſed greater conſequence than any ſubject in the realm. His credit at the Burgundian court, where he had alſo enjoyed places of the higheſt importance, was equally great; his ſons and his brother ſtill commanded the troops of Charles; and as he was himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes on the confines of either territory, he hoped to derive from the troubles which he ſought to promote, a conſiderable augmentation of fortune, and the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate. After he had exhauſted all the arts of perſuaſion to obtain the duke of Burgundy's conſent to a marriage, which he repreſented as the only poſſible ſecurity for public freedom, he had recourſe to more powerful means; and ſeeking to make Lewis the inſtrument of his deſigns, he urged the neceſſity of profiting by a conjuncture, which might never more occur, when England and France were about to unite their forces, for humbling a proud prince, who threatened the monarchy with a total ſubverſion; and the better to remove the king's miſtruſt, and to fix his irreſolution, he promiſed not only to put him in poſſeſſion of the towns on the Somme, but to make all Flanders, and the principal towns in Brabant, riſe in his favour.

Lewis, with all his boaſted penetration, was unable to pierce this myſtery; he lent a favour-

[61] Commines—Manuſ. de le Grand.

able

able ear to the ſolicitations of the conſtable, and engaged in a war, with the ſecret motives for which he was totally unacquainted. Already were his troops advancing towards the confines of Picardy, while a great number of emiſſaries were ſent into Burgundy and Flanders, to corrupt the fidelity of the officers and citizens, when a ſcruple occurred to the mind of Lewis, and retarded his operations. The treaty of Peronne had been regiſtered, without any reſtriction, in the ſovereign courts, and guaranteed by all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. Whether Lewis was afraid to break, of his own authority, an act which had thus become, in a certain degree, a national act, or whether, from the uncertainty of his ſucceſs in the war, in which he was about to engage, he was unwilling to take the conſequence upon himſelf; he convened an aſſembly of the notables at Tours. Before this aſſembly, the duke of Burgundy's conduct, both previous to, and after the treaty of Peronne, was ſet forth; the king's impriſonment, in violation of a promiſe confirmed by an oath; the odious conditions ſtipulated for his releaſe; the rights of the crown openly violated; the French merchants deſpoiled of their effects; the officers of juſtice thrown into confinement; hoſtilities committed on the coaſt of Normandy, without any previous declaration of war; and the order of the Garter accepted from the hands of the moſt formidable enemy to the French nation. To theſe complaints, which were preferred in the king's name, the count of Eu, the laſt deſcendant of the houſe of Artois, added another of a more private nature; he ſaid, that the duke of Burgundy unjuſtly held from him the town of Saint Valeri, which conſtituted a part of his lawful inheritance, becauſe he had refuſed to take an unconditional oath of allegiance to him. After hearing theſe charges, this proſtituted aſſembly, without any inveſtigation of their merits, and, indeed, with a certain knowledge that many of them were falſe, and others, far from being criminal, were perfectly juſtifiable, declared the duke of Burgundy to be duly *convicted of high treaſon*[62], and referred all farther proceedings, in this cauſe, to the parliament of Paris. The parliament ſent one of their bailiffs to cite the duke to appear before them, but Charles threw the man into priſon, and after keeping him ſome days in confinement, diſmiſſed him without an anſwer. Although the duke was now fully aware of the king's deſigns, he did not expect to be attacked before ſpring, and had, therefore, as the winter was already far advanced, diſmiſſed his troops. But he was extremely ſurprized to learn, from a private meſſenger, diſpatched to him by the duke of Bourbon, that he had not a moment to loſe, as the royal army had actually marched, and his ſubjects were ripe for a revolt. He was alſo informed, that ſome traitors had been ſuborned to make an attempt on his life; and this information was ſoon confirmed by the ſudden evaſion of the duke's natural brother Baldwin, who eſcaped to the court of France, where Lewis aſſigned him a ſplendid eſtabliſhment, in reward of his infamous conduct[63].

Charles immediately iſſued the neceſſary orders for re-aſſembling his troops; and, in the mean time, he advanced, at the head of five hundred horſe to the frontiers of Picardy. Here he had the mortification to learn, that the town of Saint-Quentin had opened its gates to the

[62] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 423. [63] Meyer—Manuſ. de le Grand.

conſtable

conſtable of France[64]; enraged at the news, he ſent a herald to ſummon the conſtable, as his ſubject, to repair to his army, and on a refuſal, couched in terms of inſolence, he confiſcated all his eſtates in Picardy and Artois. The conſtable revenged himſelf on his own children, who were in the duke's ſervice, by ſeizing all the lands they poſſeſſed in France.

A. D. 1471.] Roye was the next town which, through the perfidy of its governor, the lord of Poix, ſurrendered to the French arms[65]; and Amiens ſoon followed its example. Charles, after the loſs of this laſt place, no longer thinking himſelf in ſafety at Dourlens, retired to Arras, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops. As the enemy had already paſſed his frontiers in Picardy and Burgundy, he was aware of the danger to which he ſhould be expoſed, if, while he was oppoſing the French in thoſe quarters with all his forces, the Engliſh ſhould make an attack either on Flanders or Holland. In order, therefore, to avert that danger, he reſolved to find them employment at home, and, if poſſible, to promote a ſecond revolution in England.

Edward, who, ſince his flight, had hitherto reſided in Holland, after his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Burgundy, had in vain ſolicited her huſband to take ſome deciſive ſteps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which his preſent apprehenſions induced him willingly to grant. At this conference, Edward repreſented that delays muſt prove extremely prejudicial to his intereſts, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forſake his cauſe, while the power of his enemy Warwick would daily receive confirmation and ſtrength: that the duke, therefore, ought either to afford him ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to inforce this remonſtrance, he imparted to Charles a ſecret engagement which his brother Clarence had contracted with him; he reminded him of the oath which he himſelf had taken to aſſiſt him, ſhould he ever ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; and he deſired him to conſider, that, by aiding him in his diſtreſs, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal ſupport, and, at the ſame time, reap the glory of having reſtored a near relation to his throne. He ſolemnly promiſed to unite with him, in oppoſition to France, as ſoon as he ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in his regal dignity; and remarked, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto obſerved, could be productive of no poſſible advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the earl of Warwick from adopting ſuch meaſures as would be equally deſtructive to his power and repoſe. This expoſtulation was not fruitleſs; the duke of Burgundy, though ſtill afraid to furniſh Warwick with a plauſible pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient, which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the riſk of a rupture with England. He cauſed four large veſſels to be equipped, in the names of ſome private merchants, at the free port of Terveer in Zealand; to

[64] Commines—Chron. Scandal—Manuſ. de le Grand.
[65] Preuves de Commines, No. 165—St. Hermite de Soliers.

which

which he added fourteen ſhips, ſecretly hired from the Eaſterlings, or Hanſe-Towns[66]. This ſquadron, together with a ſum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately ſet ſail for England, on the eleventh of March (1471), with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly compoſed of Engliſh fugitives, and partly of Flemiſh. No ſooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all his ſubjects from affording him aſſiſtance, under the ſevereſt penalties. He then haſtened to place himſelf at the head of his army, which was now aſſembled, and amounted to eighty thouſand fighting men.

In the French army, commanded by the king himſelf, were the young duke of Lorraine; the lord of Leſcun, with a body of Breton nobles; and the duke of Guienne, who, in the belief that the war had been undertaken on his account, had thought his preſence neceſſary to accelerate its concluſion. This laſt prince, during the march, diſpatched a private meſſenger to the duke of Burgundy, with theſe words written with his own hand, and incloſed in a ball of wax:—*Take care to ſatisfy your ſubjects, and be under no uneaſineſs, for you will find friends.* Charles could not miſtake the meaning of this meſſage, as he knew what was required of him; the conſtable, with whom he was apparently reconciled, inceſſantly urged him to avert the ſtorm which threatened him, by giving his conſent to his daughter's marriage with the king's brother, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that all the French nobility only waited for that event to abandon the king, and form a freſh union more durable than that which had ſhaken the throne during the war for the public good. The duke of Brittany had entered into the conſtable's views, and in order to ſuperinduce the compliance of Charles, he exaggerated the danger of his ſituation; ſent him word, by a meſſenger, that the king maintained a correſpondence with the citizens of Antwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles; and that he had even determined to beſiege the city of Ghent, where the duke then was. But Charles ordered the meſſenger to tell his maſter that he was miſinformed, and that he (the duke) was then on his road to paſs the Somme, and offer the king battle.

In fact, after various feints, he ſuddenly attacked Pequigni, a well-fortified town, which commanded a bridge on the Somme. The place was taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword, were made priſoners; the citadel, after a ſiege of three days, was likewiſe reduced[67]. Charles, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this firſt attempt, made his whole army paſs the Somme, and continuing his march towards Amiens, fixed his camp between that city and the royal army. Never did he prove the juſtice of the epithet *raſh*, which had been beſtowed on him, better than at preſent; his anxiety to bring Lewis to action made him forget that, by thus leading his whole force beyond the Somme, he left his dominions open to the excurſions of the garriſons of Amiens and Saint-Quentin; rendered the approach of con-

[66] Phil. de Commines, tom. i. 206. [67] Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.

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voys a matter of extreme difficulty, and expoſed his troops to the danger of periſhing by famine. This ſingle error decided the fate of the campaign, and might, poſſibly, have effected the total ruin of Charles, had he had an enemy to encounter leſs miſtruſtful, and leſs cautious, than Lewis. The conſtable, the mareſchal de Rohault, and the lord of Cruſſol, left Saint-Quentin, pillaged the rich province of Artois, and returned, laden with booty. Dammartin ſallied forth from Amiens to attack a large convoy, which he diſperſed, and conducted ſixty waggons into the town, laden with all kinds of ammunition; frequent ſkirmiſhes occurred, in which the Burgundians were generally defeated; one, however, of a different deſcription took place, in which the French, under the conduct of Dammartin, were worſted, and that nobleman with difficulty ſaved his life.

The diſadvantageous poſt which the duke of Burgundy had inconſiderately choſen between the royal camp, and a garriſon ſo numerous as that of Amiens, made moſt of the French officers urgent with the king to accept the battle, which Charles daily offered; this was particularly the advice of Dammartin, the moſt experienced general of the age, who offered to make a ſally with his garriſon, and attack the enemy in the rear, while Lewis engaged them in front. This project had ſo many partizans, that Lewis could not refuſe to aſſemble a council of war, in order to deliberate thereon. De Beuil, who was the firſt that was called upon for his opinion, obſerved, that having never ſerved with ſo large an army, he had not learned in what manner the manœuvres of ſuch a cumbrous maſs were to be regulated; that the French and Engliſh armies, which had ſignalized themſelves by ſuch famous exploits in the preceding reign, had ſeldom exceeded ten thouſand men, and bore no reſemblance to "that horrid multitude "which was now aſſembled, and which might, with greater propriety, be termed a people than "an army;" that he could not foreſee what would be the event of a battle, but he was ſtill leſs able to conceive by what means diſorder and confuſion would be avoided. Dammartin repreſented, that the enemy would be expoſed to the ſame inconvenience, ſince they were equally numerous, and not ſo well diſciplined; he obſerved, that, in order to avoid all partiality, it would be proper for every man to deliver his opinion in writing. This advice was adopted, and it was determined, by a majority of voices, to bring the enemy to battle; but when they came to regulate the plan and order of attack, the diſpute was renewed, and the council ſeparated without coming to any concluſion. Lewis, who had only aſſembled a council of war, out of deference to thoſe who had propoſed to fight, and who had no ſerious intention of expoſing himſelf to the riſk of an action, was highly pleaſed with this difference of opinion. He perſiſted in his firſt deſign, continuing to haraſs the enemy, by intercepting their convoys, and confining his own troops within fortified camps, where he could not be compelled to engage againſt his will. Plenty reigned in his camp, as well as in his walled towns; while the Burgundians were expoſed to all the horrors of famine, and their numbers daily diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe. The uneaſineſs which Charles experienced on this account, was greatly encreaſed by the intelligence which he received from Burgundy: the troops which he had left for the defence of that duchy, had been defeated in ſeveral rencontres with the French, who were

were commanded by the dauphin of Auvergne, and the mareſchal of Comminges; and the whole province was now expoſed to the deſtructive excurſions of the enemy, without the ſmalleſt proſpect of relief. Charles carefully concealed this news from his army, whom he amuſed with fictitious accounts of imaginary victories; but, ſenſible that the diſſipation of this error, which could not long be avoided, would only render the truth more dreadful, he was compelled to have recourſe to a meaſure, which, though his haughty diſpoſition could ill brook it, neceſſity enforced. He condeſcended to ſolicit a truce, and, in order to enſure a compliance with his requeſt, he ſent word to Lewis, that he was ſurprized a prince ſo wiſe as himſelf ſhould have engaged in a war, of the true motives whereof he was ignorant; but, that he was willing to communicate to him the particulars of an intrigue, which would equally excite his diſpleaſure and aſtoniſhment: the duke then entered into an explanation of ſeveral circumſtances relating to the plan of the French nobles, and concluded by aſking him, whether, after what he had heard, he meant to drive him to extremities? Lewis was mortified and aſhamed at having become a dupe to his brother, and repented of his conduct in having haſtily engaged in an enterprize, whence, he now conceived, that nothing but diſgrace could enſue. His natural proneneſs to ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, made him exaggerate the danger of his preſent ſituation; he loſt ſight of his enemy, though reduced to a ſtate of humiliation, and to the neceſſity of ſuing for a favour, to think only of the perils to which he had been expoſed, and with which he was ſtill threatened. It occurred to his mind, that Edward, after he had triumphed over his enemies in England, might ſeek to recover Normandy; that the duke of Burgundy, conſulting his real intereſts, might accede to the wiſhes of the duke of Guienne, and his partizans; and, that they might all join in a confederacy to deſpoil him of his authority, and, perhaps, of his rank. On the other hand, he could not but perceive, that Charles had only applied for a truce, in order to extricate himſelf from a perilous ſituation, and to put himſelf in a condition to renew the war with greater advantage; but the danger, from this quarter, was diſtant, whereas the other was urgent; it was neceſſary to come to a deciſion, and Lewis conceived that the beſt thing he could do, under the preſent circumſtances, was to comply with the duke's requeſt for a truce, which was accordingly concluded, on the twelfth of May, for one year; and the allies of either party were allowed three months to conſider whether they choſe to accede to it or not[68].

This truce was equally diſapproved by ſuch of the king's ſubjects as had remained faithful to him, and by thoſe whoſe profeſſions of attachment had only ſerved as a maſk for their treachery. As they were all ignorant of the real motives which had led him to adopt a meaſure ſo contrary, in appearance, to the true intereſts of the ſtate, they aſcribed it to others, which neither did honour to his underſtanding, nor to his

[68] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 445—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 462.

courage. The Pariſians ſtuck up papers in the metropolis, in which they inveighed, moſt bitterly, againſt the king's councillors; while the duke of Brittany, unable to conceal the contempt with which the conduct of Lewis had inſpired him, publicly ſtigmatized him with the ignominious appellation of *The Royal Coward*. The duke of Burgundy was, perhaps, the only one who did him juſtice, but he remained ſilent on the ſubject, and was, indeed, ſo humbled at the ſtep he had been compelled, through his own imprudence, to take, that he ſhut himſelf up for ſome time in his tent. Lewis, not thinking it prudent to develope the myſtery, diſmiſſed his troops, and took the road to Tours. He paſſed through the metropolis, and being apprized of the general diſcontent of the Pariſians, he viſited the principal citizens, and, by diſplaying that affability of manners which he ſo well knew how to aſſume, endeavoured to quiet their murmurs. On his arrival in Touraine he received intelligence of the new revolution which had juſt taken place in England.

Edward, after an ineffectual attempt on the coaſt of Norfolk, had landed, not without oppoſition, at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Finding no inclination in the people to receive him, he publicly declared, that he had relinquiſhed all thoughts of the crown, and came only to recover the eſtates of his family. At York, he could not gain admiſſion till he had taken a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intention to claim the crown, an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral[69]. But this perjured uſurper no ſooner found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to throw off the maſk, than he avowed the true object of his enterprize, and aſſumed the title which he had ſolemnly renounced.

The ſubjects of Henry and the friends of Warwick were alike infected with the general ſpirit of perfidy which ſo ſtrongly marked theſe degenerate times: Warwick's brother, the archbiſhop of York, facilitated the entrance of Edward into London, and delivered his ſovereign into the hands of an implacable rival. At Barnet, the two armies met, but the defection of the duke of Clarence, joined to ſome other untoward and unforeſeen circumſtances, proved fatal to the earl of Warwick, who, after a deſperate action, in which he diſplayed his uſual intrepidity, ſuſtained a total defeat, and periſhed in the field. With him periſhed the hopes of his party. Margaret, the illuſtrious and unhappy conſort of Henry, ſtill deſtined to be the ſport of fortune, had landed at Weymouth, on the evening of this fatal day. Buoyed up as ſhe was with the flattering hopes of being reſtored to the ſplendour of royalty, and to thoſe domeſtic comforts, and that mental felicity, to which ſhe had ſo long been a ſtranger, when apprized of the fatal events which had juſt taken place, all her wonted fortitude forſook her; ſhe ſunk ſenſeleſs on the floor, and remained ſpeechleſs and inanimate for a conſiderable time.

[69] Hollingſhed, p. 102.

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When ſhe revived, yielding to the dictates of deſpair, ſhe took refuge in a ſanctuary, with the deſign to effect her eſcape into France. But on being joined by many of the Lancaſtrian nobles, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend, to the utmoſt, the ruins of her fallen fortunes. At Tewkeſbury, however, her hopes were finally deſtroyed; her troops, through the impetuoſity of the duke of Somerſet, were defeated, and ſhe and her only ſon, the prince of Wales, fell into the hands of the victor. Edward, whoſe ſoul was a ſtranger to every virtuous impulſe, whoſe mind never afforded even a momentary reſidence to any principle of honour, threw Margaret into the Tower, where her wretched huſband was already confined, and cauſed her ſon to be murdered in his preſence. Perjury and aſſaſſination were never neglected by this inhuman prince, when they could tend either to the gratification of his revenge, or his ambition. The death of Henry was all that was now wanting to quiet his apprehenſions and confirm his power; and that monarch was, accordingly, found dead in his apartments in the Tower, in little more than a month after the battle of Tewkeſbury.

This revolution in England was the means of producing another in the fortune and condition of the French princes. The duke of Burgundy, who, during the late campaign, had acted chiefly on the defenſive, was now preparing for a renewal of hoſtilities on a more extenſive plan; while Lewis, who had then profited by his alliance with Henry and Warwick, to keep the duke of Brittany in awe, finding himſelf without allies, and perceiving the number of his enemies daily encreaſe, now renounced all ſchemes of conqueſt, and only thought of diſconcerting the projects of his adverſaries.

Although the unexpected concluſion of a truce had deranged the plans of thoſe who were anxious to promote a marriage between the duke of Guienne and Mary of Burgundy, yet it did not make them deſpair of finally accompliſhing the object of their wiſhes[70]. They flattered themſelves that the humiliating ſituation to which Charles had been reduced, would convince him of the neceſſity of ſecuring allies; and, in this hope, they renewed their ſolicitations, and preſſed him, with greater earneſtneſs than before, to comply with the general wiſh of the nobility, and to cement, by a marriage ſo univerſally deſired, a confederacy, of which he himſelf muſt inevitably reap the principal advantages. Thus urged, Charles evinced a diſpoſition to favour their deſigns, though nothing, in fact, was farther from his thoughts. Meanwhile, the duke of Guienne, aſſured of ſucceſs, was no longer ſtudious to preſerve appearances with his brother. In vain did Henry, king of Caſtile, at the inſtigation of Lewis, inſiſt on the celebration of his marriage with his daughter Jane, to whom that prince had been affianced, and urged him to ſhew himſelf to his new ſubjects; the duke, who had only conſented to that alliance the better to deceive his brother, poſitively refuſed to fulfil the engagement

[70] Commines—Godefroi—Le Grand.

which had been contracted in his name. He liſtened only to thoſe who talked to him of his intended connection with the princeſs Mary, which he thought ſo far ſettled, that he ſent the biſhop of Montauban to Rome, to ſolicit the neceſſary diſpenſation from the pope.

Lewis had ſome ſuſpicions of what was going forward, but he was ſtill ignorant of the principal circumſtances of the intrigue, as well as of the names of the parties who were engaged in it; but he obtained, by accident, that information which his utmoſt endeavours had proved inadequate to procure. Oliver le Roux, whom Lewis had ſent to the court of Caſtile, had received orders on his return to ſtop ſome time at the court of the count of Foix, in order to ſound the inclinations of that prince, and, if poſſible, to extort from him ſome uſeful intelligence. It ſo happened, that Le Roux was put into the ſame apartment which had been occupied, but a few days before, by Henry Miles, envoy from the duke of Brittany. In the corner of this chamber he perceived a heap of papers torn in pieces, and being impelled by an irreſiſtible curioſity to read them, he ſucceeded in his attempts to join the different pieces, ſo as to be able to peruſe their contents; and, finding they were diſpatches of importance, he did not fail to communicate them to the king [71]. From one of theſe diſpatches it was diſcovered, that the duke of Guienne and his partizans offered, as the firſt condition of the treaty of alliance, to reſtore to the duke of Burgundy the towns of Saint Quentin, Roye, and Amiens. Another contained the plan of an offenſive league between Charles and Edward, who agreed to divide between them the richeſt provinces in the kingdom; Edward was to take poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, while Charles ſecured Champagne and the iſle of France. Theſe different projects alarmed Lewis, and divided his attention; but what diſturbed him moſt was the fatal marriage of his brother with the heireſs of Burgundy. Having learned that the duke of Guienne had already ſolicited a diſpenſation from the pope, he immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to his holineſs, to requeſt that he would either refuſe it, or, if he had already granted it, that he would inſtantly revoke it; and, in order to ſuperinduce a compliance with his requeſt, he allured the ſovereign pontiff with the proſpect of a revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

While the king was thus endeavouring to attach the pope to his intereſt, he ſent the lord of Bouchage into Guienne, with orders to concert his plans with Beauveau, biſhop of Angers, one of his brother's favourites. This envoy repreſented to the prince, that he would expoſe himſelf to inevitable deſtruction, by violating an oath taken upon the true croſs of Saint Lo; "*The danger attending which violation was ſo great, that he "would infallibly die within the year, which had invariably been the caſe with all thoſe who "had perjured themſelves upon the ſaid croſs* [72]." He then obſerved to the prince, that he

[71] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 453, 454. [72] Idem, p. 457.

ought

ought not to conſider the heireſs of Burgundy as ſuch an advantageous match, for, although the ducheſs had hitherto proved ſterile, it was ſtill poſſible ſhe might give birth to a ſon, in which caſe the young princeſs would have but a very moderate fortune; that he ought not to loſe ſight of his rights to the crown; rights the more important as the king had but one ſon, and he was of a delicate and feeble conſtitution; that it was his intereſt, therefore, to oppoſe, with all his power, the daring enterprizes of the duke of Burgundy; that he could not be ignorant of the calamities which the houſe of Burgundy had brought upon France, in the preceding reigns; that Charles, who inherited the ambition and the hatred of his anceſtors, no longer admitted any bounds to his pretenſions, but viſibly aimed either at ſecuring the throne for himſelf, or, at leaſt, of diſmembering the monarchy; that the king could ſcarcely perſuade himſelf that his brother had any ſerious intentions of forming an alliance with the common enemy; but that, in order totally to diſpel his fears on that head, he ought to baniſh from his preſence all thoſe faithleſs ſervants who only made uſe of his name to frame the moſt dangerous plots: that they had already preſſed the duke of Calabria, the lord of Beaujeu, and the ducheſs of Savoy, to enter into a league againſt the king; that they even talked of recalling the count of Armagnac, who had been formally proſcribed by repeated ſentences of the ſovereign courts; and that ſuch meaſures were, in fact, to be conſidered as real hoſtilities.

The duke of Guienne made no direct anſwer to theſe obſervations; but the lord of Leſcun, to whom he had entruſted the government of his duchy, contrived an effectual expedient for defeating their effects. He propoſed that the prince ſhould marry the younger daughter of the count of Foix, and ſent to aſk the king's conſent to this match, which Lewis was careful not to grant. The count of Foix, independent of the county whence he derived his title, poſſeſſed the county of Bigorre, and the principality of Bearn; his children were heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; he had already married one of his daughters to the duke of Brittany; and if the duke of Guienne had married the other, all thoſe princes might have formed an alliance, which would only have left the monarch a doubtful and precarious authority over a conſiderable part of the kingdom. Unwilling, however, to alienate the affections of a powerful family, and to augment the number of his enemies, he would not openly reject his brother's demand; but wrote to Bouchage, ordering him artfully to elude the propoſal—"*Exert all the five "ſenſes which nature has given you, on this buſineſs,*" ſaid the anxious monarch, "*if you "ſucceed, you will put me in Paradiſe.*"

Apprehenſive leſt, by his rejection of every match that was propoſed to him, it ſhould be imagined he meant always to keep his brother unmarried, an intention that could not fail to appear odious and tyrannical; and no longer daring to preſs his marriage with Jane of Caſtile, becauſe he knew the prince's repugnance to a wife whoſe very birth was an object of diſpute, Lewis, at length, propoſed his eldeſt daughter,

ter, Anne of France, who was already promiſed to Nicholas, duke of Lorraine. To induce his brother to accept this propoſal, he offered to cede to him, on the day of his marriage, Rouergue, Angoumois, the Limouſin, and Poitou; and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a guard of five hundred lances, to be paid out of the royal treaſury. But the duke juſtly concluded that theſe offers were too ſplendid to be ſincere; and as he was aware of the motive which had influenced his brother to make them, he did not condeſcend even to notice them.

After having employed to no purpoſe all the reſources of policy, Lewis, who had now loſt all hopes of either curing his brother's ſuſpicions, or of conquering his obſtinacy, turned his batteries againſt the duke of Burgundy himſelf; but as he was ſenſible that Charles was actuated by ſentiments of hatred and revenge, he was afraid to make any direct overtures, which might perhaps be rejected, and would, in that caſe, certainly be rendered publick by the duke. In order to obviate this inconvenience, he ſent a private perſon to Burgundy, who had orders to tell the duke, as from himſelf, that having had occaſion to viſit the court of France on ſome affairs of his own, he had an opportunity of entering into familiar converſation with the king, when the duke's name having been caſually mentioned, Lewis had appeared to be impreſſed with ſentiments of eſteem and admiration for that prince; that, agreeably ſurprized at finding the monarch thus favourably diſpoſed, he had ventured to tell him that Charles did not entertain a leſs favourable opinion of him, and that he would prefer his friendſhip to that of the princes who had ſo baſely abandoned him in the hour of neceſſity; that this diſcourſe had given the king ſuch pleaſure, that he could not refrain from obſerving that Charles and he were formed to be friends, and that if they had been more ſenſible of their true intereſts, they would have always lived in harmony with each other, and have aggrandiſed themſelves at the expence of their reſpective enemies: that he had drawn up a plan of reconciliation, and that he ſhould already have communicated it to the duke, could he have hoped that it would experience a favourable reception from Charles, but that hitherto he had ſtrong ground for complaining of the unwillingneſs betrayed by that prince to repoſe any degree of confidence in him.

Charles's anſwer, who probably ſaw through this ſhallow artifice, was partly ſerious and partly ironical; he obſerved that theſe fine profeſſions but ill-accorded with the intelligence which he received from other quarters; that the king, if he had any real deſire to become his friend, had it in his power to prove, in a very obvious manner, the ſincerity of his intentions; that he ſhould begin by reſtoring Saint-Quentin, Amiens, and the other places which he had taken from him, in violation of ſubſiſting treaties; and that objects, ſo trifling in their nature, ſhould not be ſuffered to operate as impediments to the deſigns of a prince who had ſuch vaſt projects in contemplation. This anſwer was interſperſed with many popular maxims, and trite obſervations.

Charles

Charles had, at this period, attained the ſummit of proſperity; the diſgrace which he had experienced in the laſt campaign having been productive of more ſolid advantages than he could poſſibly have expected to derive from the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Immediately after the concluſion of the truce, he had convened the ſtates of all the different provinces in his dominions, with the view to convince them that the king had only been induced to attack him in the hope of finding him wholly unprepared for reſiſtance; that he ſhould always be expoſed to the ſame danger, unleſs Burgundy, in imitation of France, ſhould adopt the mode of eſtabliſhing a regular body of troops: he obſerved, that to preclude the poſſibility of being taken by ſurprize, and to ſecure the fortunes of individuals from the ſudden depredations of the enemy, it was only neceſſary to grant an adequate ſupply for paying eight hundred lances, the annual expence whereof might amount to one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. The ſtates accordingly granted the new ſubſidy, without reflecting on the conſequences to which it might lead; they ſoon, however, became ſenſible of the fault they had committed: Charles, whoſe ambition encreaſed in proportion to the means of gratification, doubled and even tripled the ſtipulated number of troops, and encreaſed the original grant of one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns to five hundred thouſand. His court had become the center of political negociations; his alliance was courted by all the neighbouring princes; and the only difficulty he experienced conſiſted in the choice of propoſals, all advantageous in themſelves, but incompatible with each other. The dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the conſtable, and ſeveral other great vaſſals of the crown, urged him to break the truce, and engaged to make the people riſe in his favour: they offered him, as a preliminary to the treaty, the reſtitution of Amiens and Saint Quentin; but they required that the duke ſhould cement the alliance by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Guienne, and by an abſolute renunciation of his plan for introducing the Engliſh into France.

On the other hand, Edward, who ſeemed diſpoſed to enforce his pretenſions to Guienne and Normandy, and who could not hope to ſucceed in his attempts to ſubdue thoſe provinces, without the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, propoſed to divide the kingdom of France between them[73]; but he wiſhed firſt to be aſſured that the duke would not marry his daughter to the king's brother, otherwiſe he declared he would join Lewis in order to prevent an union that muſt prove more fatal to England than to France. The objections of the Engliſh monarch to the projected marriage between the heireſs of Burgundy and the king's brother, were not devoid of foundation: as Lewis had but one ſon, whoſe health was in a doubtful ſtate, the duke of Guienne was ſtill conſidered as heir to the throne; and, on this ſuppoſition, the Engliſh had juſt reaſon to be alarmed at the proſpect of an alliance which muſt one day have united the vaſt poſ-

[73] Garnier.

ſeſſions

ſeſſions of the houſe of Burgundy to the crown of France, for what hopes could they then entertain of recovering Normandy and Guienne?—How could they even expect to keep Calais, the only place which they now poſſeſſed on the continent?

Edward's demand perfectly accorded with the ſecret views of Charles, who had never any intention of giving his daughter to the duke of Guienne; but he knew not what reliance he ought to place on a political connection with a monarch ſo indolent as Edward, and a government ſo unſettled as the Engliſh. Beſides, in that caſe he muſt renounce all alliance with the French princes, and even expect to ſee them join their ſovereign. Theſe being apprized of the obſtacles which Edward oppoſed to their plans, ſent the lord D'Urſé to the duke, to repreſent to him, that they were ſufficiently powerful to make the king accede to whatever conditions they might chooſe to impoſe; that his alliance with Edward would only tend to diſgrace him in the opinion of the nation; and, they finally obſerved, that if he ſeriouſly thought of introducing the Engliſh into France, he could have no regard for the welfare of the kingdom:—This reproach appeared ſo extraordinary to the duke, that he could not refrain from laughter:—"*I have "a greater regard,*" ſaid Charles, "*for the welfare of the kingdom than M. D'Urſé imagines, for inſtead of one king that France now has, I wiſh ſhe had ſix!*"

Lewis, unable to penetrate the ſecret deſigns of the duke of Burgundy, with regard to his daughter's marriage; and ignorant, probably, of the obligations which he had contracted with the king of England, was alſo anxious to open a negociation; not with the intention of concluding any treaty, but merely with the view of amuſing his enemy, and of preventing him, as long as poſſible, from adopting any deciſive meaſure. The anſwer which his obſcure agent had received from Charles, was by no means ſufficient to deter Lewis from the purſuit of his ſcheme; and when he imagined that the duke's curioſity was raiſed to the pitch he wiſhed it to attain, he ſent him the plan of a peace, of which the following were the principal articles: that "*A treaty of confederation and fraternity,*" ſhould be concluded between the king and the duke; that the duke ſhould accept the order of Saint Michael, and the king that of the Golden Fleece; that the dauphin ſhould marry the duke of Burgundy's daughter, and, in caſe any thing ſhould occur to prevent that connection from taking place, that Charles ſhould engage not to give her to the duke of Guienne; that the king ſhould give up the conſtable and the count of Nevers, with all their poſſeſſions, to the duke; in return for which conceſſion the duke ſhould, on his part, equally abandon the dukes of Guienne and Brittany to the king's diſcretion; and, finally, that the king ſhould reſtore to the duke of Burgundy, the towns of Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Roie, and Montdidier.

Of all theſe conditions, the laſt was the only one which Charles was willing to accept; he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure that as a preliminary to the projected treaty, and then to give his ſentiments on the others. With this view he affected to approve

approve the project of reconciliation, and even appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with the king's envoys; but, as he was aware that fear was the only motive which could induce Lewis to court his friendſhip and alliance, he wiſely concluded that by encreaſing his apprehenſions, he ſhould facilitate the concluſion of the treaty; thus, while he continued the negociation, he haſtened to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Ferdinand and Iſabella, the ſovereigns of Caſtile, and with Juan, king of Arragon, father to Ferdinand. This laſt prince declared, that although in his former treaties with France, he had engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in any conteſts which might ariſe between Lewis and Charles, yet he thought himſelf ſufficiently authorized, by the conduct of the king of France, to revoke the promiſe he had made; that, in future, he would, on all occaſions, eſpouſe the quarrels of the duke of Burgundy, who, on his ſide, engaged to conſider the intereſts of Burgundy and Arragon as inſeparable; and both princes agreed to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, but by mutual conſent.

Strengthened by this alliance, the duke of Burgundy immediately iſſued a declaration, which ſet forth that the king, by an infraction of the treaty of Peronne, had incurred the penalty denounced, by a particular article of that treaty, againſt either of the contracting parties, who ſhould be guilty of any violation of its terms; and that, therefore, all the provinces and dominions of the houſe of Burgundy were wholly exempted from the juriſdiction of the French parliament, and from the obligation of homage to the king. In conſequence of this declaration, the duke erected a ſovereign court at Malines, to decide in all caſes of appeal; and forbade his ſubjects, under pain of death, to apply in any caſe whatever to the parliament of Paris.

Lewis, feigning ignorance of this declaration, ſent Peter Doriole, and the lord of Craon, to confer with the duke's miniſters, on the ſubject of the propoſed reconciliation; and theſe envoys had orders to obtain a renewal of the truce which was about to expire, and, at the ſame time, to delay, by every means in their power, the final concluſion of the treaty.

While the king thus fought to amuſe his moſt formidable enemy, he directed his principal attention to Guienne, which he had reſolved immediately to invade. As he wiſhed to employ Tanneguy du Châtel on this ſervice, and was afraid to leave the province of Rouſſillon, of which that nobleman was governor, without ſome experienced general, eſpecially at a time when it was liable to be attacked by all the forces of Arragon, he engaged du Lau to procure, by an offer of twenty-four thouſand crowns, the ceſſion of that government from du Châtel. The offer was accepted; but du Châtel expreſsly ſtipulated that, in caſe he ſhould be compelled, on any account, to leave France, he ſhould be at liberty to retire into Rouſſillon, and to exert the authority of

governor; a precaution which plainly ſhews what little confidence was repoſed in Lewis, even by thoſe whom he honoured with *his* confidence.

All ſuch as were diſcontented with the government, and all the perſonal enemies of Lewis[74], now repaired to Guienne, which was deſtined to become the ſcene of war. They were all received with great cordiality by the duke, who, endeavouring to ſtrengthen his party by the acquiſition of allies, had lately recalled the count of Armagnac, and reſtored to him a part of his former poſſeſſions. The duke of Nemours and the count of Foix ſecretly ſupported his cauſe, and incited the nobility and inhabitants of the principal towns in the neighbouring provinces to riſe in his favour. In ſhort, the duke and his friends appeared firmly reſolved to repel with the utmoſt vigour any attack that might be made by his brother, and even to revenge ſuch an inſult by carrying the war into the heart of his dominions. The determined ſpirit, and the general fermentation which prevailed on this occaſion, were chiefly owing to the indefatigable exertions of the lord of Leſcun, whoſe active genius and intriguing diſpoſition rendered him a worthy opponent of the artful and hypocritical Lewis. This nobleman had endeavoured to incite to an unanimity of ſentiment and action, the courts of Guienne, Brittany, Arragon, Savoy and Burgundy, whoſe united efforts might threaten France with deſtruction on every ſide. But in Guienne, where oppoſition might have been leaſt expected, he experienced contradictions which his utmoſt zeal and abilities were ſcarcely able to overcome. Colette de Jambes, lady of Monſoreau, being jealous of the miniſter's influence and power, had contrived to form a party againſt him, at the head of which was the lord of Malicorne, the duke's principal favourite. This lady, who, if the accounts of contemporary writers may be credited, was, both in mental and perſonal endowments, the moſt accompliſhed woman of the age, had, at a very early period of her life, been married to Lewis d'Amboiſe, Viſcount of Thouars; but, after her huſband's death, ſhe had conceived an attachment for the duke of Guienne, by whom ſhe had two daughters. As the chief object of Leſcun's plan was to procure a wife for the duke, it is not to be wondered at that ſhe ſhould have raiſed up every oppoſition to it in her power; that miniſter, however, ſeemed to acquire freſh zeal from the obſtacles which he had to encounter, and perſevered, in the purſuit of his ſcheme, with aſtoniſhing diligence. Lewis, on his ſide, made his troops advance, and gave his final orders to his generals; Dammartin was to make an irruption into the duchy on the ſide of Gaſcony, Cruſſol on the ſide of Saintonge, and Tanneguy du Châtel on the ſide of Poitou.

74 Comines. Belcar. Hiſt. de Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſſette. Chronic. Scandal. Cabinet de Louis XI. MS. de le Grand.

While

While affairs were in this critical ſituation, and the flames of war were ready to extend from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, while the formidable oppoſition which Lewis had reaſon to expect in Guienne, had diſabled him from putting the other parts of his dominions in a proper ſtate of defence, and while that monarch had juſt cauſe to fear the united attacks of three powerful enemies; an event occurred ſo unexpected and myſterious, that it could not fail to be aſcribed to the infernal machinations of a prince, to whom it was productive of ſuch ſignal advantages. Intelligence was received in the French army that the lady of Monſoreau was at the point of death, and that the duke of Guienne was alſo dangerouſly ill. It has always been believed that they were both poiſoned by eating a peach which had been previouſly prepared for the purpoſe; and that John Faure de Vercors or Verſois, a Benedictine monk, abbot of Saint John d'Angeli; and an officer of the duke's houſhold, named Henry de la Roche, were the authors, or rather the inſtruments employed in the perpetration of this crime. It appears, however, that, immediately after its commiſſion, no ſuſpicions were entertained of them, as the monk continued in favour, and was even appointed one of the executors of the lady of Monſoreau; but, it muſt not be forgotten that he wrote to the king on the ſubject, informing him that his brother had but a few hours to live, as appears from a letter written by Lewis to the count of Dammartin [75].

In proportion as the duke of Guienne grew weaker, his ardour for the accompliſhment of his plans encreaſed: he diſpatched couriers to his allies; put his towns and fortreſſes in a proper ſtate of defence, and iſſued orders for the immediate collection of his troops in every part of his appanage. Fearful of being abandoned at this critical period, he exacted a new oath of allegiance from his officers, by which they bound themſelves to ſerve him againſt all men, not excepting the king. Many of them, however, ſenſible of his approaching end, refuſed to take the oath, and haſtened to make their peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1472.] The king, who only wanted to gain time, ſent freſh ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy, with a propoſal to ſubmit the difference between them to arbitration; and with an offer to accept the pope's legate as the umpire. He, at the ſame time, endeavoured to intimidate the duke of Brittany, who was ſtrengthening the fortifications of his towns, and arming his ſubjects. But Francis ſent a ſpirited anſwer to the king, reproaching him with his duplicity, and his inſidious attempts to diſturb the tranquillity of his dominions; after which he conjured the duke of Burgundy not to diſappoint the hopes of his allies by any farther delays.

Lewis, informed of theſe ſolicitations, and perceiving, by the duke of Burgundy's

[75] Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 474, 475.

preparations, that he might expect to be immediately attacked, ſent orders to his plenipotentiaries to accede to any terms which Charles might wiſh to impoſe. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the king conſented to reſtore the towns of Amiens, Saint-Quentin, Montdidier, and Roye, to the duke of Burgundy; and to give up to him the conſtable, and the count of Nevers, a prince of the houſe of Burgundy, but an avowed enemy to the reigning branch, which had deſpoiled him of a part of his poſſeſſions: the duke, on his ſide, conſented to renounce all alliance with the dukes of Guienne and Brittany. Neither party had the ſmalleſt intention of fulfilling the terms of this agreement; the object of Charles was to get poſſeſſion of the towns which had been taken from him, after which he meant publickly to declare, that he pardoned the conſtable, and the count of Nevers, and therefore expected that the king would be equally indulgent to the dukes of Brittany and Guienne, otherwiſe he ſhould march to their relief. The intention of Lewis was only to gain time, and, immediately after his brother's death, to declare that he did not think himſelf bound to keep his word with a prince who had not dealt openly with him.

The treaty was no ſooner ſigned than Charles demanded immediate poſſeſſion of the towns which were to be reſtored to him; but the plenipotentaries not being authorized to comply with his demand, adviſed him to make his army advance to the frontiers, and to ſend ſome confidential ſervant to the king, to exact from him an oath to obſerve the treaty, and to procure the neceſſary orders for the evacuation of the places in queſtion; but, the lord of Quingei, who was intruſted with this commiſſion, was unable to obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer from Lewis, who continued to put him off from day to day. The duke of Guienne was, by this time, at the point of death, and the natural goodneſs of his diſpoſition led him, in his laſt moments, to diſmiſs all ſentiments of hatred from his mind, and to aſk from his brother the ſame forgiveneſs of injuries which he ſo willingly extended to him: he appointed Lewis his ſole legatee, earneſtly beſeeching him to confirm a few legacies which he had bequeathed to ſome old ſervants of approved fidelity. His death ſpread conſternation and alarm throughout his palace; and moſt of thoſe who had hitherto perſevered in their attachment to the unfortunate prince, now courted the good graces of his tyrannical brother. Malicorne, his chief favourite, was the firſt to convey the *welcome* tidings to Lewis, and to acquaint him with the laſt requeſts of his deceaſed maſter. Leſcun, however, perſiſted in his hatred of a monarch, whom he had now but too great reaſon to deteſt; he had diſcovered the aſſaſſins of the prince, and thrown them into irons, when finding their infamy detected, they confeſſed their guilt, and openly accuſed the king of having inſtigated them to the commiſſion of the dreadful deed. Leſcun being compelled to quit Guienne, took the two criminals with him to Brittany, where he delivered them to the duke, with this ſolemn exhortation: "In "order to revenge the beſt of maſters, and moſt faithful of friends, I reſign into your "hands theſe traitors, who have baſely taken away the life of their lawful prince, in "the hope that you will make a ſignal example of them. Think on what you owe

"to

" to the memory of a prince who ſo richly deſerved your friendſhip: his ſoul now de-
" mands from God an exemplary vengeance on theſe his aſſaſſins; may he ſee, from the
" manſions of the dead, in what manner I fulfil my engagements!" " They ſhall have
" the reward they merit," replied the duke; " and would that thoſe who urged them
" to the commiſſion of the crime were equally in my power; they ſhould not eaſily
" eſcape.

Lewis, pretending that by his brother's death he was releaſed from the neceſſity of fulfilling the engagements which his plenipotentiaries had contracted with the duke of Burgundy, now openly declared to the lord of Quingei, that he ſhould not confirm a treaty, in the concluſion of which the duke had diſplayed a want of candour, and betrayed the moſt pernicious deſigns[76]. Charles, enraged at the idea of having thus ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the ſhallow arts of his rival, gave a full ſcope to his reſentment, and publiſhed a violent manifeſto, in which he recapitulated the particulars of the plot, which, at the king's inſtigation, had been formed againſt his life, by his natural brother, Baldwin, John de Chaſſa, and John d'Arſon; he added, that Lewis, perſiſting in his infamous deſigns of deſtroying all the princes of the blood-royal of France, had juſt cauſed his brother to be put to death, by *poiſon, witchcraft, and diabolical invocations*, as was proved by the confeſſion of the two culprits whom he had ſeduced. For theſe two attempts, purſued the duke, one againſt the firſt peer of the realm, the other againſt the firſt prince of the blood, he deſerves to be pronounced guilty of homicide; of high-treaſon againſt the crown, the princes of the blood, and the public welfare; a traitor, a parricide, and an idolator; each of theſe aſſertions he ſupported by quotations from the ſcriptures, from the Decretals, and from the fathers of the church; and he concluded by exhorting all chriſtian princes to unite their arms againſt this common enemy.

This manifeſto, however, which was diſtributed in every town in the kingdom, produced but little effect. Lewis, intent on the reduction of Guienne, did not deign to anſwer it; and he even ſuffered the long ſpace of eighteen months to elapſe, before he adopted any meaſures for clearing himſelf from the heavy accuſations which had been preferred againſt him. At the expiration of that period, he appointed commiſſioners to try the two criminals, who were ſtill confined in the Breton priſons; but while they were engaged in the inveſtigation of this infamous tranſaction, the abbot of Saint John d'Angeli was found dead in his cell, with evident marks of violence about his perſon; what became of the other culprit, Henry de la Roche, is not known; nor have any of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, nor the other examinations of the criminals, been preſerved. It was commonly believed, however, that the king had not ſcrupled to conceal the firſt crime, by the perpetration of a ſecond, and every part of his conduct, no leſs than his character, tended to confirm this belief. It

[76] Manuſcr. de le Grand.

was

was juſtly obſerved, that he had made no attempt to juſtify himſelf till after he had effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany, and had drawn the lord of Leſcun into his ſervice; and that the criminals had diſappeared at ſuch a critical period, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe they had died a natural death. It was likewiſe remarked, that Lewis d'Amboiſe, one of the commiſſioners, was, ſoon after, promoted to the biſhopric of Albi; and that Peter de Sacierges, who had officiated as ſecretary to the commiſſion, was made a maſter of requeſts. It muſt be confeſſed that all theſe circumſtances amount only to a preſumptive evidence, but then the preſumption is ſo ſtrong, that, combined with the known diſpoſition of Lewis, and other conſiderations which naturally preſent themſelves to the mind, it appears to us irreſiſtible. Brantome relates a ſtory which, were it better authenticated, would ſettle the matter beyond all poſſibility of diſpute: he pretends, that the ſecret of this murder was diſcovered by means of a fool who had lived with the duke of Guienne, and on his death had been taken into the king's ſervice. "This good king," ſays the jovial hiſtorian, "being one day at Cleri "repeating his prayers and oriſons at the ſhrine of the Virgin, whom he called his good "patroneſs, and none being preſent at the time except this fool, who was at a little diſ"tance from the king, and whom his majeſty believed to be ſo ſtupid, ſo vain, and ſo "fooliſh, that he could pay no attention to any thing that was ſaid, he proceeded thus "to pray aloud—Ah! my good lady, my little miſtreſs, my great friend, in whom I "have always placed my truſt, I beſeech you to pray to God for me, and to become my "advocate with him, to intreat him to pardon me my brother's death, whom I cauſed "to be poiſoned by that wicked abbot of Saint John: to you, my good patroneſs and miſ"treſs, I confeſs my crime." It is needleſs to comment on the improbability of this ſtory, which Brantome acknowledges to have received from an old canon of eighty, who had, himſelf, heard it from another perſon; but if it does not tend to the confirmation of the king's guilt, it certainly does not diminiſh its probability.

After his brother's death, Lewis entered Guienne, which he reduced without the ſmalleſt oppoſition[77]; the inhabitants of the different towns only ſtipulating for the preſervation of their privileges. Theſe the king chearfully confirmed, it being a maxim with him to favour the growth of the municipal government, which he juſtly conſidered as the firſt cauſe of the humiliation of the ariſtocracy. He even granted permiſſion to the inhabitants of Rochelle to carry on a free trade with the Engliſh and the other enemies of the ſtate, a privilege which might tend to the introduction of a neutral power, and the eſtabliſhment of an independent republic in the heart of the monarchy. He again made the city of Bourdeaux the ſeat of the parliament, which, on the ceſſion of Guienne to his brother, had been transferred to Poitiers; and finding his preſence neceſſary in another quarter, he even concluded an accommodation with the count of Armagnac, and con-

77 Manuſcr. de la Grand.

ſented

ſented to leave him in poſſeſſion of that part of his territories to which he had been lately reſtored by the duke of Guienne. He then appointed the lord of Beaujeu, governor of the province, and marched towards Brittany with an army of fifty thouſand men.

The duke of Brittany, though he had ſpared no pains to put his dominions in a proper ſtate of defence, ſtill found himſelf unable to cope with an enemy ſo powerful as Lewis; and as he was in daily expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement from England, he reſolved to propoſe a ſhort truce to the French monarch, during which, he obſerved, effectual means for a final accommodation might be adopted. The king, conſcious of his ſuperiority in the arts of negociation, accepted the propoſal; not perceiving, that by that means he would loſe the favourable moment for action, and that his enemy was only ſeeking to gain time in order to facilitate the reception of thoſe ſuccours which he expected from his allies.

The duke of Burgundy, meanwhile, had ſpread devaſtation thoughout the fertile province of Picardy; with an army of eighty-thouſand men he had paſſed the Somme, and inveſted the town of Neſle [78], whoſe inhabitants maſſacred the herald which he had ſent to ſummon them to ſurrender. In revenge for this barbarous act, Charles, after he had reduced the place, inhumanly ordered the garriſon and citizens to be maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex; ſome few, who had eſcaped the rage of the ſoldiery, had their right hands cut off, and were ſent, in that ſituation, to the king; after which the town was reduced to aſhes.

The garriſons of Roye and Montdidier, terrified by the fate of their fellow ſoldiers, reſigned thoſe towns to the victor, whoſe next attempts were directed againſt Beauvais. That place, though deſtitute of troops, reſiſted his efforts; and neither the demolition of the ſuburbs, nor the formidable force of the enemy, could induce the brave citizens to ſurrender. Even the women here performed prodigies of valour; they lined the walls in thoſe parts which were moſt open to attack, and expoſed themſelves to every kind of danger. One of theſe heroines forced a ſtandard from the enemy, and bore it off in triumph to the town. This vigorous and unexpected defence gave time for the arrival of troops, which was facilitated by the neglect of Charles completely to inveſt the place. The duke was now foiled in every attack; a ſtrong body of forces, detached by the king, under the conduct of Dammartin, haraſſed his troops, and intercepted his convoys; and, after a general aſſault, in which he was repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twenty killed, and one thouſand wounded [79], he raiſed the ſiege, entered the country of Caux, ſeized the towns of Eu, and Saint Vallery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devaſtations as far as the gates of Rouen, before which

[78] Meyer—Commines—Le Grand—Chron. Scand.—Cabinet Satyr. [79] Commines.

city

city he remained four days, in order to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Brittany, who had appointed that ſpot for the junction of the two armies.

While the duke was thus employed in committing devaſtations in Normandy, the garriſons of Amiens and Saint Quentin had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. The war, too, raged with equal violence in Champagne and Burgundy: the count of Rouſſi, eldeſt ſon to the conſtable, who commanded the duke's army at the ſame time that his father was placed at the head of the French troops, carried deſolation into the environs of Tonnerre, Joigny, Troyes, and Langres, burning all the towns and villages which fell into his hands. The duchy of Burgundy was expoſed to ſimilar depredations from the dauphin of Auvergne, who commanded for the king in that quarter; and ſuch were the acts of violence committed on either ſide, that an ancient chronicler obſerves, the French and Burgundians, mad with rage, were leſs eager to make conqueſts, than intent on mutual deſtruction[80]. The duke of Burgundy, urged by the ſolicitations of his ſubjects, the ravage of his provinces, the dearth of proviſions which prevailed in his army, and his deſire of inflicting vengeance on the conſtable for ſacking his towns, at length found himſelf compelled to leave Normandy, and return to the banks of the Somme, where he reviewed his army, which had ſuffered ſo much in this fruitleſs expedition, as to be wholly inadequate to any enterprize of importance.

Lewis, in reward of the valour and fidelity diſplayed by the citizens of Beauvais, to whom he chiefly aſcribed the ſucceſs of this campaign, granted them privileges equal, if not ſuperior, to thoſe which were enjoyed by the nobility[81]: he allowed them to hold fiefs, and rere-fiefs, exempt from the uſual contributions, and from all the ſervices attached to that ſpecies of poſſeſſion; he accorded them a general exemption from all impoſts whatever, except ſuch as they might levy themſelves for the ſupport and repair of their fortifications; and he allowed them a total freedom of choice in the election of their municipal officers. The women, who had ſignalized their courage and fidelity, in, at leaſt, an equal degree with the men, were not forgotten; it was ordained, that, at an annual feſtival to be celebrated at Beauvais, in honour of Saint Angadreſme, whoſe relics had been expoſed on the walls during the ſiege, the women ſhould take precedency of the men, both in the proceſſion and at church; that, as well during this ceremony, as at any other time they choſe, they might wear ſilks, furs, and belts of gold; ornaments which had hitherto been confined by the laws to people of diſtinction, and which the citizen's wives had been long anxious to acquire the privilege of wearing; and, laſtly, Lewis granted to Jane Fourquet, the young heroine who had taken the ſtan-

[80] Chron. Manuſc.—Commines—Meyer.

[81] Hiſtoire de Beauvais—Manuſcr. de le Grand—Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Duclos—Chron. Scandal.

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dard from the enemy, and to Colin Pilon, whom ſhe had juſt married, a total exemption from taxes throughout the kingdom.

The truce between the king and the duke of Brittany having expired, Lewis entered the dominions of Francis, and reduced Chantocé, Machecou, and Ancenis[82]. He then advanced as far as Pouancé, and offered battle to the duke, who was alike unwilling to riſk an action, and to conclude a peace. Being compelled, however, by his ſubjects to ſue for an accommodation, he appointed Souplainville and Deſeſſarts, two friends of the lord of Leſcun, who ſtill governed the councils of Brittany, to treat with the king. Lewis, who was anxious to attach Leſcun to his intereſt, from the conviction that he then ſhould have nothing to apprehend from the ſide of Brittany, gave the deputies a carte-blanche for themſelves and their friends. Leſcun aſked and obtained the government of one half of the duchy of Guienne; the county of Comminges; the order of Saint Michael; a penſion of ſix thouſand livres, and a gratification of twenty-four thouſand crowns. Souplainville procured for himſelf a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns, and a penſion of twelve hundred livres; with the offices of mayor of Bayonne, bailiff of Montargis, and ſome other places of authority in Guienne. Deſeſſarts was appointed bailiff of Meaux, maſter of the rivers and foreſts in Champagne and Brie, with an annual penſion of twelve hundred livres, and an immediate gratification of four thouſand crowns. The duke of Brittany, himſelf, obtained a penſion either of ſixty or eighty thouſand livres, for authors differ as to the ſum; and, on theſe conditions he concluded a truce for a year, and conſented to leave the towns which Lewis had reduced in the poſſeſſion of that monarch, till ſuch time as a final treaty of peace ſhould be ſigned. The only ſtipulation which he made in favour of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was, that he ſhould be allowed to accede to this truce if he choſe it; and of this privilege Charles was induced, by the ſtate of his army, and by ſome other conſiderations, ſo far to avail himſelf, as to conſent to a ceſſation of arms for a few months.

About this period Philip de Commines, the hiſtorian, quitted the court of Burgundy, and entered the ſervice of Lewis[83], as he has neglected to explain, in his memoirs, the reaſons for this deſertion of a maſter who had loaded him with honours and rewards, and to whoſe family he was indebted for the diſtinction which he enjoyed, his conduct is juſtly expoſed to the charge of ingratitude.

A. D. 1473.] The ſucceſs of the king's arms during the laſt campaign, had by no means reſtored tranquillity to France. The count of Armagnac, undiſmayed by his former diſgrace, obſerving that the king was engaged in Brittany, that the duke of Burgundy was ſuffered to ravage Picardy and Normandy, and the king of Arragon was pre-

[82] Comminet—Meyer—Dom Lobineau—Le Grand. [83] Notes de Godefroi ſur Varillas.

paring to attack the county of Rouſſillon, thought the moment favourable for obtaining poſſeſſion of Lectoure, which was then regarded as the key to Guienne and Gaſcony. For this purpoſe he corrupted ſome of the officers of the garriſon, by whoſe means he ſecured the place and its governor, the lord of Beaujeu, whom Lewis had appointed his lieutenant-general in Guienne.

At the ſame time, the king of Arragon made an irruption into Rouſſillon, and exhorted his old ſubjects to ſhake off the French yoke, and return to their lawful ſovereign. The citizens of Perpignan, moved by his exhortations, flew to arms, and compelled du Lau, the governor of the province, to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. The example of the capital was followed by ſeveral other towns; Elne, Argiles, and Canet expelled their garriſons, and Salies, Collioure, and the citadel of Perpignan, were ſoon the only places that remained in poſſeſſion of the French.

The uneaſineſs which Lewis experienced on the receipt of this news, was farther encreaſed by intelligence, that the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, and father-in-law to the count of Armagnac, had entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, for ſurrendering to that prince all the towns and fortreſſes he poſſeſſed in Normandy and Maine; a meaſure which, had it taken effect, muſt have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. In this delicate conjuncture, Lewis was at a loſs how to act; his firſt care, however, was to perſuade the duke of Burgundy to prolong the truce for a year, which he effected, with ſome difficulty, through the mediation of the duke of Brittany, whoſe good offices he had ſecured by the voluntary reſtitution of the town of Ancenis, and by the payment of one quarter of his yearly penſion.

Another enemy which Lewis had to encounter, was Nicholas d'Anjou, duke of Lorraine, and titular duke of Calabria, who had been affianced to the princeſs Anne, daughter to the king, but, who having conceived a diſguſt at the conduct of Lewis, in offering the hand of his deſtined bride to the duke of Guienne, had retired into Flanders; where Charles had ſought to attach him to his intereſt by making him a tender of his daughter, the ſole heireſs to all his dominions. The king, however, was freed from all apprehenſions from that quarter, by the death of Nicholas, who expired ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicions of having been poiſoned.

Immediately after the prolongation of the truce, the king ſecured the perſon of the duke of Alençon, whom he delivered into the hands of the parliament of Paris. But the count of Armagnac was a more formidable enemy, ſince he had thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the caſtle of Lectoure, and made every preparation for an obſtinate defence. Lewis, not daring to leave his frontiers expoſed to the attacks of the duke of Burgundy, employed the militia of the ſouthern provinces to reduce the count; but after that nobleman had ſuſtained a ſiege of two months, the ſeaſon being far advanced, and the king of Arragon having embraced the

the opportunity to complete the reduction of Rouſſillon, the king ſent orders to his generals to open a negociation with him. The terms required by the count, were theſe: he demanded a ſafe conduct that he might appear at court, and juſtify himſelf to the king, with regard to the crimes of which he was accuſed; ſuch an eſtabliſhment for the counteſs, his wife, as would enable her to live in a manner ſuitable to her rank and birth; a general amneſty for all his followers and partizans; and a confirmation of the privileges of the citizens and other inhabitants of Lectoure. Theſe conditions were immediately accepted by cardinal Jouffroi, biſhop of Albi, who commanded the expedition, and, in order to give the greater ſolemnity to the agreement, that prelate is ſaid to have broken a conſecrated wafer, one half of which he gave to the count, and the other he ſwallowed himſelf. Every thing being thus arranged, they were proceeding to fulfil the articles of the capitulation, when the king's troops, profiting by the ſecurity of the garriſon, entered the town, and forced their way to the count's houſe, where one Gorgias maſſacred him with his poniard. For this abominable act of treachery, which Lewis himſelf had doubtleſs commanded, that execrable tyrant rewarded the aſſaſſin with a ſilver cup filled with money, and a commiſſion in his own guards. The counteſs of Armagnac, and her female attendants, were ſtripped by a brutal ſoldiery; the houſes of the citizens were pillaged; their wives and daughters raviſhed; and the old men and children inhumanly maſſacred; after which the town was reduced to aſhes. That nothing might be wanting to complete the horror of the ſcene, the counteſs, who was pregnant, was dragged to the caſtle of Buzet, where the ſavages compelled her to ſwallow a noxious draught, calculated to deſtroy the infant in her womb; and which, in the ſhort ſpace of two days, put a period to her own exiſtence. Several of the count's partizans were afterwards brought to the ſcaffold.

After the death of the count of Armagnac, Lewis made a fruitleſs attempt to recover the county of Rouſſillon; foiled by the talents and courage of the old king of Arragon, he was compelled to accept a truce for two months; and, after throwing ſupplies into the citadel of Perpignan, and the towns of Salies and Callioure, the army returned to France.

The duke of Burgundy had been induced to conſent to the prolongation of the truce with France, by an opportunity which preſented itſelf at that time for extending his dominions on the ſide of the Rhine[84]. From Sigiſmond, the prodigal and voluptuous duke of Auſtria, he acquired, for the ſum of eighty thouſand German florins, the county of Ferrette or Pfirt, and the Landgraviate of Alſace, ſubject to redemption by that prince or his heirs; and, by the will of Arnou, duke of Gueldres, he ſucceeded to that duchy, and to the county of Zutphen, to the prejudice of Adolphus, who, on account of his unnatural conduct, had been diſinherited by his father.

[84] Hiſtoire de Lorraine par Dom Calmet—Harœi Annal. Brabant.

Lewis profited by this interval of repoſe to marry his two daughters; Anne, the eldeſt, who had been affianced to the duke of Lorraine, he gave to Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, and preſumptive heir to the duke of Bourbon. The youngeſt, Mary, who was greatly inferior to her ſiſter, both in perſonal and mental endowments, married the duke of Orleans, the firſt prince of the blood, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in her infancy. Each of the princeſſes had one hundred thouſand crowns aſſigned them for their marriage portion.

During a fruitleſs negociation for a peace that was opened between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy, the conſtable perceiving the impoſſibility of a perfect reconciliation between ſuch inveterate rivals, reſolved to make ſome attempt towards the eſtabliſhment of that independence to which he had ſo long aſpired. With this view he had the audacity to expel the king's troops from the town of Saint Quentin, of which he was governor, to introduce a garriſon of his own, and to exact an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. Lewis, enraged at the rebellious conduct of this powerful ſubject, immediately ſuppreſſed his penſions, and ſeized on all the eſtates which he poſſeſſed in France; but, on cool reflection, theſe proceedings appeared to him imprudent, ſince they might force the conſtable to claim the protection of the duke of Burgundy; he, therefore, determined to temporize, and expreſſed a willingneſs to liſten to the conſtable's juſtification. Saint Paul then informed him, by letter, that having detected a correſpondence between the duke of Burgundy and the garriſon of Saint Quentin, the only mode that occurred to him of preſerving the place from the attempts of the enemy, was to take poſſeſſion of it himſelf, and garriſon it with troops and officers on whoſe fidelity he could rely. Lewis, pretending to be a dupe to this artifice, endeavoured to draw the conſtable to court, by ſending him word that he wiſhed to conſult him on matters of the higheſt importance. But Saint Paul was too well acquainted with the king's diſpoſition to fall into the ſnare; he declined the interview, and entered into a private negociation with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and with ſome of the diſcontented nobility of France.

A. D. 1474.] At the commencement of this year, one John Hardy had formed a plan for poiſoning the king, at the inſtigation, it is ſaid, of Ithier, a rich merchant, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the duke of Guienne, but, ſince the death of that prince, had retired into Flanders. Two of the king's domeſtics, to whom Hardy had applied for aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his ſcheme, revealed it to Lewis, and the criminal was accordingly tried by the municipal officers of Paris, who ſentenced him to be quartered alive. Soon after this event, the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy was prolonged to the firſt of May, 1475.

The prolongation of this truce alarmed the king of Arragon, with whom Lewis had lately concluded a fraudulent treaty, which he reſolved to break on the firſt favourable opportunity

opportunity that ſhould occur. In order to ſound his intentions, the Arragonian monarch ſent ambaſſadors to France, to complain of the conduct of the French governors, who were guilty of continual infractions of the treaty; and, if they ſhould find it impoſſible to obtain redreſs, they were then to aſſert the claims of Arragon to Rouſſillon and Cerdagna. Lewis refuſed an audience to theſe ambaſſadors, and referred them to a council whom he had appointed to receive their complaints. The council, in compliance with the inſtructions they had received, put them off from time to time, on the moſt frivolous pretexts, and, in ſhort, convinced them, by their conduct, that the chief object of their embaſſy muſt remain unaccompliſhed. Finding this to be the caſe, they proceeded to enforce the pretenſions of their maſter to the diſputed territories. The counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagna had always—they obſerved—formed a part of the kingdom of Arragon, till the treaty of 1462, when they had been firſt ceded to the king of France, on condition that he ſhould pay the Arragonian monarch the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, and ſupply him with ſix hundred lances, and a ſuitable train of artillery, till ſuch time as he ſhould have completed the reduction of Catalonia; that the king of France, however, had not only neglected to fulfil this laſt part of the agreement, but had even fomented the revolt of the Catalonians, and openly ſent ſuccours to John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, who had placed himſelf at the head of the rebels.

Theſe were facts that would not admit of confutation; but Lewis was neither to be ſwayed by reaſon or juſtice, in oppoſition to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt. The ambaſſadors therefore were diſmiſſed, but means were found to detain them on the road, till ſuch time as a French army had entered Rouſſillon, and reduced the town of Elne, the governor of which they beheaded. They then took Figueres, and proceeded to inveſt the ſtrong town of Perpignan.

Freſh conferences were now opened between the king and the duke of Burgundy; and their plenipotentiaries, having met at Bouvines, unanimouſly agreed to conſider the conſtable as the chief obſtacle to the concluſion of a peace; it was he, they obſerved, who, in order to gratify his own inſatiate ambition, had been the firſt promoter of the war for the public good; it was he who had firſt ſuggeſted the idea of a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the princeſs of Burgundy; and it was he who had engaged the king to break the treaty of Peronne, by promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of Amiens and Saint Quentin: ſince that time, they added, he had been ſtudious to foment the animoſity which ſubſiſted between the king and the duke, by calumnious aſſertions, and by falſe reports; a perfidious friend, a dangerous ſpy, fertile in the invention of plots and ſtratagems, he would never, they averred, permit the reſtoration of peace and concord. His ruin was, therefore, reſolved on; and Lewis, who had not forgotten his audacity in the affair of Saint Quentin, chearfully confirmed the reſolution of the plenipotentiaries. It was agreed that the king ſhould cede to the duke of Burgundy, Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain; and that the duke ſhould, in return, ſecure the conſtable, and deliver him

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up to Lewis; but notwithſtanding every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt for keeping ſecret the principal object of this negociation, the conſtable gained intelligence of what was in agitation. He immediately wrote to the king, obſerving, that the duke of Burgundy, enraged at his inability either to ſurprize or ſeduce him, was endeavouring to promote his ruin, but as it would be an eaſy matter for him to juſtify his conduct, he entreated the king not to force him to an involuntary acceptance of the duke's offers. Lewis, whoſe ſuſpicions were ever awake, imagined that the duke of Burgundy had, himſelf, informed the conſtable of the object of their negociation, in order to induce him to court his protection; and, under this impreſſion, he diſpatched a courier to his plenipotentiaries, ordering them to retract any offers they might have made; and, at the ſame time, he accepted the conſtable's propoſal for an interview, which accordingly took place, on a bridge, between La Fere and Noyon, where the ſame precautions were adopted that had been employed to ſo little purpoſe, at the fatal conference on the bridge of Montereau. Lewis liſtened with attention to the conſtable's juſtification of his own conduct, and pretending to be convinced by his arguments, he loaded that imperious vaſſal with careſſes, and permitted him to return. But the deep diſſimulation of Lewis was not unmarked by the penetrating eye of Saint-Paul, who now plainly perceived that his deſtruction was fully reſolved on. He had but one means of averting the impending danger; which was, by ſurrendering the towns in his poſſeſſion to the duke of Burgundy, but in that caſe he muſt have renounced his favourite project of independence, and have ſubmitted to the mercy and caprice of a maſter to whom he had given juſt cauſe for offence. The obſtinate ſtruggle which took place in his mind between fear and ambition, prevented him from adopting any deciſive reſolution. Three times did he invite the Burgundian troops to take poſſeſſion of Saint Quentin, and as often did he ſhut the gates againſt them.

The duke of Alençon was now brought to trial by the parliament of Paris, and being convicted of conſpiring againſt the ſtate; of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the kingdom; of homicide; of confiſcating the current coin of the realm; and of an intent to deliver his towns to the duke of Burgundy; he was pronounced guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to die.—All his poſſeſſions were declared to be forfeited to the crown[85]. His puniſhment, however, was changed into perpetual impriſonment, and the greater part of his eſtates were reſtored to his ſon, the count of Perche. The duke died in priſon, about two years after his trial.

An inſurrection of the people of Bourges, on account of an extraordinary tax for the repair and ſupport of the fortifications of that city, though ſpeedily quelled, alarmed the jealous and ſuſpicious temper of Lewis, who conceived it to be the effect of ſome gene-

[85] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 97.

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ral plan for overturning his government. He therefore eſtabliſhed an armed inquiſition in Bourges, the members whereof had full power of life and death over all the inhabitants, of whatever rank; and they were ſtrictly enjoined by Lewis, to be diligent in their ſearch, and ſevere in their puniſhments; the tyrant even deſignated ſome of the principal citizens, who, he deſired, might be hanged at the doors of their own houſes. Fortunately, the commiſſioners were more juſt and merciful than their ſovereign; ſome few only of the inſurgents were executed, though many of the inhabitants were baniſhed, and ſtill more of them fined. The municipal officers were depoſed; and a mayor and twelve aldermen choſen in their ſtead; the king reſerving to himſelf the right of naming them.

But the attention of Lewis was ſoon called to objects of a more alarming nature, to dangers of greater magnitude, which threatened no leſs than the ſubverſion of his throne, and the deſtruction of the monarchy. We have already obſerved, that immediately after the defeat of the Lancaſtrians by Edward the Fourth, that monarch had propoſed to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy in conquering the kingdom of France, but that the duke had then been induced to reject the propoſal, through fear of offending the French nobility, with whom he had formed an alliance. This objection, however, being now removed by the death of the duke of Guienne, the project was revived. Edward, ſtill ſtimulated by a ſpirit of revenge againſt Lewis, for the aſſiſtance which he had already afforded to the houſe of Lancaſter, and urged by his fears for the protection which he might ſtill afford to the friends of that family, determined to attack his dominions; and, though the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, during Edward's exile, had not been ſuch as could inſpire him with any ſentiments of eſteem for that prince, the political intereſts of their ſtates proved the means of maintaining a cloſe connection between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invaſion of France. A league was accordingly formed, in which Edward ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand men, and to make an incurſion into the territories of Lewis; Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces; the king of England was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain, at leaſt, the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; while the duke was to acquire Champagne, and to exonerate all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the French monarch; and neither party was to make peace without the conſent of the other[86].

The duke of Brittany alſo joined the league, and was to obtain the county of Poitou as his portion of the ſpoil; he required to be ſupplied with a body of Engliſh troops, to the amount of three thouſand; and promiſed to do more good to the cauſe of the confederates in one month, by the ſecret correſpondence which he maintained in France,

[86] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xi. p. 804, 843.

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than the combined forces of England and Burgundy could effect in ſix; for which purpoſe, however, he deemed it neceſſary to diſſemble with Lewis[87]. The conſtable, too, was not idle on this occaſion; he ſecretly engaged to receive the Engliſh into Saint Quentin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

If Charles had been as careful in the regulation of his own conduct, as he was in directing the future operations of his allies; if he had employed the interval of tranquillity allowed him by the truce in forming alliances with the neighbouring princes, in diſciplining his troops, and in preparing magazines; if, intent on his principal object, he had rejected all ſchemes that were foreign from it; it is certain that France would have been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, and that Lewis, in ſpite of his courage and activity, muſt, infallibly, have been ſubdued. Independent of the combined forces of England, Burgundy, and Brittany, he had to dread the efforts of the conſtable, whoſe office, birth, fortune, and abilities, gave him a great influence over the minds of the French nobility. The duke of Bourbon was diſcontented with the king, and was alſo the friend and ally of the houſe of Burgundy; René d'Anjou, titular king of Sicily, aſcribing all his loſſes and misfortunes to Lewis, had already conceived a deſign of making Charles his heir; the duke of Nemours was enraged at the humiliation he had lately experienced, and at the aſſaſſination of his kinſman, the count of Armagnac; the ducheſs of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis, allured by the hope of marrying her ſon to the heireſs of Burgundy, had embraced the party of Charles, and had prevailed on the duke of Milan to follow her example; the king of Naples, whoſe ſon was at the court of Burgundy, might be reckoned as another enemy; and the king of Arragon, and his ſon prince Ferdinand, were actually at war with France. What forces could Lewis have oppoſed to enemies thus numerous and powerful? His attempts to defend one province muſt have left all the others open to attack; the moſt ſplendid victory could only have ſecured the preſervation of a town, while a ſingle defeat might have proved fatal to the monarchy. Charles, who was the ſoul of the confederacy, had it now in his power to decide on the fate of France; but, hurried away by the native impetuoſity of his mind, and by his inordinate ambition, he had not courage to reſiſt the deceitful allurements of fortune: with a view to extend his dominions on the ſide of Germany, and to forward the accompliſhment of his favourite project, the erection of his territories into a kingdom, he undertook to reſtore the biſhop of Cologne, who had been depoſed by the people[88]. This engaged him in a war with the whole Germanic body; and the obſtinate defence made by the ſtrong town of Nuiz on the Rhine, in the ſiege of which his whole army was employed, diſabled him from fulfilling his treaty with Edward, and, of courſe, diſconcerted all his projects, with regard to the conqueſt of France.

[87] Garnier. [88] Meyer. Annal. Fland. Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantiæ, ac tumultuum Belgicorum. Comines. MS. de le Grand.

Lewis

Lewis, meanwhile, formed an alliance with the Swiſs cantons, and promoted a reconciliation between them and Sigiſmond, duke of Auſtria, who was anxious to recover the county of Ferrette, and the Landgraviate of Alſace, which he had pledged to the duke of Burgundy. All the Imperial towns on the Upper Rhine joined this confederacy, and, as they had an evident intereſt in preventing Charles from forming any eſtabliſhments in their vicinity, they ſupplied Sigiſmond with the ſum that was requiſite for the redemption of his territories. Charles refuſing to accept the money, the allies entered the county of Ferrette, and reſtored it to the duke of Auſtria; the Swiſs then penetrated into Franche-Comté, defeated the provincial militia, took the towns of Blamont and Gramont by aſſault, and, after cutting in pieces a body of troops under the command of the count of Romont, a prince of the houſe of Savoy, returned to their mountains, laden with booty.

A. D. 1475.] During theſe tranſactions, the king of England had been employed in making the moſt formidable preparations for his projected enterprize, and in forming farther alliances in order to enſure its ſucceſs. He concluded treaties with the emperor, and with Ferdinand, king of Sicily; he alſo prolonged the truce with Scotland to the year 1515, and ſecured the friendſhip of the Scots, by concluding a contract of marriage between their prince and his then youngeſt daughter, the princeſs Cecilia, both of them infants. All the neceſſary preparations being, at length, completed, Edward ſailed from Sandwich about Midſummer, and landed ſafe at Calais with a powerful army, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers, attended by all the principal nobility of England. His firſt ſtep was to diſpatch a herald to Lewis, to claim the crown of France, and to deliver him a defiance, in caſe of refuſal. Lewis, inſtead of ſuffering his reſentment to dictate an anſwer to the proud challenge he had received, gave the herald who brought it the moſt cordial reception; he aſſured him that he entertained the higheſt reſpect for his maſter, the king of England, who, he knew, had been urged to undertake the preſent expedition by the duke of Burgundy, and the conſtable; whoſe advice had been influenced by the moſt intereſted motives, and who would not fail to abandon their ally, the moment their own private views ſhould be gratified. Lewis then made the herald a preſent of three hundred crowns; and promiſed him the farther ſum of one thouſand, if he would employ his good offices in effecting an accommodation. The herald, who was a native of Normandy, won by the condeſcenſion not leſs than the liberality of Lewis, readily promiſed to promote his views to the utmoſt of his power; and adviſed him to addreſs all his propoſals for peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence over Edward, and who were averſe from his preſent conduct. The French monarch then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Commines, with a ſtrict charge to ſpare neither pains nor expence in making him contented with his reception.

The king now exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to put his kingdom in a proper

ſtate of defence, and no reſources were neglected which human foreſight or activity could ſupply. The army which he had ſent into Rouſſillon, was ſtill engaged in the ſiege of Perpignan, which would probably have reſiſted every attempt to reduce it, but for the death of Henry, king of Caſtile, which called off the attention of the king of Arragon to another quarter. The dreadful ſituation to which the town was, by this time, reduced, may be conceived from the circumſtance of a woman, who, having loſt one of her children by hunger, cut the body into pieces, and uſed it as the means of preſerving her own life, and that of her remaining child[89]. The inhabitants, unable any longer to ſupport their complicated diſtreſſes, capitulated, and obtained the liberty, for ſuch as ſhould not chuſe to remain in the town, to retire into the territories of the king of Arragon. Lewis, enraged at the reſiſtance he had experienced, ordered the moſt opulent citizens of Perpignan, and all the principal nobility in the environs, to be maſſacred; but Bouſile, who had been appointed governor of the province, exerted, on this occaſion, the humanity of a Chriſtian, and the dignity of a man; he peremptorily refuſed to obey the orders of this vindictive and blood-thirſty tyrant; and, by a ſpirited remonſtrance, ſaved the deſtined victims from unmerited deſtruction.

The king, by the reduction of Perpignan, being enabled to form a junction of his forces, ordered his whole army to advance to the frontiers of Picardy; where they ſpeedily reduced the towns of Tronquoi, Montdidier, Roie, Brai-upon-Somme, and Corbie. They then penetrated into the province of Artois, burnt a number of fortreſſes, and advanced to the very gates of Arras. The garriſon, of that town, having made an injudicious ſally, ſuſtained a total defeat, and James de Saint-Paul, brother to the conſtable, was taken priſoner, with ſeveral other officers of rank.

Edward, in the mean time, had advanced into Picardy, expecting to be joined by the forces of the duke of Burgundy, according to the promiſe of that prince; but the army which Charles had led into Germany was, from the attacks of the enemy, and from the hardſhips of a winter campaign, rendered wholly unfit for farther ſervice. To pacify Edward, who was greatly diſguſted with his conduct, the duke repaired in perſon to the Engliſh camp, apologized for this breach of treaty, and aſſured him that the conſtable would ſurrender to him the ſtrong town of St. Quentin; but when the Engliſh army approached that place, Saint-Paul fired upon them from the ramparts, and, by an unexpected ſally, put great numbers of them to death. The duke of Burgundy, who was ſtill with the Engliſh army, being neither able to account for this ſingular conduct of the conſtable, nor to ſupport the ſevere reproaches of the Engliſh monarch, departed abruptly, and left Edward in a violent rage, beſtowing execrations on his treacherous allies, and expreſſing

[89] MS. de le Grand.

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his diſguſt at an expedition from which he was not likely to derive either honour or emolument.

During theſe tranſactions, a man arrived at Compiégne, from the Engliſh camp, who aſked to ſpeak with the king; he proved to be a lacquey in the ſervice of the lord of Graſſai, and having been the firſt priſoner that was taken, he was diſmiſſed, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed, without a ranſom. On quitting the camp, he had met the lords Howard and Stanley, who had given him ſome money, and told him to recommend them to the good graces of the king, his maſter, in caſe he ſhould find an opportunity of ſpeaking to him. Proud of his commiſſion, the man reſolved on fulfilling it without delay; and, immediately after his arrival at Compiégne, though the night was far advanced, he inſiſted on ſeeing Lewis; but his requeſt was refuſed; and, being taken for a ſpy, he was thrown into priſon. Lewis, however, having paid him a viſit, ordered him to be releaſed, and determined to ſend him as a herald to Edward. The man, whoſe name was Merindot, having received his inſtructions, and being provided with the dreſs of a herald, which he was ordered not to put on till he ſhould approach the Engliſh camp, leſt, the object of his miſſion being diſcovered by the partizans of the duke of Burgundy, he ſhould be prevented from proceeding, ſet out on his journey. The preſent diſpoſition of Edward was highly favourable to the ſucceſs of his negociation; and he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that that monarch was induced to hold a council in his camp, near Peronne, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, in which the poverty of the army, the near approach of winter, and the treacherous neglect of his allies, were urged as ſtrong incitements to the negociation of a truce; and a commiſſion was, accordingly, given to lord Howard and three others, for that purpoſe. The admiral of France, Saint-Pierre, and the biſhop of Evreux, were appointed by the king to confer with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries.

Lewis, anxious to bring this affair to a ſpeedy termination, ordered Doriole, who had ſucceeded to the high office of Chancellor, on the death of Juvenal des Urſins, to affix the great ſeal to ſix blank ſheets of parchment, which he meant to employ for the purpoſe of attaching Edward's chief miniſters and counſellors to his intereſt[90]. He then ſent the chancellor, with Matthew Beauvarlet, and Michael Gaillard, to Paris, to prepare what money he wanted; and theſe commiſſioners obtained from the parliament all the different ſums which had been lodged in that court till ſuch time as the pretenſions of the various claimants could be eſtabliſhed; but they were obliged to enter into a private obligation to reſtore them whenever they ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe. The preſidents of the parliament alſo borrowed, in their own names, of James Erlan, two thouſand crowns, which they delivered to the commiſſioners, who pledged themſelves

[90] MS. de le Grand.

for the repayment of the money before the firſt of October following. Theſe facts, with many others of a ſimilar nature which occur in the Hiſtory of France, prove that the king never borrowed money in his own name; and that thoſe whom he appointed to borrow for him, were obliged to become ſecurity for the re-payment, and actually to pay the money, if the king neglected to pay it himſelf. By this means the ſtate never contracted any debts.

As Lewis was reſolved on peace, the plenipotentiaries experienced no obſtruction in the accompliſhment of their taſk; and a truce, for ſeven years, was concluded on the nineteenth of Auguſt, on ſuch terms as the Engliſh choſe to preſcribe, which certainly were not very honourable to Lewis. It was ſtipulated—That the king of France ſhould pay the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to the king of England, within fifteen days; that he ſhould, moreover, pay him fifty thouſand crowns a-year, during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France, when of age, ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth, one of Edward's daughters; and that Edward ſhould withdraw his army from France, as ſoon as he ſhould have received the ſeventy-five thouſand crowns. In this truce ſuch of the allies as choſe to accede to it were comprehended [91]. By one article of the treaty, Lewis engaged to pay Edward fifty thouſand crowns, for the releaſe of Margaret of Anjou; in conſequence of which, that unfortunate princeſs was ſuffered to return to her native country, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquil privacy, till the year 1482, when ſhe died. This act of generoſity would reflect honour on Lewis, did not his ſubſequent conduct to the relations of Margaret, afford juſt grounds for believing that he was entirely ſwayed by motives of intereſt [92].

When every point had been thus amicably adjuſted, an interview took place between the two monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens, in the center whereof a ſtrong barrier was erected, and where ſuch other precautions were adopted, as the treacherous ſpirit of the times ſeemed to juſtify. Edward and Lewis here ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty: after which, they paſſed ſome time in friendly and familiar converſation.

Lewis was not only anxious to acquire the friendſhip of Edward, but the confidence of the Engliſh nation, and of the chief perſons in the Engliſh court. With this view he was profuſe in the diſtribution of preſents; he beſtowed annual penſions, to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns, on ſeveral of Edward's favourites; on lord Haſtings, one of two thouſand crowns; on the lords Howard, Stanley, and others, in proportion; and theſe noblemen were not aſhamed thus to receive the wages of corruption from a foreign potentate. Lord Haſtings, indeed, refuſed for ſome years, to give a re-

[91] Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 51, 21. [92] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 161.

ceipt

ceipt for his penſion, that no proof of his infamy might be preſerved in the public regiſters of France. As the two armies, after the concluſion of the truce, remained ſome days in the vicinity of each other, Lewis ſent the Engliſh troops a preſent of three hundred cart-loads of the beſt wine his country produced; he likewiſe admitted them freely into Amiens, the place of his reſidence, where he defrayed all their charges, ordering every innkeeper to ſupply them with whatever they ſhould require, without exacting any payment. In conſequence of this indulgence, they flocked thither in ſuch multitudes, that above nine thouſand of them were once in the town at the ſame time, when they might have eaſily ſecured the king's perſon; but Lewis concluding, from their diſſolute manner of living, that no danger was to be apprehended, was careful not to betray the ſmalleſt ſigns of ſuſpicion or miſtruſt; and when Edward, informed of this diſorder, deſired him to ſhut the gates againſt them, he replied, that he never would conſent to exclude the Engliſh from any place where he reſided; but that Edward, if he pleaſed, might recal them, and fix his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their return [93].

The extreme eagerneſs of Lewis to acquire the confidence and friendſhip of the Engliſh, had induced him to make ſome imprudent advances, which afterwards cauſed him no ſmall trouble to evade. During the conference on the bridge of Pequigni, he told Edward, that he ſhould be glad to be favoured with a viſit from him at Paris, where he would introduce him to the beauties of that metropolis; and, ſhould any offences requiring pardon be the conſequence of ſuch introduction, he would aſſign him the cardinal de Bourbon for a confeſſor [94], who would not fail to give him abſolution. This hint made a deeper impreſſion than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him on his return to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that if he were ſo diſpoſed, it would be very poſſible to perſuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might indulge themſelves in mirth and recreation. Lewis, at firſt, pretended not to hear the offer, but, on Howard's repeating it, he expreſſed his concern, that the war in which he was engaged with the duke of Burgundy, would not permit him to wait on his royal gueſt, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," ſaid he, privately, to Commines, "is a very handſome, and a very amorous prince: ſome lady at Paris may "like him as well as he ſhall like her, and may invite him to return thither in another "manner. I am very glad to have him, for a friend and brother, beyond the ſea; but "I am not fond of his company; his predeceſſors took up their reſidence ſomewhat too "long at Paris and in Normandy. It is better that the ſea be between us."

93 Philip de Commines, l. iv. p. 289.

94 This cardinal was Charles of Bourbon, youngeſt brother to John the Second, duke of Bourbon. When only nine years of age he had been nominated to the archbiſhoprick of Lyons, in addition to which he afterwards obtained the arcdbiſhoprick of Bourdeaux, the biſhoprick of Poitiers, beſides ſeveral rich abbeys. His creſt was a hand graſping a flaming ſword, with this motto—*N'Eſpoir ne Peur.*

Lewis,

Lewis, anxious to haſten the departure of the Engliſh, paid, without delay, the ſtipulated ſum, when the Engliſh monarch embarked at Calais, and arrived in England on the twenty-eighth of September. Thus ended an expedition which had given ſuch ſerious alarm to the king of France, and which had been attended with ſuch conſiderable expence, that the money he had received from Lewis, together with his penſion, formed but a very inadequate compenſation to Edward, who could only boaſt of having humbled his adverſary. But that adverſary, regarding intereſt as the ſole teſt of honour, not only bore his humiliation with patience, but conceived that he had obtained a very important advantage over Edward, by purchaſing his departure on ſuch eaſy terms. This, indeed, was a ſource of triumph to Lewis, though he was careful to conceal his joy, and ſtrictly prohibited his courtiers from treating the Engliſh with that mockery and deriſion to which he thought they had fairly ſubjected themſelves. One evening, however, when he was off his guard, his exultations got the better of his prudence, and he indulged himſelf in raillery at the eaſy ſimplicity of Edward and his council; but, while he was talking, he perceived a man ſtanding in one corner of the room, who had overheard all his converſation. He proved to be a Gaſcon merchant, ſettled in England who had come to aſk the king's permiſſion to export a few pipes of wine, without paying the uſual duties. Lewis was immediately ſenſible of his indiſcretion, and he offered the Gaſcon ſuch advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. "It is but juſt," ſaid the king, "that I ſhould pay the penalty of my talka-"tiveneſs[95]."

Edward, previous to his embarkation, had ſent to apprize the duke of Burgundy of the truce which he had concluded with Lewis, and to inform him, that he was at liberty to accede to it if he choſe[96]. But Charles told his envoys, that he had not invited the Engliſh into France to procure him a truce, but merely to furniſh them with the means of repairing their former loſſes; that he had believed Edward to be worthy of the rank he enjoyed, but after his late conduct, he was at liberty to depart as ſoon as he thought proper; and to convince him, purſued the duke, that I ſtand in no need of his aſſiſtance, I engage to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, till three months after his return to England. He was not, however, faithful to his word, for, yielding to the earneſt ſolicitations of Lewis, he was prevailed on to ſend plenipotentiaries to Soleure, a ſmall town in the duchy of Luxembourg, where a truce for nine years was ſigned between France and Burgundy, on the thirteenth of September. The conſtable was the firſt victim of the reconciliation between the two princes; Charles ſwore never to pardon him, and engaged, if he ſhould fall into his hands, to deliver him up to the king; in return for which Lewis engaged to cede to the duke the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham and Bohain, with all the treaſures which the conſtable had amaſſed.

[95] Commines--Garnier, tom. xviii, p. 171. [96] Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.

Lewis

Lewis farther promiſed to give no aſſiſtance, either directly or indirectly, to the young duke of Lorraine, whom he had incited to take up arms againſt Charles; he alſo engaged to aſſiſt Charles againſt the emperor, the citizens of Cologne, and all their adherents. Edward, who was preparing to embark for England, when he heard of this negociation, ſent Thomas Montgomery to the king, to entreat him to make no conceſſion to his proud vaſſal, and to tell him, that if he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, he would himſelf return in the enſuing ſpring, with all his forces, and aid him to ſubdue the duke of Burgundy. This offer, however, Lewis deemed it prudent to reject.

At the ſame time that the king ſigned a truce with the duke of Burgundy, he prolonged one which he had concluded, about ſix months before, with the king of Arragon, for a year; and, immediately after, he entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with the king of Portugal, againſt prince Ferdinand and his father; by which he engaged to lead an army into the kingdom of Arragon, after Alphonſo ſhould have effected the expulſion of Ferdinand from the kingdom of Caſtile.

Although the duke of Brittany had, as an ally, been comprehended in the truce which Lewis had ſigned with the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, and although Edward had expreſsly declared to the king himſelf, that if any attack were made on the duke, he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, yet Lewis reſolved to profit by the preſent interval of tranquillity to make him accede to ſuch terms as he ſhould chuſe to dictate. Francis, unable to oppoſe his efforts, appointed plenipotentiaries, who ſigned a treaty with Lewis at the abbey of Saint Victoire, near Senlis; by which the duke renounced all alliance with the enemies of the ſtate, and engaged to aſſiſt the king with all his forces in defence of the kingdom, whenever called on for that purpoſe, but not to march beyond the limits of his duchy.

Lewis now profited by the abſence of the duke of Burgundy, who was engaged in an attempt to reduce the duchy of Lorraine, to execute his ſchemes of revenge againſt the conſtable. Saint-Paul, apprized of his intentions, renounced all his vain projects of independence, and only thought of ſaving his life. In this emergency he applied to Charles, to whom he offered to ſurrender all the places in his poſſeſſion, provided he would afford him protection. The duke, notwithſtanding his late engagements with the king, accepted his offer, granted him a ſafe conduct, and ſent a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Saint Quentin. But he was anticipated by Lewis, who ſuddenly advanced, with twenty thouſand men, to the gates of that town, ſome of whoſe inhabitants he had previouſly engaged in his intereſt; and, at his approach, Saint-Paul fled to Mons. Saint Quentin then opened its gates to the king, who, with equal facility, acquired poſſeſſion of Ham, Bohain, and Beaurevoir. When Lewis had thus diſpoſſeſſed the conſtable of all his places, he called upon Charles to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Soleure. Charles was then engaged in the ſiege of Nanci, and as he was at a

loſs

loſs how to act, he wiſhed to defer his anſwer till he had reduced that city, but Lewis inſiſted on an immediate reply, and ſent orders to the lord of Craon, to advance, with a ſtrong body of troops, to the confines of Lorraine. The duke of Burgundy, conſcious of his inability to complete the reduction of that province, if oppoſed by the king of France, ordered Hugonet and Imbercourt to repair to Mons, and at the expiration of eight days to deliver up the conſtable to the king's envoys. He expected before that time to be maſter of Nanci, when he might ſend a counter-order to his miniſters; but the place held out ſome days longer than he expected, and the counter-order arrived *three hours* too late. The conſtable was delivered into the hands of the admiral of France, and the lord of Saint Pierre, who had advanced to the frontiers to receive him: he was thence conveyed to Paris, and having been convicted of high-treaſon by the parliament, he ſuffered decapitation. Lewis ceded the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain to Charles, with all the treaſures and moveable effects of the conſtable, reſerving only for himſelf the eſtates which Saint-Paul poſſeſſed in France. On this occaſion Lewis obſerved, "*That he and the duke of Burgundy had been engaged in a fox-chace; that "Charles had carried off the fox's ſkin, which was valuable, but that the fleſh, whith was "good for nothing, had fallen to his ſhare*[97]."

A. D. 1476.] Charles had, by this time, added the country of Lorraine to his former dominions; but though he poſſeſſed the courage and ambition of a conqueror, he had neither the prudence nor the policy of a ſtateſman. Ever ardent in his enterprizes, and ſwayed by a reſiſtleſs impetuoſity of temper, he liſtened to the complaints of the count of Romont, whoſe territories the Swiſs had invaded, and inconſiderately engaged in a war with that virtuous and hardy people, who were formidable from the poſſeſſion of that courage which freedom inſpires, as well as from their exemption from the luxurious vices of their continental neighbours.

In vain did the Swiſs endeavour to deprecate the wrath of Charles; he was deaf to every propoſal, however ſubmiſſive or advantageous, and entered, with his troops, a bleak and mountainous country, which could only recompenſe his hazard and toils with an unprofitable harveſt of barren laurels. After reducing ſome inconſiderable places, he laid ſiege to Granſon, which was defended by a garriſon of five hundred Swiſs, who, after a ſpirited reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Charles immediately conſigned them to the provoſt of his army, who hanged four hundred on the neighbouring trees, and drowned the reſt in the lake of Neuchâtel. Soon after the town had ſurrendered, the duke was informed that an army of Swiſs was advancing to attack him; but he diſregarded the intelligence, and purſued his march. As the chief ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry, he muſt certainly have cruſhed the enemy, could he have drawn them into the even plain; but he was no ſooner convinced they were really approaching,

97 Garnier.

than

than he imprudently entered the defiles of the mountain, where there was no room for his forces to act. He had not even taken the precaution of preparing his men for action; ſo that the van of his army was defeated, before the center and rear knew they were engaged; the conſequence of this imprudent ſtep was a general diſperſion of his troops, who fled with the utmoſt precipitation. His loſs in men was inconſiderable, but his military cheſt, his ſuperb plate, and his jewels, the moſt ſplendid in Europe, were the prey of the victors. So little were the Swiſs acquainted with objects of luxury, or the value of riches, that they tore up the moſt magnificent tents to convert them into cloaths for themſelves; miſtook the duke's plate for pewter, and ſold a conſiderable part of it as ſuch; and one of them having found a large diamond encloſed in a caſe, thought it was a piece of glaſs, and threw it on the ground, but he afterwards put it in his pocket, and ſold it to a prieſt for a florin; the prieſt, equally ignorant of its value, ſold it again for three livres; and it is now one of the moſt valuable jewels in the French crown, being eſtimated at eighteen hundred thouſand livres, about ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling. After this victory the Swiſs re-took Granſon by aſſault, when they took down the bodies of their countrymen from the trees to which they were ſuſpended, and replaced them with an equal number of Burgundians.

Charles had ſo long been accuſtomed to the ſmiles of fortune, that he could ill brook the frowns of the fickle goddeſs. His late diſgrace had ſuch an effect on his mind, that it brought on a ſevere fit of ſickneſs; but determined on revenge, he ſpeedily raiſed a freſh army, and formed the ſiege of Morat, in the canton of Friburgh, a ſmall town, but ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a garriſon of eighteen hundred men[98]. The duke was repulſed in three different aſſaults; and, after he had paſſed fifteen days before the place, he was informed that the Swiſs army, reinforced by the confederate cities of the Upper Rhine, was advancing to give him battle. Highly pleaſed at the intelligence, he haſtened to reconnoitre the enemy, but his uſual precipitation prevented him from aſcertaining their numbers, which amounted to thirty thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, whereas his own forces did not exceed twenty-five thouſand effective men. He was adviſed by his officers, to raiſe the ſiege of Morat, and fix his camp in an open plain, where his cavalry, having full ſcope for exertion, would give him a great advantage over the enemy; but his blind rage led him to reject this prudent council, and leaving two hundred lances to guard his lines, he advanced to meet the Swiſs, who were commanded by René, the young duke of Lorraine, whoſe territories the duke of Burgundy had ſeized.

On the approach of Charles, René poſted his infantry behind a thick hedge, impervious by the cavalry; while Charles ſent his free archers, ſupported by a body of horſe,

[98] Commines—Meyer—Chron. Scand.—Harræus Annal. Brab.

to diſlodge them; but this maneuvre, failing of effect, cauſed the loſs of the battle; for attempting to withdraw his archers, who were ſeverely handled by the enemy, protected, themſelves, by the hedge, he threw his whole army into diſorder, and the Swiſs, profiting by the occaſion, ruſhed forward and compleated their confuſion. From ſixteen to eighteen thouſand of the Burgundians were left dead on the field; and amongſt them were the count of Marle, one of the ſons of the late conſtable de Saint Paul; James du Mas; Grinberghe, Roſembois, Mailli and Bournonville, all brave and experienced officers.

Charles was now afraid that Lewis, his inveterate and moſt dangerous enemy, would avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to break the truce and attack his dominions; he therefore ſent the lord of Contai to ſound his intentions, and to inſpire him, if poſſible, with ſentiments of juſtice and generoſity[99]. Lewis promiſed to obſerve the truce, from a conviction, that he could not more effectually atchieve the deſtruction of the duke, than by abandoning him to his own unbridled paſſions, and by leaving him to purſue the war againſt the Swiſs, which he ſtill perſevered in with incredible obſtinacy; but he attacked him in a manner leſs honourable, and more inſidious, by endeavouring to corrupt his beſt officers. The count of Campobaſſo, a native of Naples, and exiled from his country as a partizan of the houſe of Anjou, held the principal place in the favour of Charles; and Lewis, being informed that this man had ſome cauſe for complaint againſt the duke, endeavoured to ſeduce him from his ſervice. Campobaſſo offered more than was required of him; he promiſed to deliver up his maſter to the king, alive or dead. Lewis, either from abhorrence of a treachery which diſſolved all ties between a prince and his ſervant, or from a belief that the plan had been concerted with the duke himſelf, revealed the deſign to Charles. But the character of Lewis induced the duke to deſpiſe the intelligence: "If it were true, the king would never impart to me ſo important a ſecret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The duke of Burgundy, overwhelmed with ſhame and indignation, paſſed his melancholy hours at La Riviere; abandoning himſelf to deſpair, he ſuffered his beard and nails to grow, refuſed to change his dreſs, and ſecluded himſelf from the ſight of his moſt confidential miniſters. His extreme anxiety occaſioned an affection of the heart, which prevented the free circulation of the blood, and reſiſted the efforts of medical ſkill. The duke of Lorraine, ſecretly aſſiſted by Lewis, took this opportunity to recover his native dominions; and the rapid progreſs of his arms, with the reduction of Nanci, rouzed Charles from his lethargy, and made him haſten to the relief of that province. He determined to inveſt the capital; but, as the winter was far advanced, his

[99] Commines—Le Grand.

moſt

moſt experienced officers adviſed him to ſtation his troops in ſome of the neighbouring towns, and to wait patiently till the garriſon of Nanci ſhould have conſumed all their proviſions, when they would be obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. But theſe tardy meaſures by no means accorded with the eager impatience of Charles, who liſtened only to the dictates of indignation; ſo that, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the general diſcontent of his troops, he gave orders to open the trenches. He then ſhut himſelf up in his tent, and left Campobaſſo to direct the operations of the ſiege. This Italian traitor, who, it was believed, had once ſuffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles the indignity of a blow, determined, at all events, to betray the duke; having failed in his application to Lewis, he now offered his ſervices to the duke of Lorraine, to whom he promiſed to give ſufficient time to collect his troops, and even to deliver, for a ſtipulated reward, his maſter to him, alive or dead.

The money which René had received from Lewis had enabled him to raiſe an army of eight thouſand Swiſs, which was joined by conſiderable reinforcements from the confederate cities of Germany, and by ſeveral detachments of French troops, who, by the orders of Lewis, demanded to ſerve as volunteers, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of eighteen or nineteen thouſand men. The Burgundian army, on the contrary, was ſo weakened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the ſiege, by ſickneſs and deſertion, that when it was reviewed by the count of Chimai, it was found to contain only three thouſand effective men. When the count informed Charles of this circumſtance, who was wholly ignorant of the ſtate of his camp, that prince burſt into a tranſport of rage, and exclaimed,—"Were I alone, I would fight the enemy!"—At length, however, the duke opened his eyes to the danger of his ſituation, when he immediately diſpatched orders to the governors of his provinces, to ſend him a reinforcement of troops, and to arm all his vaſſals without delay; but before theſe orders could even be received by thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, the enemy appeared in ſight. On their approach, the count of Campobaſſo quitted the Burgundian army with his company, which conſiſted of two hundred lances, and went over to the duke of Lorraine; the next day his example was followed by two other Italian captains. The Germans and Swiſs deteſting this perfidy, and thinking it a diſgrace to hold any commerce with ſuch traitors, refuſed to admit them into their ranks, and compelled René to diſmiſs them. Campobaſſo and his treacherous companions, being obliged to leave the camp, took their poſt on the bridge of Bouxierres, in order to cut off the retreat of ſuch of the Burgundians as ſhould eſcape the ſword of the enemy.

A. D. 1477.] Charles, whoſe army was now reduced to little more than two thouſand men, called a council of war, the members whereof were unanimous in their opinion on the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, and avoiding an action; they adviſed Charles, if he were averſe from the evacuation of the province, to intrench himſelf under the walls of Pont-à-Mouſſon, and there wait for the reinforcements which muſt

ſoon arrive from Hainaut, Brabant, and the duchy of Luxembourg; and they repreſented to him, that all delays muſt neceſſarily turn to his advantage, ſince his army would daily acquire an acceſſion of ſtrength; whereas that of the enemy, being chiefly compoſed of mercenary troops, would ſoon diſperſe from want of pay and ſubſiſtance.

The duke of Burgundy, who appears, at this period, to have acted under the influence of infatuation, paid no attention to advice, which nothing but the moſt fatal preſumption, or inſanity itſelf, could have rejected. He reminded his officers of the glory they had acquired by their former atchievements, and bade them recollect the ever-memorable ſiege of Nuiz, when, with an army inferior, in the proportion of one to three, he had braved the undivided forces of the empire. "If we have ſince," purſued Charles, "ſuſtained ſome loſſes, they have not afforded any opportunity for triumph to the "enemy, who have hitherto kept themſelves encloſed in inacceſſible places, not daring "to face us in the open field; ſhall we now then, when the opportunity for which we "have been ſo long anxious occurs, heſitate one moment to attack them?—In ſhort, to "whatever ſituation fortune may reduce me, it ſhall never be ſaid that I fled before a "*child*:"—Alluding to the duke of Lorraine.

On the morning of the fifth of January, Charles left his lines and advanced towards the enemy; the rival armies ſoon met, and though the cold was exceſſive, and the ſnow fell in great abundance, the action immediately commenced. The event was ſuch as might naturally be expected from the extreme diſproportion of numbers; Charles, after fulfilling all the duties of a great general, and a brave ſoldier, was at length attacked by Charles de Beaumont, ſeneſchal of Saint Dié; having already received ſeveral wounds, and now finding himſelf faint with loſs of blood, he called out to his adverſary, who did not know with whom he was engaged—"*Save the duke of Burgundy*;"—but Beaumont, who was deaf, thinking he ſaid "*Long live Burgundy*," aimed a furious blow at his head, which felled him, lifeleſs, to the ground. We are told that Beaumont, being afterward convinced of his error, died with regret, either at having killed a prince for whoſe military talents he entertained the higheſt reſpect, or elſe at having loſt the conſiderable ſum to which, had he taken him, he would have been entitled for his ranſom. Beſides the duke of Burgundy himſelf, there periſhed in this action, his virtuous kinſman, De Bievres; Contai, diſtinguiſhed for his inviolable attachment to his ſovereign; and the lords of Croi and Vieuville. The principal priſoners were, Anthony and Baldwin, baſtards of Burgundy; the counts of Naſſau, Rhetel and Chimai; Joſſe de Lalain; the Marquis of Rothelin; young Montaigne; Oliver de la Marche, and the brave Galiot[100].

Immediately after the action, the duke of Lorraine entered his capital, amidſt the ac-

[100] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 248, 249.

clamations

clamations of his ſubjects. It was not known what had become of the duke of Burgundy, as he was not among the priſoners, and no one knew that he was killed; it was generally believed that he had fled. But the next day his death was aſcertained by a page, who had been taken by Campobaſſo on the bridge of Bouxierres, and who had ſeen him fall. Being conducted to the ſpot, the body was found covered with blood and dirt, and the face ſo disfigured, that his own brother only knew him by ſome private marks; by a ſcar in the neck, from a wound which he had received at the battle of Montlheri, and by the extreme length of his nails, which had not been cut ſince the period of his firſt defeat. While the body laid in ſtate at Nanci, the duke of Lorraine, who went to view it, took the lifeleſs hand of his departed kinſman, and burſting into tears, exclaimed—"*Fair couſin, God reſt your ſoul, you was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs, and of great grief to us.*" Charles was interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, whence his remains were transferred, in 1550, to the church of Saint Donatus, at Bruges. Thus periſhed, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Charles, the laſt duke of the royal branch of Burgundy, to whoſe name the juſt appellations of—"*the Bold, the Terrible,* and *the Raſh*"—had been annexed by his people. The death of this prince forms an epoch in the general hiſtory of Europe; ſince it produced an important change not only in the affairs of his own dominions, but even in thoſe of all the neighbouring princes; and greatly contributed to the formation of a political ſyſtem which, in ſubſequent times, became an object of univerſal attention.

The king was at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, when he received the news of the duke of Burgundy's death: the fall of an enemy affords, to a baſe and abject mind, a theme for exultation, and a ſubject for triumph; ſuch a mind was that of Lewis, who was neither anxious to repreſs, nor careful to conceal, the ſenſations of joy which he experienced on this occaſion. He immediately diſpatched couriers to all the different towns in the kingdom, to all the perſons of diſtinction, and particularly to the duke of Brittany, to inform them of the *happy* event. He performed a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of the Virgin, at Puſ in Anjou; and, as a mark of his gratitude, promiſed to ſurround the tomb of Saint-Martin with a ſilver baluſtrade.

The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering proſpect to the ambition of Lewis. His daughter, Mary, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Burgundy, had been ſucceſſively promiſed by her father to ſeveral different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. This rendered the union with her an important object to all the potentates of Chriſtendom; and the eſſential advantages of acquiring poſſeſſion of her territories, at that time the moſt opulent and beſt cultivated of any on this ſide the Alps, were perfectly underſtood. As ſoon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the ſucceſſion, the eyes of all the European princes were turned towards Mary; and they felt themſelves deeply intereſted in the choice which ſhe was about to make of the perſon on whom ſhe would beſtow that rich inheritance.

Lewis

Lewis, from whoſe kingdom ſeveral of the provinces which ſhe poſſeſſed had been diſmembered, and whoſe dominions ſtretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had likewiſe a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reaſonable propoſitions he ſhould make with reſpect to the diſpoſal of a princeſs who was the vaſſal of his crown, and deſcended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propoſitions, however, which he could make with propriety: the one was the marriage of the dauphin, the other, that of the count of Angoulême, a prince of the blood, deſcended from a younger branch of the houſe of Orleans, with the heireſs of Burgundy. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to the crown, and have rendered France the moſt reſpectable monarchy in Europe; but the great diſparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the dauphin only eight years old; the avowed reſolution of the Flemings, not to chuſe a maſter poſſeſſed of ſuch power as might enable him to form projects dangerous to their liberties, together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppreſſive government of Lewis, were obſtacles in the way of executing this plan, which it was vain to think of ſurmounting. By the latter, which might have been accompliſhed with facility, Mary having diſcovered ſome inclination to a match with the count of Angoulême, Lewis would have prevented the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power; and, in return for ſuch a ſplendid eſtabliſhment for the count of Angoulême, he muſt have obtained, or would have extorted from him, conceſſions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Lewis had ſo long been accuſtomed to the intricacies of an inſidious policy, that he could not be ſatisfied with what was obvious, and ſimple; and was ſo fond of artifice and refinement, that he brought himſelf to conſider theſe as his ultimate object, not as the means only of conducting affairs[1]. From this principle, no leſs than from his unwillingneſs to aggrandize any of his own ſubjects, or, perhaps, from the deſire of oppreſſing the houſe of Burgundy, which he hated, he neglected the ſtraight path, which would naturally have been purſued by a prince of leſs art and inferior abilities, and followed one more ſuited to his own genius.

He propoſed to render himſelf, by force of arms, maſter of thoſe provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to puſh his conqueſts into her other territories, while he amuſed her with inſiſting on the impracticable match with the dauphin. Having previouſly corrupted the leading men in the provinces of Burgundy and Artois, he ſent an army into the former, under the command of the prince of Orange, whom he had allured into his ſervice by ſplendid promiſes; the lord of Craon, and Charles d'Amboiſe, lord of Chaumont. Theſe generals were accompanied by the biſhop of Lan-

[1] Robertſon.

gres;

gres; John de Caulers, William Allegrin, and Peter Tarquain, judges in the court of parliament; who were inveſted with full powers to take poſſeſſion of the province in the king's name. Theſe deputies addreſſed themſelves to the ſtates of Burgundy, who were then aſſembled at Dijon, and ſummoned them to acknowledge the authority of Lewis, within the ſpace of twelve days at fartheſt.

The king maintained that his claim to the duchy of Burgundy was not to be diſputed, ſince that duchy had been ceded, as an appanage, by king John to his ſon Philip; and it was a law, generally received, that no appanage could be poſſeſſed by a female, but, in default of heirs male, muſt revert to the crown. To this plea it was objected by Mary, and her council, that the duchy of Burgundy was different from all other appanages, inaſmuch as it never had conſtituted a part of the domain of the crown, and therefore it ought not to be annexed to it; they, moreover, urged, that ſhould this objection with regard to the duchy be over-ruled, ſtill there were ſeveral lordſhips in Burgundy, to which the king could have no poſſible claim; the county of Charolois had been purchaſed of the count of Armagnac by one of Mary's anceſtors; the counties of Maçon and Auxerre, too, had been ceded to her grandfather, Philip the Good, by the treaty of Arras, and it was expreſsly ſtipulated in the deed of ceſſion, that it was to deſcend to his heirs, male *and* female; of this part of her inheritance, therefore, there could be no poſſible pretenſion for deſpoiling her: theſe reaſons, however, were deemed inſufficient by the ſtates, who had been bribed by Lewis to betray their ſovereign, and, on the twenty-ninth of January, the whole province took the oaths of allegiance to the king of France.

During theſe proceedings in Burgundy, another army had advanced to the frontiers of Picardy, ſecured the towns on the Somme, and puſhed its conqueſts into the province of Artois. Abbeville, Arras, Ham, Rohain, Saint Quentin, Montdidier, Montreuil, and Peronne, were either ſurrendered to Lewis through the treachery of their governors, or elſe opened their gates in conſequence of his intrigues with the inhabitants.

In purſuance of the plan which he had adopted for deceiving the heireſs of Burgundy, by proteſtations of friendſhip and propoſals of marriage, while he was employed in deſpoiling her of her provinces; he ſent one Oliver, who from his barber had become his chief favourite, in the capacity of an ambaſſador to Ghent[2]. This man had orders to ſeduce the inhabitants of Ghent from their duty to Mary, and, if poſſible, to excite an inſurrection; but his deſign being diſcovered, the populace threatened to throw him into the river, ſo that he was obliged to decamp with precipitation.

[2] Commines.—Meyer.—Le Grand.

Soon

Soon after this event, Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy; Guy de Brimieu, lord of Imbercourt; the biſhop of Térouanne; the count of Grandpré, and Gruthuſe, arrived at the French court, as ambaſſadors from Mary. They came to inform the king, that the young princeſs had taken the reins of government into her own hands, and had appointed a council, conſiſting of the ducheſs-dowager, the lord of Raveſtein, Hugonet, and Imbercourt; ſhe, therefore, requeſted his majeſty to addreſs himſelf to them whenever he had any propoſals to make, or affairs to negociate with her, and to give no credit to applications from any other quarter. The letter, containing this information and this requeſt, was written partly by Mary herſelf, partly by the ducheſs-dowager, and partly by the lord of Raveſtein[3]. The king, after he had read the letter, aſked the ambaſſadors, What elſe they had to communicate? and on their reply that they had nothing farther to impart, he expreſſed his ſurprize, declaring it was his intention to marry the dauphin to their young miſtreſs, and, conſequently, to take charge of her dominions; that he expected to govern all thoſe provinces which were to revert to the crown, in his own name, but that the others he ſhould only keep till the princeſs came of age and did homage to him. The ambaſſadors making no reply, the king added, that the only means of preventing the continuance of a bloody war, and of ſecuring the inheritance of Mary, was by accepting the propoſals he had juſt made. The ambaſſadors perſiſted in affirming that they had no inſtructions on that head; but Hugonet and Imbercourt, who had the chief management of public affairs, thought it prudent to yield to the neceſſity of the times. They ſaw the king at the head of a numerous army, poſſeſſed of greater power than all his enemies united, and he no ſooner appeared than all the towns opened their gates to him: whereas the ducheſs of Burgundy was wholly deſtitute of ſupport; ſhe enjoyed, as yet, but a precarious authority; her country was drained both of men and money; while the towns refuſed to obey her, and inſiſted on the reſtoration of their ancient privileges. In this ſituation, they conceived that a marriage with the dauphin would be the moſt fortunate event that could occur for their ſovereign; and as they had no doubt of the king's ſincerity, they promiſed to accelerate the concluſion of the buſineſs as much as poſſible; and, for this purpoſe, they conſented to ſurrender the province of Artois into the hands of Lewis, on condition that it ſhould be reſtored to Mary, after ſhe had done homage, unleſs ſhe ſhould marry any of the king's enemies, in which caſe the province was to be annexed to the crown of France.

Although Hugonet and Imbercourt had exceeded their power in ſigning this treaty, yet their conduct had certainly been ſwayed by the beſt of motives. Soon after their return to Flanders, Mary, whoſe only reſource conſiſted in the attachment of her ſubjects, aſſembled the ſtates at Ghent, who promiſed to protect her, but fixed the diminution of her power as the price of their protection. They created a council of regency, who

[3] Commines.—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand.—Heuterus rerum Belgicarum.

ſeized

ſeized the reins of government, and ſent ambaſſadors to the king, to requeſt he would obſerve the treaty of Soleure, and protect the heireſs of Burgundy, as, by that treaty, he was bound to do. Lewis received them with extreme coolneſs; and when they obſerved, that it was the intention of the ducheſs to regulate her conduct, in future, by the advice of the ſtates; the king interrupted them—"Stop"—ſaid he—"you are deceived; I know the intentions of your miſtreſs better than you do; and, ſo far from "ſubmitting to be guided by the advice of the three eſtates, ſhe has already formed a "ſecret council, compoſed of perſons who are averſe from peace, and who will diſavow "you." The ambaſſadors thinking themſelves inſulted, affirmed that they had advanced nothing but what they were able to prove, and offered to ſhew their inſtructions: "And I"—replied Lewis—"can ſhew you a letter, the writing of which you muſt "know, and which will convince you that Mary has repoſed her confidence in four "perſons, by whoſe advice alone her conduct is regulated." He then not only ſhewed them the letter, but allowed them to take it away with them. The ambaſſadors immediately returned to Ghent, and ſhewed the letter to the ſtates of Flanders, who reproached their ſovereign with duplicity; excited a popular inſurrection; and, having ſeized Hugonet and Imbercourt, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and, unmoved by the tears and entreaties of Mary, beheaded them in her preſence[4].

Lewis, who probably had only meant, by his treacherous conduct, to excite an inſurrection in Flanders, was extremely enraged when he heard of the death of the two miniſters; he declared the inhabitants of Ghent guilty of high treaſon; annulled the ſentence they had pronounced againſt Hugonet and Imbercourt, and took the children of the former under his protection. His indignation was greatly encreaſed by the conſideration that their death diſconcerted the meaſures he had adopted with regard to the province of Artois[5]. To counteract the effects of this event, he immediately raiſed a a powerful army, and, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Arras, advanced againſt Heſdin. In the courſe of this expedition, Lewis diſplayed the cruelty of his diſpoſition; twelve deputies from Arras he cauſed to be ſeized and executed, after he had received them with kindneſs, and regaled them with apparent hoſpitality; he violated the faith of treaties, and after a town had capitulated, he would frequently ſelect ſuch as he knew to be moſt attached to their lawful ſovereign, and put them to death, in cool blood. Yet ſtill his progreſs was rapid; the important city of Cambrai opened her gates to him, while the addreſs of his favourite, Oliver, procured him poſſeſſion of Tournay. At the ſiege of Bouchain, death had nearly put a ſtop to all his ambitious ſchemes, for Tanneguy du Châtel was killed by a cannon-ball as the king was leaning on his ſhoulder. Bouchain, however, was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and le Queſnoi was taken by aſ-

4 Phil. de Comines. 5 Idem.—Cabinet Satirique.—Heuter. rer. Belg.—Le Grand.

ſault. Aveſne, making an obſtinate reſiſtance, Lewis, who was ever more formidable from his ſtratagems than his arms, invited the principal officers of the garriſon to his camp, under pretence of holding a conference, while Dammartin ſtormed the town, and reſigned it to pillage[6].

Another army, under the command of Deſquerdes and du Lude, laid ſiege to Saint Omer, which was valiantly defended by Philip, ſon to Anthony, baſtard of Burgundy. Lewis, enraged at the gallant reſiſtance made by this youthful warrior, threatened to maſſacre his father, before his eyes, unleſs he ſurrendered the place; but Philip replied—That, tenderly as he loved his father, he would ſtill do his duty, nor ever conſent to deliver up a town with the defence whereof he had been entruſted. The king did not think proper to put his threats in execution; but the war continued to rage with greater violence than ever; he ſent four thouſand mowers to Dammartin, adviſing him to treat them with a few barrels of wine, in order to encourage them to deſtroy every thing that came in their way, and he deſired that the country might be ſo effectually deſtroyed, that the inhabitants might never wiſh to return to it[7].

So long as the war was confined to the provinces of Burgundy, Luxembourgh, Hainaut, and Artois, the Flemings were rather pleaſed than diſpleaſed at the ſucceſs of the French arms; they kept their princeſs in a kind of captivity, and as they did not like to ſee their ſovereigns poſſeſſed of too much power, they would not have been ſorry to ſee her reduced to the rank of counteſs of Flanders. But when the French approached their frontiers, and the garriſon of Tournay ſpread devaſtation throughout their country, they then perceived the neceſſity of defending themſelves from the attacks of ſuch dangerous invaders, and accordingly levied an army of twenty thouſand men. At a loſs for a leader, they fixed their eyes on Adolphus of Gueldres, who, by his unnatural conduct, had obliged his father to diſinherit him. They took him from priſon to place him at the head of their troops; and encouraged him by a promiſe to give him their princeſs in marriage, if he ſucceeded in delivering their country from the deſtructive incurſions of the garriſon of Tournay. Stimulated by ſuch powerful motives, Adolphus directed his march to that city; but a diſpute ariſing between the militia of Ghent and that of Bruges, his army was thrown into confuſion, and the garriſon of Tournay ſeized this opportunity to make a vigorous ſally, in which the Flemings were defeated, and Adolphus loſt his life.

While Lewis was thus endeavouring, by a conduct the moſt baſe and perfidious, to diſpoſſeſs the heireſs of Burgundy of her lawful inheritance, the ſtates of Flanders had opened a negociation with the emperor, Frederick the Third; and they now concluded

[6] Comines.—Heuterus.—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand. [7] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 306.

a treaty

a treaty of marriage—which Lewis in vain attempted to prevent—between their ſovereign, and his ſon, Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria. The illuſtrious birth of that prince, as well as the high dignity to which he had the proſpect of ſucceeding, rendered the alliance honourable for Mary; while, from the diſtance of his hereditary territories, and the ſcantineſs of his revenues, his power was too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy or fear of the Flemings. Thus Lewis, by the caprice of his temper, and the exceſs of his refinements, put the houſe of Auſtria in poſſeſſion of that noble inheritance; and loſt an opportunity which he never could recal, of making that important acquiſition, which would have rendered him the moſt formidable potentate in Chriſtendom. Thus, too, the ſame monarch who firſt united the interior force of France, and eſtabliſhed it on ſuch a footing, as to make it formidable to the reſt of Europe, contributed, far contrary to his intention, to raiſe up a rival power, which, during two centuries, thwarted the meaſures, oppoſed the arms, and checked the progreſs of his ſucceſſors.

During the celebration of theſe important nuptials, the French troops ſpread over the Netherlands, reduced to aſhes the towns of Orchies, Turquoin, Freſne les Buſſeaux, Saint-Sauveur, Marchiennes, and Harbec. In Burgundy, too, the flames of war raged with equal fury; John, prince of Orange, whom Lewis had allured to his ſervice by a promiſe to make him his lieutenant-general in Burgundy, and to reſtore his family poſſeſſions, finding himſelf deceived by that monarch, who refuſed to fulfil his promiſes, excited a revolution in the duchy, and procured from Mary the dignity which had been withholden from him by Lewis. Two Burgundian captains, Claude and William de Vaudrai, collected a body of troops, and ſeized the towns of Veſoul, Rochefort and Auxonne. Craon, whom Lewis had appointed governor of Burgundy, with unlimited power, attempted to retake Veſoul, but the garriſon made a ſally during the night, and cut his whole army to pieces. When the king was informed of this revolution, he was unable to reſtrain his anger; he wrote immediately to Craon, ordering him, in caſe he could get the prince of Orange into his power, either *to burn him alive, or elſe to hang him firſt, and then commit his body to the flames.* He ordered a criminal proceſs to be inſtituted againſt the prince, who, though abſent, was pronounced a traitor, and as ſuch condemned to die. The prince, however, continued his operations, and, in a ſhort time, expelled the French from all the places they poſſeſſed in the county of Burgundy, except the town of Grai, of which an old warrior, of the name of Salazar, was governor. This place was inveſted by Chateau-Guyon, who had a numerous body of cavalry, and ſome regiments of infantry under his command, and daily expected to be joined by freſh reinforcements. Craon, however, prevented the junction of theſe troops, by defeating the army under Chateau- Guyon, whom he made priſoner; but, while he was obtaining this advantage in the county of Burgundy, Toulonjon and Marigni entered the duchy, reduced ſeveral towns, and excited a general ferment. The towns, however, were ſoon retaken by Craon, who, having expelled Toulonjon and Marigni from the duchy, returned to the county, and defeated a detachment of the garriſon of Dâle. Not doubt-

ing but that the inhabitants, alarmed at this diſaſter, would ſoon ſurrender the place, he laid ſiege to it, and, after he had battered the walls for a week, he ordered an aſſault to be made, without conſidering whether the breach was practicable; in conſequence of this neglect, he was repulſed with loſs; in a ſecond aſſault he was equally unſucceſsful, and in the two he loſt a thouſand men. Having received intelligence that the enemy were advancing to give him battle, he raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retreated towards the duchy, but he was overtaken by the two brothers, de Vaudrai, who attacked the French, and obtained a complete victory. The victors then formed the ſiege of Grai, but as they could not expect to reduce, by open force, a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, ſo well ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition of all kinds, and defended, moreover, by ſuch an experienced officer as Salazar, they began by corrupting the inhabitants, and having eſtabliſhed a correſpondence in the town, they approached the walls one windy night, and, planting their ladders about ſixty of the moſt determined mounted the wall, and opening one of the gates, introduced their companions. The whole army entered the town, before the French could aſſemble their troops; Salazar, perceiving that the citizens had joined the enemy, ſet fire to the place, in the hope that his men would effect their eſcape, during the confuſion which the conflagration muſt neceſſarily occaſion; but they all of them periſhed; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could ſave his own life, and reach Dijon in ſafety.

Theſe loſſes made the king determine to attend to the propoſals of Maximilian; although there was no proſpect of concluding a peace, Lewis thought a truce might be of uſe to him, as it would give him time to repair the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Burgundy; to aſcertain with greater preciſion the reſources of his new adverſary; and to ſound the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring powers.

Maximilian, almoſt immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, had ſent ambaſſadors to the king to complain of his violation of the treaty of Soleure, in attacking the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy; at the ſame time, he offered to make peace with Lewis, and declared that if his propoſal ſhould be rejected, the king would find that he neither wanted courage nor ability to defend himſelf. Lewis replied, that he had only taken up arms to defend the rights of his crown, as he was bound to do by his coronation-oath; that Mary kept from him provinces which had reverted to the crown on the death of Charles, the late duke of Burgundy; that ſhe was in poſſeſſion of others, for which ſhe ought to pay homage; and that he was willing to conclude a truce, provided the ſacrifice of his lawful rights ſhould not be required as the price of it. He accordingly appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with thoſe of Maximilian; and theſe miniſters having met at Lens, concluded a truce, without expreſſing any term for its duration, and ſtipulating only that four days notice ſhould be given by either party who ſhould be inclined to break it. This truce was ſtrictly obſerved in the Netherlands, but it was not publiſhed in Burgundy. Lewis, inceſſantly haraſſed by complaints from that

that province againſt Craon, and imputing to the avarice of that general all the calamities of the war, deprived him of his government, and baniſhed him to his own eſtate. He was ſucceeded by Charles D'Amboiſe, better known by the name of Chaumont, who, to great military talents, joined the more amiable endowments of an humane, diſintereſted, and virtuous mind.

The ardour with which Lewis had engaged in the war, had not made him loſe ſight of other matters equally eſſential to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Foreſeeing that the authority of Maximilian would no ſooner be acknowledged in the Netherlands, than that prince would endeavour to ſecure the Engliſh monarch in his intereſt, he prudently reſolved to anticipate him. With this view he ſent the archbiſhop of Vienne, and three other envoys to England; and he took care to embark with them a conſiderable ſum of money, as well for diſcharging the arrears of Edward's penſion, as thoſe of his miniſters and favourites. Theſe golden arguments proved ſo convincive, that the archbiſhop found no difficulty in prolonging the truce, which was originally concluded for only ſeven years, but which it was now agreed to continue during the life of the two kings, and for one year after[8]. Lewis alſo concluded treaties of alliance with the duke of Lorraine, and the republic of Venice.

Spain was now the only power from whom the king had any reaſon to apprehend an attack; and in order to remove theſe apprehenſions, and to be at liberty to direct his whole force againſt the houſe of Burgundy, he reſolved to acknowledge Ferdinand and Iſabella as the ſovereigns of Caſtile, on which condition he obtained the prolongation of a truce which he had before concluded with thoſe princes[9]. Adolphus, king of Portugal, who had always flattered himſelf that Lewis would enable him to enforce the pretenſions of his neice Jane to the throne of Caſtile, and who had been ſome time at the court of France, ſoliciting the neceſſary aſſiſtance for that purpoſe, was no ſooner apprized of this treaty, than he gave up his cauſe for loſt, and even began to entertain apprehenſions for his perſonal ſafety, which the coolneſs he experienced at the French court was but too well calculated to confirm. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, and having no other mode of returning to Portugal but by a French veſſel, he gave it out that he intended to retire from the world, and to conſecrate the remainder of his days to prayer and penitence. He wrote to his ſon, prince Juan, bidding him an eternal adieu, and ordering him to proceed to his own coronation without a moment's delay; and after he had ſent off the letter, he left the court, and retired to ſome private place. It was reported that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, but he was ſought for with ſuch care, that his reſidence was diſcovered in a village near Honfleur. Lewis, having received

[8] Comines—Dom Calmet—Ferreras—Le Grand.

[9] Ferreras, Hiſt. D'Eſpagne—Le Grand.

intelligence

intelligence from his ſpies, that Ferdinand and Iſabella were actually engaged in a negociation with Maximilian, became anxious to oppoſe the extenſion of their power, by means of a rival, who, though frequently defeated, was ſtill formidable; he, therefore, preſſed Alphonſo to return to his dominions, and made the province of Normandy defray the expence of his voyage. On the return of Alphonſo, his ſon reſigned, with chearful alacrity, the ſceptre he had ſo lately aſſumed; nor could the reiterated commands of his father ſuffice to make him replace the diadem on his brows.

The ſanguinary diſpoſition of Lewis encreaſed with his years; he had nouriſhed an inceſſant deſire of vengeance againſt James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the firſt nobles of the realm, and who had appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League "for the public good:*" he was alſo accuſed of having maintained a correſpondence with the late conſtable, and of having joined the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy in inviting the Engliſh into France. The duke, to avoid the reſentment of his implacable maſter, had retired to the fortreſs of Carlat, in the mountains of Auvergne; whither the lord of Beaujeu was ſent with a powerful army. The ducheſs of Nemours, daughter to the count of Maine, and couſin-german to the king, had juſt lain-in; and a falſe report, that her huſband had fallen into the hands of the enemy, having reached her ears, occaſioned her almoſt immediate death. The duke, diſtracted at the loſs of a conſort whom he highly cheriſhed, gave himſelf up to deſpair; and though Carlat was deemed an impregnable fortreſs, and he had been careful to ſupply it with ſufficient proviſions for a conſiderable length of time, he entered into a negociation with the lord of Beaujeu, and reſigned himſelf into his power, on the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that his life ſhould be ſafe, and that he ſhould be allowed the privilege of juſtifying his conduct. But Lewis, who diſregarded all thoſe ties which even men of common honeſty reſpect, cauſed his noble priſoner, in violation of this ſolemn contract, to be thrown into a cold damp dungeon, at the caſtle of Pierre-enciſe, where, we are told, the hardſhips he ſuſtained made his hair turn perfectly white[10]; he was thence conveyed to the Baſtile, and ſome vague accuſations of an attempt to corrupt his guards were uſed as a pretence for confining him in an iron cage. Commiſſioners were appointed to try him, but the king, diſpleaſed with their diſpoſition to lenity, referred the deciſion of the cauſe to the parliament of Paris, to whom the commiſſioners were afterwards joined, with ſome other judges of the provincial courts. Three members of the parliament, having ſpoken in favour of the priſoner, were immediately deprived of their places by the king's arbitrary will; and when the parliament remonſtrated on the illegality of this proceeding, they were ſeverely reprimanded by the tyrant. Not even the ſhadow of a proof was produced againſt the duke; but he was unhappily allured, by the hopes of mercy, to make an ample confeſſion, on which alone his condemnation was pronounced. Being declared guilty of

[10] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 330.

high-

high-treaſon, he was ſentenced to loſe his head, and his property was confiſcated to the crown. The king's inhumanity extended beyond the ſentence; by a refinement of cruelty, unprecedented in the annals of tyranny, he commanded the duke's two ſons—the eldeſt of whom had but juſt completed his ninth year—to be placed immediately under the ſcaffold prepared for the execution, that the blood of the father might drop on the heads of his children[11]. It is degrading to human nature to find men capable of executing commands ſo truly diabolical!

The inſufficiency of the proofs which had been adduced againſt the duke of Nemours led the king, immediately after his execution, to publiſh an edict, by which all perſons who ſhould be privy to any plot formed againſt the perſon of the king, the queen, or the dauphin, and who ſhould not deliver up the author of ſuch plot to juſtice, were declared guilty of high-treaſon, and ſubjected to the puniſhment annexed to that crime.

A.D. 1478, to 1480.] Soon after the publication of this edict, the king annexed the county of Boulogne to the crown; but a difficulty occurred on the occaſion: this territory was a fief, ſubject to the county of Artois, and as the king was not in poſſeſſion of the whole of that province, and might, poſſibly, on the concluſion of a peace, be compelled to reſtore the towns he had taken to the houſe of Burgundy, Artois being a part of Mary's inheritance, which could not be diſputed on the ſame ground as the duchy of Burgundy, he would, in that caſe, become a vaſſal to one of his own vaſſals. To obviate this objection, Lewis, in virtue of his royal authority, transferred the ſovereignty of the county he had juſt annexed to the crown, to *the Image of the Virgin*, which was holden in great eſtimation at Boulogne; to this image he preſented a golden heart, in weight equal to thirteen marks, as a feudal tribute, and bound his ſucceſſors to do homage to the image, and to pay the ſame tribute, on their acceſſion to the throne[12].

Of all the alliances which Lewis had been ſtudious to form, the moſt advantageous was that which he concluded with the Swiſs; excluſive of a penſion of twenty thouſand livres which he conſented to pay them, he deſtined an equal ſum to be diſtributed annually among the principal men of the nation, by which well-timed liberality he acquired ſuch credit with the Swiſs, that they not only engaged to make no oppoſition to the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, but even to aſſiſt him in reducing it; and they likewiſe conferred on him the title of *firſt ally* of the cantons.

While the king was thus anxious to ſecure the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers, he ſpared neither pains nor expence, to allure to his ſervice ſuch of the Burgundian nobility as ſtill remained attached to Mary and Maximilian. With this

[11] Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 340. [12] Idem.

view

view he ceded to Anthony, Baſtard of Burgundy, the county of Oſtrevant, the hundred of Bapaume, and the lordſhip of Bouchain; and he was equally generous to all the traitors whom he had already detached from the ſervice of their lawful ſovereign. But while he was thus liberal in his gifts, he took care to oppreſs his people, by an almoſt annual increaſe of impoſts. He this year claimed from the ſtates of Languedoc, an additional contribution of two hundred and ſixty thouſand four hundred and twenty-four livres, which ſum, he ſaid, was abſolutely neceſſary to enable him to unite to the crown the provinces of Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, which were *unjuſtly* withholden from him.

Conſcious, however, of the invalidity of his claims to the two laſt provinces, he had recourſe to a moſt curious expedient for procuring a title. He cauſed a criminal proceſs to be inſtituted againſt the late duke of Burgundy, for felony and treaſon, in order to obtain a ſentence of condemnation againſt him, which would be attended with a confiſcation of all the territories which he had holden of the crown of France. The preparations for this trial of a *dead vaſſal* alarmed Mary and Maximilian, who claimed the aſſiſtance of the empire; and Frederic accordingly ſent a remonſtrance to Lewis on the injuſtice of his conduct, but it was not by arguments that he was to be deterred from the purſuit of his ambitious projects.

The king opened the campaign by the ſiege of Condé, a ſmall town, but important from ſituation, as it lay between Tournay and Valenciennes: as the garriſon only conſiſted of three hundred men, it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. Immediately after its reduction, Maximilian, having aſſembled the militia of Flanders, and the auxiliary troops which he had received from the emperor, advanced as far as Valenciennes with the view to bring the king to a deciſive action. But Lewis, unwilling to riſk, on the event of a battle, thoſe ſolid advantages which he had derived from his diſhoneſt policy, diſtributed his forces in the fortified towns, and retired to Cambrai. He ſoon after concluded a truce with Maximilian, by which he conſented to reſtore all the places he had taken in Hainaut and Franche-Comté; to withdraw his troops from Tournay, and to evacuate the town of Cambrai.

The public, who were unacqainted with the king's motive for ſigning ſuch a treaty, at a time when he was rather in a ſituation to preſcribe terms than to make conceſſions, loudly cenſured his conduct. But Lewis, alike heedleſs of the cenſures and complaints of his people, continued to purſue his own ſyſtem of policy. The conſiderations by which he had been influenced in the concluſion of the late truce, were theſe: he had received information that Maximilian, profiting by the opportunity afforded him by a meeting of the imperial diet, had repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the conſequences of the king's attempts on provinces which were not holden of the crown of France, and had acquired a great number of partizans; that the emperor Frederic having terminated all his diſputes with the king of Hungary, that monarch had engaged to ſend him a ſupply

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of the empire againſt the Swiſs, if they continued to furniſh France with troops; and, laſtly, that a league was forming againſt France, into which not only the princes of the empire, but the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, had promiſed to enter. He therefore prudently reſolved to diſarm theſe princes by an appearance of moderation, and by a voluntary ceſſion of places which, ſooner or later, he muſt have been compelled to ſurrender, ſince he could have no poſſible pretenſions for retaining them. This ſhew of juſtice and equity, by effecting a diſſolution of the German league, ruined the hopes of Maximilian, and reduced him to the forces of his own territories. The motive which ſuperinduced the evacuation of Tournay was equally politic: the garriſon of that town, by incommoding the Flemings, obliged them, in their own defence, to preſerve their allegiance to Maximilian; the king therefore imagined, that ſo ſoon as the danger ſhould be removed to a greater diſtance, and they ſhould have nothing to fear for themſelves, their ſpirit of ſedition would return, and far from ſeconding the efforts of their prince, they would encreaſe his embarraſſment, and rejoice in his diſgrace. The event juſtified his opinion.

The latter years of the reign of Lewis were paſſed in alternate hoſtilities and negociations, the former marked by no event of importance, the latter diſtinguiſhed only for a ſpirit of treachery and deceit, that was viſible in every tranſaction in which that infamous monarch had any concern. His interference in the affairs of Italy forms a ſingle exception to the general remark. The wealth of the family of Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent ſpirit of the firſt Coſmo, gave him ſuch an aſcendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preſerved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth. A conſiderable degree of his power he tranſmitted to his deſcendants; his grandſons, Laurence and Julian, having rendered themſelves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth, that pontiff did not ſcruple to engage ſome envious citizens of Florence in a conſpiracy againſt their lives. The church was fixed on as the ſcene of action; Julian periſhed by the daggers of the aſſaſſins, but Laurence was preſerved amidſt the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the ſame moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devaſtations to the gates of the city. The houſe of Medici, unequal to the conteſt, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the ſlave of ſuperſtition the moſt abject, aſſerted, on this occaſion, the pretenſions of Laurence againſt the ſovereign pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual diſplay of thoſe arts for which ſhe was celebrated, was compelled to recall her cenſures, and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

The ſovereignty of Genoa, which had been formerly ceded by France to the duke of Milan, was now again offered to the acceptance of Lewis, who wiſely refuſed the dangerous honour: to the ambaſſadors who were ſent to make him the offer, he returned this laconic anſwer—"*The Genoeſe give themſelves to me, and I give them to the devil!*"

The king's turbulent and ſuſpicious ſpirit would never ſuffer him to be at eaſe ſo long as there was a prince or nobleman in his dominions, poſſeſſed of ſufficient power and authority to enforce reſpect and to render himſelf formidable. Though the duke of Brittany had obſerved a perfect neutrality during the late hoſtilities, Lewis ſeized ſome of his towns, and, in order to intimidate the duke into a compliance with whatever demands he might chuſe to prefer, he purchaſed, of the remaining heirs, all the rights of the houſe of Penthiévre to the duchy of Brittany [13]. He alſo ſuborned a man of infamous character, whoſe name was Doyac, to ſtand forward as the accuſer of the duke of Bourbon; and the parliament of Paris diſplayed a willingneſs to favour the nefarious projects of their ſovereign. But the popularity of the duke of Bourbon ſecured him from the wicked attempt; while the perjury of Doyac, which ought to have incurred the ſevereſt puniſhment, was rewarded by Lewis with the government of Auvergne.

In 1479, Lewis made an attempt to complete the reduction of Franche-Comté. Chaumont d'Amboiſe, with a ſtrong body of troops, after defeating the militia of the province, laid ſiege to the town of Dole; which, having been betrayed by the garriſon, was immediately reduced to aſhes, while the citizens were inhumanly maſſacred by the French. Moſt of the other towns, intimidated by this act of ſeverity, opened their gates on the approach of the troops. In the Low Countries, however, the French were not equally ſucceſsful. Virton, a ſtrong town in the duchy of Luxembourg, was retaken by the mareſchal of Burgundy; at the ſame time that Maximilian, with an army of twenty thouſand men, laid ſiege to Terouanne. The mareſchals Deſquerdes and de Gié were ſent to oppoſe this formidable force; and at the village of Guinegatte the hoſtile armies met. The German cavalry were broken by the impetuous charge of the French, who, inconſiderately, purſued them to a great diſtance, while the archers, thinking the day was won, haſtened to ſeize the enemy's baggage; but the count de Romont, who commanded the Flemiſh infantry, immediately attacked them, and put them to flight, ſo that the cavalry, on their return from the purſuit, found the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field. Yet the ſlaughter appears to have been nearly equal on both ſides. Lewis ſoon obtained a more deciſive advantage, by the capture of fourſcore veſſels belonging to the Flemings, which were taken by admiral Coulon, and carried into the ports of Normandy.

Maximilian, weakened by the loſs he had ſuſtained at the battle of Guinegatte, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Terouanne; and to confine his hoſtile operations to the reduction of the fortreſs of Malaunoi, the governor of which he cauſed to be hanged. Lewis, in revenge, ordered his grand provoſt to ſelect fifty priſoners, of the higheſt rank, ſeven of whom were executed on the ſame ſpot where the governor had ſuffered; ten were hanged before the gates of Douai, ten before Liſle, and as many before Arras. After

[13] Hiſtoire de Bretagne par Lobineau.---Le Grand.

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theſe acts of barbarity, ſo congenial to the ſoul of Lewis, that monarch cloſed the campaign by reducing ſeventeen fortified caſtles and villages, in the county of Guines, all of which he firſt plundered and then reduced to aſhes.

A. D. 1481.] Lewis began to be tired of a war whence he could not hope to derive any farther advantage; and the means of retaining the conqueſts he had already made, now ſolely occupied his thoughts. But nature was oppreſſed by this continual and unwearied application to buſineſs; frequent faintings warned him to prepare for a future ſtate; and at a village, near Chinon in Touraine, he was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy: he remained ſome time ſpeechleſs and motionleſs, and though his voice and intellects returned, his health was conſiderably impaired.

But this attack, far from inſpiring Lewis with ſentiments adapted to his ſituation, only ſerved to render him more ſuſpicious, miſtruſtful, and deſpotic. When he felt the firſt ſymptoms of the diſorder, he had moved towards the window of the apartment, but his attendants imagining the air would be prejudicial to him, ſeized him in their arms, and conveyed him to the fire-ſide. This effect of their concern for his ſafety, was now conſtrued into an act of preſumption, that merited puniſhment; and the faithful attendants were accordingly diſmiſſed from their places, and baniſhed from court. The king, jealous of his authority, was apprehenſive, leſt his officers, by accuſtoming themſelves to contradict him on points of indifference, ſhould, by degrees, take upon themſelves the principal management of affairs, under pretence that he was not in a condition to conduct them himſelf.

The death of Charles, count of Maine, the laſt prince of the ſecond houſe of Anjou, who had lately ſucceeded to a part of the dominions of René, titular king of Sicily, added, at this juncture, the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in ſecuring this new acquiſition, a ſecond ſtroke of an apoplexy again warned him of his approaching end. He revived, however, and performed a pilgrimage to Saint-Claude; but though this journey was apparently undertaken from motives of religion, its real object was a matter of policy: viz. to reſtore tranquillity to the dominions of the houſe of Savoy, and to releaſe the young duke from a ſtate of domeſtic captivity. As ſoon as he had accompliſhed this object, and declared himſelf the protector of his infant nephew Charles, he returned conſiderably exhauſted by a journey, the length of which was ill-proportioned to the weak ſtate of his body.

A. D. 1482, 1483.] Though arrived at the laſt ſtage of life, when all ſchemes of ambition ought to have been totally expelled from his mind, the death of Mary of Burgundy, from a wound which ſhe received by a fall from her horſe in hunting, and which her

modeſty prevented her from diſcloſing even to her huſband[14], again directed his thoughts to the inſidious machinations of a diſhoneſt policy. He excited the inhabitants of Ghent, with whom he had long maintained a ſecret correſpondence, to revolt, and urged them to profit by the preſent occaſion for the full recovery of their ancient privileges. They ſo far liſtened to his advice, as to take the two infant children of Mary from their father, and to ſend a deputation to Paris to ſue for peace.

The deputies were received with the utmoſt magnificence, and though the capital was then expoſed to the deſtructive ravages of peſtilence and famine, falſe joy and artificial plenty were exhibited wherever they went. Soon after their departure, the king reſolved to accompliſh a project which he had formed for procuring the hand of Margaret of Auſtria, the infant daughter of Mary and Maximilian, for his ſon, the dauphin. The hatred of Maximilian formed, indeed, a ſerious obſtacle to his wiſhes, but an event ſoon occurred by which he was enabled to ſurmount it.

The biſhop of Liege had brought up in his family a young orphan of diſtinction, named William de la Mark, who, from the ferocity of his manners, had acquired the appellation of *The Wild Boar of Ardennes*[15]. This youth, after committing various acts of violence, aſſaſſinated the biſhop's chancellor, in his palace, and almoſt in ſight of his maſter. The prelate, juſtly enraged, baniſhed the culprit from the territory of Liege. Although the puniſhment was greatly inadequate to the crime, la Mark breathed nothing but vengeance, and repairing to the court of France, he offered his ſervices to the king, engaged to promote, in his favour, an inſurrection of the Liegeois, and to open an entrance for the French into Brabant. Lewis, who never refuſed protection to villainy, where his intereſt was concerned, received la Mark with diſtinction, conferred on him the title of his lieutenant and governor in the county of Liege, and gave him a company of one hundred lances, with a ſum of thirty thouſand livres, to enable him to levy recruits. After every thing was prepared for his departure, the king proclaimed a revocation of his gifts, and publiſhed an order for him to quit the kingdom. This was done for the purpoſe of more effectually deceiving the biſhop of Liege; the project accordingly ſucceeded; la Mark approached Liege, corrupted the magiſtrates, ſeduced the troops, excited a revolt, and, to crown his infamy, aſſaſſinated his benefactor. He then entered the city of Liege in triumph, and perſuaded the inhabitants to declare for France. The French troops had, during theſe tranſactions, entered Artois, and reduced, through the treachery of the governor, the ſtrong town of Aire.

Alarmed at theſe loſſes, and having no army then ready to oppoſe the progreſs of the French, Maximilian was prevailed on to conſent to the marriage of his daughter with the

[14] Comines—Chron. Scand.—Heuter. Rer. Belgic. [15] Comines.—Le Grand.

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ſon of his unprincipled foe. By the treaty ſigned on this occaſion, it was ſtipulated, that the young archduke, Philip, ſhould, on aſſuming the reins of government, do homage to the king for the county of Flanders. That, ſhould Philip die without poſterity, his ſiſter Margaret, wife to the dauphin, ſhould ſucceed not only to Flanders, but to Hainaut, Brabant, Luxembourg, Holland, and the duchy of Gueldres; and if Margaret ſhould not become wife to the dauphin, or ſhould die without poſterity, then the counties of Burgundy, Artois, Mâçon, Auxerre, and Troyes ſhould revert to her brother Philip, who ſhould do homage for the ſame; but, in that caſe, the towns of Liſle, Douai, and Orchies, ſhould be reſtored to the king; and finally, that the king, immediately after the treaty ſhould be ſigned, ſhould reſtore his conqueſts in Luxembourg, and Hainaut; ſhould recall all the French who were then in the country of Liege, and ſhould engage to afford no farther aſſiſtance either to William de la Mark, or to the Liegeois. By the concluſion of this treaty, which was fully ratified by either party; and by the death of the king of England, which occurred about the ſame time, Lewis was freed from all his enemies, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his dominions reſtored to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

As the king found his health declining apace, he had, during theſe tranſactions, paid a viſit to the dauphin, who was kept almoſt in a ſtate of captivity, at the caſtle of Amboiſe, where—except the officers of the houſhold—none were permitted to approach him but ſervants and perſons of the meaneſt condition. Lewis was accompanied by ſeveral of the princes, and others of the nobility, in whoſe preſence he thus addreſſed his ſon:—"My "ſon, I know not what term the Supreme Being has preſcribed to the duration of my "exiſtence, but age and habitual infirmities warn me it is time to prepare for my "laſt hour. Both my own wiſhes and the laws of the realm deſignate you for my "ſucceſſor; learn, then, the full extent of the obligations which that title impoſes. "You are deſtined to aſcend the firſt throne in the world, and to bear the appellation of "*Moſt Chriſtian King*; for that rank, and for that auguſt prerogative, you are indebted to "your anceſtors, who, by their valour, and their zeal in the cauſe of religion, have ex-"alted themſelves above all the princes in Chriſtendom. If you are anxious to partake "the glory which they have ſo well deſerved, let your boſom be inſpired with a noble "ardour and endeavour to reſemble them. Their example, my ſon, will ſuffice to teach "you what to do, mine will better inſtruct you what to avoid; for, although, with the "aid of the Almighty, and with the aſſiſtance of our brave ſubjects, the ſceptre of "France has not ſuffered degradation in my hands; although I have ſucceſsfully de-"fended the rights of the crown, and have even extended the limits of this kingdom; "yet muſt I not conceal my faults: this confeſſion may tend to your inſtruction better "than any advice I can give you. Know, then, my ſon, that on my acceſſion to the "throne, having deprived of their places thoſe officers who had ſerved the ſtate, and the "king my father, with zeal and fidelity, that inconſiderate ſtep has cauſed torrents of "tears and of blood to flow, and has embittered my whole life. My ſon, the confeſſion

"which

" which I now make ought to render you more wiſe. The flame is not ſo far extin-
" guiſhed, but that it may be eaſily rekindled, unleſs, by a conduct more prudent than
" mine was at that period, you ſucceed in gaining the confidence of your faithful ſub-
" jects; promiſe, then, that when you aſcend the throne, you will, in all matters of im-
" portance, take the advice of the princes of your blood, and the members of your coun-
" cil; that you will not deprive any one of his place, unleſs he ſhall have previouſly
" been found guilty of prevarication; and as what I now require of you, is of the utmoſt
" importance, reflect ſeriouſly before you give me your anſwer."

The dauphin then retired into an adjoining apartment, with the lord of Beaujeu, his governor, and the officers of his houſhold, and in a few minutes he returned, and ſwore to fulfil the promiſe which the king exacted from him. The particulars of this interview were committed to paper, and tranſmitted to all the ſovereign courts in the kingdom. Lewis then ſent to the duke of Orleans, and made him ſwear that he would not oppoſe any of the regulations which he might chuſe to eſtabliſh, with regard to the regency, and that he would not engage his relations, the duke of Brittany and the count of Foix, to aſſiſt him in exciting troubles in the kingdom, and in procuring for himſelf a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration than it ſhould pleaſe the king to aſſign him. Both the duke's oath and the dauphin's were inſerted in the regiſters of the parliament. It is rather extraordinary that Lewis ſhould expect that others would be bound by an engagement which—notwithſtanding its ſolemnity—he himſelf had invariably treated with contempt.

As Lewis approached nearer to the grave, his terror at the thoughts of his diſſolution increaſed; although in the dreadful ſituation to which ſickneſs had reduced him, death ought rather to have been conſidered as a friend than a tyrant, yet were all his hours moſt anxiouſly employed in the hopeleſs endeavour to prolong a miſerable exiſtence. All the precautions which he had hitherto adopted with the view to preſerve himſelf from the ſecret machinations of his enemies, now appeared inſufficient. At the moſt happy periods of his life, he was attended, wherever he went, by a body of troops and a train of artillery; and, ſince the aſſaſſination of the Medici and the duke of Milan, he had always armed himſelf with a pike, which a page carried at his ſide in the day, and which the king placed at the head of his bed during the night. But when he found his ſtrength too far exhauſted, by age and ſickneſs, to ſuffer him to make uſe of this weapon in caſe of attack, he reſolved to ſhut himſelf in ſome inacceſſible place.

His favourite reſidence of Pleſſis-les-Tours was, after much conſideration, choſen for the purpoſe of retirement; he cauſed the caſtle to be ſurrounded by a broad and deep ditch, over which were thrown two bridges, that were never let down but at one particular hour; within the ditch an iron railing was erected, the walls of the fortreſs were covered with iron ſpikes, and the gates defended by baſtions. A guard of four hundred archers

archers paraded round this gloomy priſon night and day, with orders to fire on any one who ſhould dare to approach without firſt making himſelf known. Eighteen thouſand caltrops were diſtributed on the neighbouring plains, to prevent the approach of cavalry; and in the interior court of the caſtle were two rows of large iron chains, with cannon-balls faſtened to the end of them, to which criminals, often for the moſt trivial offences, were faſtened. Theſe chains were called *Les fillettes du roi.* The avenues which led to this abode of miſery were lined, on either ſide, with gibbets inſtead of trees, on which Triſtan the provoſt—who was truly worthy to adminiſter to the rage and caprice of a ſanguinary tyrant—cauſed the wretched victims of his maſter's ſuſpicions and revenge, to be placed. No one reſided in the caſtle, except four or five officers, who, by their tyrannical conduct, had become the objects of public execration, and who from their expectations of falling, on the death of Lewis, into the hands of juſtice, were moſt intereſted in the prolongation of his life. The princes of the blood, and even the king's own daughters, were forbidden to enter the place, without an expreſs invitation. When Anne of France, her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu, and the count of Dunois brought the young dauphineſs from Flanders, Lewis, having deſcried from the windows of his palace their numerous train, was greatly alarmed, and immediately ſent ſome of his officers to ſearch them, in the apprehenſion that they might have arms concealed beneath their cloaths.

But though Lewis had thus ſecluded himſelf from the world, he took care that the world ſhould not forget him; inſtead, however, of deſerving attention by acts of virtue, he only ſought to render himſelf conſpicuous by his vices. Every day, and almoſt every hour, were orders the moſt abſolute and tyrannical diſpatched to different parts of the kingdom. He diſmiſſed, without any reaſon, all his old ſervants; and the new ones who ſucceeded them, were ſoon diſmiſſed in their turn; when aſked the motive of this conduct, his reply was—*Nature takes delight in variety.* Nor were theſe ſudden diſmiſſion confined to his houſhold, for there was ſcarcely a poſt in the kingdom, from the higheſt to the loweſt, but experienced a ſimilar change.

Lewis was equally anxious to engage the attention of foreigners, whom he, alſo, wiſhed to believe that his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. He ſent envoys or ambaſſadors to foreign courts on the moſt frivolous pretexts; and theſe repreſentatives of ſovereignty had often no other buſineſs to negociate, than the purchaſe of ſome trifling article for their maſter. From Spain, he exported, at a great expence, mules and ſporting dogs; from Italy, horſes and curioſities; from the kingdoms of the north, elks, reindeer, and furs; and young lions, and other ſcarce animals, from the coaſt of Africa; and, as his only object in purchaſing theſe articles was to make people talk of him, his agents could not oblige him more than by paying a moſt extravagant price for them. They were conveyed to the palace with great pomp and parade, and when they arrived, he did not even deign to look at them.

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All the ſtores of medicine were exhauſted in vain to reſtore his drooping health; no remedy which the ſkill of the regular profeſſor could ſuggeſt, or the ingenuity of the daring empiric deviſe, was left unemployed; we are told by a contemporary writer, that among other remedies, he was ordered to drink the blood of a child, in order to correct the acrimony of his own; and, that a great number of children were, accordingly, bled for the purpoſe. As hunting had always conſtituted his principal amuſement when he was in health, he now ordered a number of large rats to be caught and turned looſe in his apartments, where he hunted them with cats. But as he ſoon became tired of this kind of amuſement, his attendants deviſed another more ſuitable to his ſituation. They aſſembled the peaſants of Poitou, and dividing them into bands, diſtributed them in the meadows round the caſtle, where ſome of them played on their ruſtic pipes, while others danced and ſung; Lewis looked at them from the different windows of the palace, and endeavoured to partake of their innocent pleaſures; but if he perceived that any one took notice of him, he inſtantly retired, and did not dare to appear at the window again that day.

As all human remedies had proved inefficacious, he had recourſe to others of a different deſcription: he ſent to different parts of Europe, for all the relics he could procure which were holden in any tolerable degree of eſtimation. Friar Roſat, a monk of Lombardy, and five or ſix of his brethren, brought him a great number from Italy; and he not only paid all the expences of their journey, but received them moſt magnificently. Some canons of Cologne obtained, in exchange for ſome curious relics, the confirmation of a rich donation which he had already made to their cathedral. A poor tradeſman, from Aix-la-Chapelle, received ſixty livres for a ſmall ſilver image, which he ſaid had touched ſome very famous relics. The king ſent two thouſand crowns to Saint James in Galicia, and he ſent to Marſeilles for the ring of Jobin. The holy oil from Rheims was taken to him with great ceremony, and he obtained permiſſion from the pope to be anointed with it a ſecond time; but the wily pontiff exacted for this indulgence—which had already cauſed an inſurrection at Rome—the ceſſion of the counties of Valence and Die, in Dauphiny, to which the church of Rome had preferred ſome obſolete claims.

It is very extraordinary that, impreſſed as the mind of Lewis certainly was with the fear of death, and, moreover, a ſlave to the moſt abject ſuperſtition, its moſt prominent and moſt diſguſting features ſhould ſtill have retained their former ſtrength. Having recommended himſelf to the prayers of Bourdeille, archbiſhop of Tours, that prelate thought the opportunity favourable for impreſſing him with a due ſenſe of his errors; and he accordingly repreſented to him, with a truly apoſtolic zeal, that the moſt acceptable offering he could make to God would be that of a contrite heart; that gifts to the church could not expiate ſins; that he had violated the privileges of the church by illegal acts of violence againſt its miniſters; that he had either impriſoned or expelled from their ſees, the biſhops of Laon, Séez, Caſtres, Coutances, Saint-Flour, and Pamiers, whoſe only offence was that of being connected, either by the ties of blood or friendſhip,

friendſhip, with ſome perſons who had incurred the king's diſpleaſure; that he had deſpoiled ſeveral families of their patrimony; and that he had retained, againſt all law and equity, the inheritance of the houſe of Tremoille.

Lewis, enraged at the freedom of his cenſures, replied, that he had aſked him for prayers and not for advice; that ſuch complaints were an attack on the ſovereign authority, and bore a ſtrong reſemblance to threats; that Bourdeille meddled with too many affairs; and that he defied him, and all the prelates he had mentioned, to find any flaw in his conduct. The king then ordered the chancellor to inſtitute a proceſs againſt the archbiſhop and the other prelates; and Bourdeille was finally compelled to aſk pardon, for having diſcharged his duty.

But though Lewis—as he told the archbiſhop—aſked for prayers and not for advice, yet did he wiſh for thoſe prayers leſs for the ſalvation of his ſoul, than the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. As he felt an inconvenience from the north-wind, whenever it blew for ſome days together, he ordered general proceſſions to Saint-Denis; but being aſhamed to avow his weakneſs, he commanded the prayers, that were ſaid on thoſe ocacſion, to be offered up for the health of the king and the dauphin, and for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth. We are told that his chaplain was, one day, reciting an oriſon to Saint Eutropius, and when he came to pray "*for the health of the ſoul and of the* "*body*," he was interrupted by the king, who told him he ought not to aſk for ſo many things at a time, and requeſted him only to pray for the health of the body. There is a letter of his ſtill extant, addreſſed to Peter Cadouet, a monk; in which he ſays—"Maſter Peter, my friend, I requeſt you with all poſſible earneſtneſs to pray inceſſant-"ly to God, and our lady of Salles, in my behalf; that it may pleaſe them to ſend me a "quartan ague, for I am afflicted with a malady which my phyſicians tell me cannot be "removed without it; and as ſoon as I have it, I will let you know."

But while the king, depending on the efficacy of prayers, proceſſions and relics, neglected the proper means of conciliating the mercy of a God whom he had grievouſly offended by the magnitude of his offences, a third ſtroke of an apoplexy (on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Auguſt) fruſtrated all his hopes of life. He lay motionleſs ſo long, that it was believed he was dead; on his revival, he forbade his attendants, however ill he might be, to mention the word death in his preſence, ſince he did not think he ſhould have reſolution enough to hear it; "It will ſuffice," ſaid he, "to ſay, *ſpeak little*; I "ſhall underſtand what you mean." This prohibition, however, was diſregarded; and his favourite, Oliver le Daim, accompanied by a phyſician, and a hermit, who had come from Calabria to aſſiſt him with his prayers, approached his bed, and apprizing him that he had but a ſhort time to live, adviſed him to think of his conſcience. But Lewis, as if anxious to diſſemble to the laſt, replied, without betraying any emotions of terror;—"I hope that God will aſſiſt me, for I am not ſo ill as you think I am."

From this moment, however, he appears to have been convinced of the certainty of his ſpeedy diſſolution; he ſent for the lord of Beaujeu, whom he had appointed, conjointly with Anne of France, to govern the ſtate during his ſon's minority, and imparted to him his laſt will: he then diſpatched the chancellor to the dauphin of Amboiſe, and told all who went to ſee him, *to go to the king, and ſerve him with fidelity.* He ſent alſo for the mareſchal Deſquerdes, and adviſed him never to loſe ſight of the dauphin, for the firſt ſix months; he ordered him to give up all thoughts of the plan they had concerted together for taking Calais from the Engliſh, and not to moleſt the duke of Brittany, who, in future, he ſaid, would only ſeek to live in peace; he added, that what would have been proper, had he lived, would be extremely dangerous during a minority; and, beſides, that the kingdom ſtood in need of a peace for five or ſix years, in order to recover its ſtrength.

At length he complied with all the forms required by the Catholic religion, and received the ſacrament; he ſaid, that on account of the particular devotion which he had always entertained for the holy Virgin, he ſhould not die till Saturday; in fact, he expired on that day, which was the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1483, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, exclaiming, with his laſt breath—"Our lady of Embrun, my good miſtreſs, aſſiſt "me." He was buried, eight days after his deceaſe, at the church of Notre-Dame, at Cleri.

To mark the different ſhades of vice; to diſtinguiſh the moſt prominent features of infamy, from thoſe of inferior magnitude, is a taſk unpleaſant in itſelf, and one from which neither amuſement nor inſtruction can be derived: yet what elſe can be done in the delineation of a character, in which not a ſingle good quality appears? That diſpoſition to tyranny which Lewis evinced at an early period of his life, and which he was more ſtudious to encourage than anxious to repreſs, affords ſtrong grounds for believing that, at whatever period he had been called to aſcend the throne, his reign muſt have abounded with ſchemes to oppreſs his people, and to render his own power abſolute.—Subtle, unfeeling, and cruel, a ſtranger to every principle of integrity, and regardleſs of decency, he ſcorned all the reſtraints which a ſenſe of honour, or the deſire of fame, impoſe even upon ambitious men. Sagacious, at the ſame time, to diſcern his true intereſt, and influenced by that alone, he was capable of purſuing it with a perſevering induſtry, and of adhering to it with a ſyſtematic ſpirit, from which no object could divert, and no danger could deter him[16].

[16] Robertſon.

In

In proportion as Lewis the Eleventh ſtripped the nobility of their privileges, he added to the power and prerogative of his crown. In order to have ſuch a body of ſoldiers at his command, as might be ſufficient to cruſh any force which his diſaffected ſubjects could draw together, he not only kept on foot the regular troops which his father had raiſed, but took into his pay ſix thouſand Swiſs, at that time the beſt diſciplined and moſt formidable infantry in Europe [17]. From the jealouſy natural to tyrants, he confided in theſe foreign mercenaries, as the moſt devoted inſtruments of oppreſſion, and the moſt faithful guardians of the power he had acquired. That they might be ready to act on the ſhorteſt warning, he, during the latter years of his reign, kept a conſiderable body of them encamped in one place.

Great funds were requiſite, not only to defray the expence of this additional eſtabliſhment, but to ſupply the ſums employed in the various enterprizes which the reſtleſs activity of his genius prompted him to undertake. But the prerogative that his father had aſſumed, of levying taxes without the concurrence of the ſtates-general, and which he was careful not only to retain but to extend, enabled him to provide, in ſome meaſure, for the encreaſing charges of government.

What his prerogative, large as it was, could not furniſh, his addreſs procured. He was the firſt monarch, in Europe, who diſcovered the method of managing thoſe great aſſemblies, in which the feudal policy had veſted the power of granting ſubſidies and of impoſing taxes. He firſt taught other princes the fatal art of beginning their attack on publick liberty, by corrupting the ſource from which that liberty ſhould flow. By exerting all his power and addreſs in influencing the election of repreſentatives, by bribing or intimidating the members, and by various changes, which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis acquired ſuch entire direction of thoſe aſſemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely ſubſervient, in promoting the moſt odious meaſures of his reign. As no power remained to ſet bounds to his exactions, he not only continued all the taxes impoſed by his father, but made immenſe additions to them. Charles the Seventh levied taxes to the amount of one million eight hundred thouſand livres; Lewis the Eleventh raiſed four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres. The former had in pay nine thouſand cavalry, and ſixteen thouſand infantry; the latter augmented the cavalry to fifteen thouſand, and the infantry to twenty-five thouſand [18].

In conſequence of an extenſion of territory, by acquiſitions of various kinds that were made during the reign of Lewis, France was formed into one compact kingdom, and the ſteady unrelenting policy of that prince not only ſubdued the haughty ſpirit of

[17] Comines.—Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, tom. i. p. 183. [18] Comines.

the feudal nobles, but eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of government, ſcarcely leſs abſolute, or leſs terrible, than Eaſtern deſpotiſm.

But fatal as his adminiſtration was to the liberties of his ſubjects, the authority which he acquired, the reſources of which he became maſter, and his freedom from reſtraint in concerting his plans as well as in executing them, rendered his reign active and enterprizing; and from this era, the kings of France, no longer fettered and circumſcribed at home by a jealous nobility, have exerted themſelves more abroad, have formed more extenſive ſchemes of foreign conqueſts, and have carried on war with a ſpirit and vigour long unknown in Europe.

The military order of Saint Michael was inſtituted, by Lewis the Eleventh, in 1469; it conſiſted of thirty-ſix knights, the ſovereign included; beſides a chancellor, a ſecretary, a treaſurer, and a herald. Lewis alſo inſtituted two parliaments, that of Bourdeaux, which his father had promiſed to eſtabliſh, in 1462; and the parliament of Burgundy, in 1476.

An important diſcovery was made in the chirurgical art during this reign;—the mode of curing the ſtone by the operation of cutting. An archer of Meudon, who had been long afflicted with this dreadful diſeaſe, was, in 1474, convicted of various robberies, and condemned to die: but the phyſicians and ſurgeons of Paris repreſented to the king, that a great number of perſons, of all ranks, being afflicted with the ſtone, it would be expedient to try, on this man, whoſe life was already forfeited to the laws of his country, an experiment which might prove of advantage to ſociety. Lewis complied with their requeſt; and the operation was performed with ſuch ſucceſs that the man was perfectly cured in a fortnight; when the king not only granted him a pardon, but aſſigned him a reward.

CHARLES

CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

A. D. 1483.] CHARLES, either from the delicacy of his conſtitution, or from motives of jealouſy, had been deprived of all the advantages of education; the orders of his father, to prevent his application to ſtudy, had been ſo rigorouſly enforced, that, on his acceſſion to the throne, he could neither read nor write. Aſhamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no ſooner became his own maſter, than he purſued his ſtudies with indefatigable zeal; he even acquired a taſte for books, and engaged Robert Gaguin, general of the Mathurins, to tranſlate, for his uſe, the commentaries of Ceſar, and the life of Charlemagne. It was eaſy to perceive, from the admiration which he betrayed on peruſing the accounts of the martial atchievements of thoſe heroes, that a thirſt for military glory formed one of the leading features of his mind. But his utmoſt efforts proved inadequate to ſupply, in a full degree, the want of an early education; he always retained an invincible repugnance to buſineſs; diſplayed a want of penetration in his choice of miniſters, and abandoned himſelf, without reſerve, to favourites who, too often, abuſed his confidence: but, with theſe failings, Charles was frank, generous, and magnanimous; and "*So good*"—ſays Philip de Comines—"*that a better* "*creature never exiſted!*"

Although, by the laws of the realm, Charles was of age to aſſume the reins of government ſince he had entered his fourteenth year, yet it was not deemed prudent to entruſt them to ſuch feeble hands. Lewis, therefore, had, by his will, ordained, that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted in his eldeſt daughter, Anne of France, wife to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the king had been influenced in his choice, by the conſideration

tion that the princes of the blood would not think themſelves degraded in being ſubjected to a princeſs who, by her birth, was placed above them: that Anne, moreover, could have no intereſt in defrauding the lawful heir of his right, ſince her ſex precluded her from wearing the crown herſelf, and her huſband could have no poſſible claim to it; and, laſtly, that if, notwithſtanding all the precautions he had taken, civil commotions ſhould ariſe, nobody was better calculated for quelling them than herſelf. In fact, all the hiſtorians of that age concur in deſcribing her as poſſeſſed of a profound genius, a ſtrong mind, and all the graces peculiar to her own ſex, combined with all the virtues that characterize the greateſt of the other.

Theſe conſiderations, however, were inſufficient to deter thoſe who had, as they ſuppoſed, ſtronger claims to the regency, from ſtanding forward to aſſert them; and to proteſt againſt the partial and improper conduct of the late king. The chief of theſe competitors was the queen-dowager, whoſe claims were founded on the rights of nature, and on cuſtoms fundamentally eſtabliſhed and univerſally obſerved ſince the commencement of the monarchy. Lewis, although he had married againſt his father's commands, had never a ſincere attachment for his wife, whom he treated with the utmoſt brutality, generally confining her in ſome diſtant fortreſs, and holding no commerce with her but ſuch as was merely ſufficient for the purpoſe of procuring heirs. But neither the unworthy treatment which that princeſs experienced from her tyrannical huſband, who withheld from her thoſe careſſes which he laviſhly beſtowed on the meaneſt of his ſubjects, nor the order which Lewis is ſaid to have given on his death-bed, to prevent her from approaching her ſon, and to baniſh her into Dauphiné, could deprive her of her rank, or debar her of her rights. And there is every reaſon to believe that the reins of government would have been placed in her hands, had ſhe been earneſt in the aſſertion of her claims; but the retired life to which ſhe had been ſo long accuſtomed, had rendered her averſe from the buſtle of the world; and her death, which occurred within three months after the deceaſe of Lewis, delivered Madame—for by that appellation was the eldeſt daughter of the king now diſtinguiſhed—from a dangerous rival, and encouraged the pretenſions of other competitors.

The firſt of theſe was Lewis, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who had been compelled, by the late king, to marry his daughter Jane, a princeſs whoſe perſon was extremely diſguſting, and ſo deformed, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to be incapable of bearing children. The illuſtrious birth of his conſort afforded but a poor compenſation for her natural defects, in the opinion of a young prince who is repreſented as a model of beauty, and as being extremely addicted to amorous enjoyments. He concealed, however his diſpleaſure, during the life of Lewis the Eleventh; but the death of that monarch and that of the queen, the youth and inexperience of his ſucceſſor, and the general diſcontent of the nation, all combined to furniſh him with a favourable opportunity for diſcloſing his real ſentiments. It was requiſite that he ſhould firſt endeavour to ſet aſide

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ſo much of the late king's will as related to the regency of Madame; after which he would find no difficulty in procuring a divorce from his wife, in contracting a marriage that might ſecure him the poſſeſſion of a ſovereignty, and in enforcing his claims to the duchy of Milan. The execution of theſe various ſchemes, however, ſurpaſſed the ſtrength of his mind; and, it is probable, he would have been induced to abandon them had he been left to himſelf; but he had a friend who was capable of giving him advice, and who perſuaded him to perſevere in the proſecution of his plans. This friend was the count of Dunois, ſon to the celebrated baſtard of Orleans, whoſe talents for political negociations are ſaid to have been unequalled. The duke was farther ſupported by the count of Angoulême, his couſin-german; his brother-in-law, the viſcount of Narbonne; his couſin, the duke of Brittany; the duke of Alençon, and many others of the nobility, who were eager to pay their court to the preſumptive heir to the throne. Independent of the oath which Lewis the Eleventh had exacted from the duke, binding him to an obſervance of his will, with regard to the regency, two other motives for excluding him from that dignity were now urged; firſt—That as he was preſumptive heir to the throne, it would not be prudent to intruſt him with the care of the king's perſon; and ſecondly, that as he was ſtill a minor, having but juſt completed his twenty-third year, and not old enough to be entruſted with the diſpoſal of his own property, it could not be expected that the management of the public revenue ſhould be confided to him.

Theſe objections to the duke of Orleans induced the duke of Bourbon, againſt whom no ſuch objections could be urged, to ſtand forward as a claimant. Though of the blood-royal, he was ſo far removed from the throne, that there was no danger of his aſpiring to aſcend it; his age, his experience, the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate under Charles the Seventh, the perſecutions he had experienced from Lewis the Eleventh, all ſpoke in his favour. If, ſaid he, the duke of Orleans be excluded on account of his youth, with what propriety can Madame be preferred, who is equally young, and of a ſex unfit for command? If, on the contrary, Madame has only been choſen in order to favour her huſband, and the lord of Beaujeu is to govern the ſtate under the name of his wife, can I ſuffer—purſued the duke—my younger brother, whoſe claims are ſo inferior to my own, to obtain a preference over me, and to acquire a right to command me?

The two competitors repaired to court, each of them followed by a powerful party. Madame endeavoured, by the beſtowal of honours and rewards, to make them deſiſt from their purſuit; on the duke of Orleans ſhe conferred the government of Paris, the iſle of France, Champagne and Brie, with a ſeat in the council; the count of Dunois was appointed governor of Dauphiné; and the dignity of conſtable and lieutenant general of the kingdom, which he had been long anxious to obtain, was conferred on the duke of Bourbon.

But

But the princes were unwilling to barter their claims for such precarious emoluments; they, therefore, filled the council with their creatures, and thwarted all the measures of the new government. Perceiving, however, that the prudence of Madame rose superior to all their manœuvres, they united in a request that the states-general might be convened, and the arrangement of the administration be left totally to them[1].

This proposal threw Madame, and all those who were really attached to the king, into the utmost consternation, as they imagined it was only advanced with the view to set the nation in a ferment, in order that the princes might profit by the general confusion. They had received intelligence, that the duke of Orleans had entered into an association with the duke of Brittany and the arch-duke Maximilian, the two greatest enemies to the sovereign power; and that he had sent to Italy to solicit the young duke of Lorraine to return to France, and claim the succession of his grandfather, René of Anjou. Their terror too was encreased, on considering what had recently passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. They had not forgotten, that, on the death of Charles the Bold, the states of Flanders had possessed themselves of the supreme power, had kept their lawful sovereign in a state of captivity, and had massacred her two principal ministers in her presence; that, on a more recent occasion, the duke of Gloucester had procured a declaration from the parliament of England, tending to bastardize his nephews, whom he afterwards murdered, and to place the diadem on his own brows. Though the duke of Orleans was not capable of such a flagrant act of villainy, yet was it impossible to say to what lengths his impetuous passions, inflamed by the artful suggestions of his perfidious advisers, might carry him. It was afterward discovered, that Peter Landois, prime minister to the duke of Brittany, had fabricated papers, and composed a memorial, in which he had attacked the legitimacy of Charles the Eighth. He affirmed that Lewis the Eleventh despairing to have a son, and wishing to detach from his brother's party the chief nobility of the kingdom, who did not hesitate to expose their lives and fortunes in his defence, because they considered him as the presumptive heir to the throne, had compelled the queen to adopt this child. Landois did not deny that Charles might be the king's son; but he maintained, that the queen not being his mother, he could have no right to the crown.

Whatever danger might attend a convention of the states under such circumstances, a formal refusal to convene them would have been still more dangerous. The people, who must soon have been made acquainted with it, would have immediately been led to conclude, that government had no intention of redressing their grievances, and would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities. If the princes, in that case, had joined the people, Madame must have been lost without resource, and the young monarch might, possi-

[1] Comines—Godefroi sur Charles VIII.—Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne—Lenglet, Preface de Comines.

bly

bly have been involved in her ruin. Though preſſed on all ſides, ſhe continued, for ſome time, to elude the propoſal; but finding that the princes were determined, of two evils ſhe choſe the leaſt. The ſtates were accordingly ſummoned to meet on the firſt of January, 1484, at Orleans; but, the conſideration that that city was the capital of the appanage of the duke of Orleans, and that the loyalty of its inhabitants might therefore be juſtly ſuſpected, induced Madame to change the place of their meeting to Tours. Tranquillity was now re-eſtabliſhed at court; the princes directed their attention to the election of deputies at the provincial aſſemblies; while Madame, who, during this interval, remained in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority, endeavoured to ſecure the ſuffrages of the people by more honourable means than that of corrupting their repreſentatives.

She began by confirming the judges and other magiſtrates in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective poſts [2]; and then directed her attention to the means of affording relief to the people. But before ſhe diminiſhed the receipts, ſhe wiſely took care to leſſen the expences. The ſix thouſand Swiſs that had been taken into pay, by Lewis the Eleventh, ſhe prudently diſmiſſed, and, after paying all that was due to them, ſent them back, in an honourable manner, to their own country; ſhe likewiſe diſbanded ſeveral companies of the national troops. By the adoption of theſe ſalutary meaſures, Madame was enabled to relieve the people, by remitting the laſt quarter of the taxes of the preſent year, at the ſame time that ſhe promiſed them a more conſiderable diminution which was to take place as ſoon as proper regulations could be made with regard to the demeſnes of the crown. To forward this plan, all the numerous grants made by the late king were revoked, and orders were diſpatched to the treaſurers of the different provinces to reunite them to the royal domains.

Madame, apprehenſive that the people might be led to believe that ſhe would inſtil into the mind of her brother the ſame principles of government which ſhe had ſeen practiſed in the preceding reign, was careful to obviate ſuſpicions of that nature, by the adoption of a very different line of conduct. Lewis having, on mere ſuſpicions, ſentenced a great number of perſons to impriſonment or exile, his daughter ordered the priſon-doors to be thrown open, recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed, and loaded with favours ſuch as her father had perſecuted with the greateſt inveteracy. The prince of Orange, who had been hanged in effigy for having promoted a revolution in Burgundy, was now reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtates in Franche-Comté: D'Urfé and Poncet de la Riviere, whom Lewis had always regarded as his perſonal enemies, were promoted to places of truſt and importance: Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe, was recalled from Germany, where he had been compelled to ſeek an aſylum, and admitted to a ſeat in the

[2] Godefroi—Recueil de pieces ſur Charles VIII.—Lancelot, Memoire de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres, t. viii. Hiſtoire de Lorraine par Dom Calmet.

council; and, laſtly, having received information of the offers which had been made by the princes to the duke of Lorraine, ſhe diſpatched a courier to that prince, who was then in Italy, where he commanded the Venetian forces, to exhort him to repair to court, promiſing to reſtore him the inheritance of his grandfather, René of Anjou.

At the ſame time that Madame endeavoured to conciliate the affections of thoſe whom her father had perſecuted, ſhe delivered into the hands of juſtice his two greateſt favourites, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, to whom he had been moſt liberal in his donations, and whom, on his death-bed, he had particularly recommended to his ſon. Among a variety of crimes of which Oliver le Daim was accuſed, the following ſeems moſt to have fixed the attention of the judges. A gentleman having been arreſted by the king's orders, and being threatened with death, his wife applied to the favourite to intercede in his behalf. Her youth, her charms, and her tears made a ſtrong impreſſion on Oliver; but incapable of harbouring any generous ſentiment, he demanded the enjoyment of her perſon as the reward of the ſervice ſhe required. This infamous propoſal was, at firſt, rejected by the lady, with the diſdain it was calculated to incur; but having obtained permiſſion to viſit her huſband in priſon, ſhe was overcome by his tears and intreaties, and, at length, conſented to purchaſe his life with the ſacrifice of her own honour. Oliver, however, being afraid that as ſoon as ſhe had obtained the favour ſhe aſked, ſhe would abſent herſelf, for ever, from his ſight, procured an order from the king to put the priſoner to death; and he commiſſioned Daniel, one of his ſatellites, to put the unfortunate gentleman in a ſack, and throw him into the river. The crime was diſcovered by ſome fiſhermen, who drew up the body in their nets, and the lady had now the mortification to perceive, that the very means which ſhe had employed for ſaving the life of her huſband had proved the cauſe of his death. So long as Lewis lived ſhe kept her grief to herſelf, conſcious that the publication of her ſhame would be productive of no poſſible advantage; but after the death of that tyrant, ſhe boldly ſtood forward, and demanded juſtice on the aſſaſſin of her huſband; and Le Daim, having confeſſed the crime, was hanged together with his accomplice Daniel.

Doyac, who had been a common informer, and who had been employed by Lewis to calumniate the duke of Bourbon, eſcaped the gallows, but to undergo a puniſhment equally ignominious, and more painful: he was ſentenced to be whipped in different parts of the metropolis, to have one ear cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron. He was then conveyed to Montferrand in Auvergne, the place of his birth, and the ſeat of his pretended triumph over the duke of Bourbon, where he was again whipped, loſt his other ear, and was afterwards baniſhed the kingdom.

Cottier, the king's phyſician, was involved in the ſame diſgrace with the other favourites of Lewis; but his inſupportable pride and his extreme avarice formed the only grounds

grounds of accuſation againſt him: he was deſpoiled of all the eſtates which he had extorted from his maſter, and was ſentenced to pay a fine of fifty-thouſand crowns[3].

A. D. 1484.] On the fourteenth of January, the king, accompanied by the whole court, made his ſolemn entry into Tours, and, on the following day, the ſtates general being aſſembled, the ſeſſions was opened by the following ſpeech from William de Rochefort, chancellor of France:

"My lords, ever ſince the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne, he has been "extremely anxious to meet the repreſentatives of the people; and the motives of this "anxiety I will now explain to you.

"He wiſhed for an opportunity of expreſſing his gratitude for the joy which you evinced on his acceſſion; in that, indeed, you only followed the example of your generous "anceſtors, who were ever diſtinguiſhed for their zealous attachment to their ſovereigns. "It is the peculiar characteriſtic of a Frenchman, to love his king, to be ever ready to "ſacrifice his life and fortune in his defence, and never to deſpair of his country's ſafety, "ſo long as he can preſerve his lawful ſovereign; while other nations are eternally "floating between obedience and revolt, and deſert their monarchs on the moſt trivial "ſubject of diſcontent, or the moſt diſtant proſpect of danger. Read their hiſtories; "you will ſcarcely find two or three ſucceſſive monarchs who have left their heirs in "quiet poſſeſſion of the throne; and without going farther for proofs of what I ad-"vance, examine what has lately paſſed in England. Edward, at his death, left two "fair ſons, the hopes of the nation; but inſtead of being ſuffered to aſcend the throne "of their anceſtors, they have been baſely maſſacred, and their aſſaſſin has been rewarded "with the crown. You, Frenchmen, have no ſuch act of atrociouſneſs to bluſh for: "open your annals, you will there find that infant ſovereigns have been more honoured "and better ſerved than the moſt abſolute monarchs; and you will admire a people "whoſe attachment to their kings has been moſt conſpicuous at thoſe periods in which "their kings have ſtood in greateſt need of their aſſiſtance. It is to this unſhaken fideli-"ty you are indebted for the glorious advantage of being the firſt people in the world; "for what other nation can preſume to compare themſelves with you? In the ear-"lieſt ages, the Gauls, your anceſtors, ſpread the terror of their arms over every part of "the continent; they founded colonies in Italy, on the banks of the Danube, and even "in Aſia. Though the diſſentions which prevailed between them proved the means of "ſubjecting them to the Romans, they inflicted a dreadful vengeance for the defeat "they ſuſtained; it was the ſword of the Gauls that enabled Julius Cæſar to enſlave his

3 We are told that this man, well pleaſed at having eſcaped ſo eaſily, returned to his former profeſſion, and cauſed an apricot-tree (un *Abricotier*) to be engraved on his door, with this inſcription *a l'abri-cotier*. Garnier.

" country. In the ſequel, the Franks, incorporated with the Gauls, delivered the church " of Rome from the yoke of the barbarians, laid the firſt foundation of her power and " greatneſs, and re-eſtabliſhed the weſtern empire, which had long been overturned. " Fired with a holy zeal, they flew to the defence of their brethren oppreſſed by the infi- " dels, fixed their ſtandards on the walls of Jeruſalem, and reduced Paleſtine, Syria, " Sicily and Greece. How glorious it is to command a people at once ſo generous and " ſo brave! It is to your affection, to your virtues, that the king feels himſelf indebted " for the ſplendor of his rank; and a deſire to expreſs his gratitude on this account was " one of his chief motives for aſſembling you.

" A ſecond motive not leſs powerful was his deſire of ſeeing you, of offering himſelf " to your ſight, and of encreaſing, thereby, the mutual affection by which you are " united; contemplate then that auguſt prince, on whom the country now relies for its " ſafety. Let not his youth alarm you: Solomon, the wiſeſt of kings, was young " when he mounted the throne; Scipio, who obtained the conſular dignity before he " had reached the age required by the laws, repaired the loſſes of the Roman republic, " and made her triumph over her moſt formidable enemy. Saint Lewis, whoſe reign " forms ſo glorious an epoch in our hiſtory, was not older than your king when he " aſcended the throne. In privileged minds prudence is not incompatible with wiſdom: " your ſovereign, young as he appears, knows how to act with propriety, and in whom " to place his confidence; of this you may judge by the third motive which induced him " to aſſemble you.

" He was anxious to explain to you the conduct he has obſerved ſince his acceſſion, " to communicate his future deſigns, and to aſſociate you with him, in a certain degree, " in the government. Immediately after his father's death, he ſent for the princes of " the blood, who inſtantly obeyed his ſummons, and, by their advice, he confirmed " all the officers in the kingdom in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective poſts, that the pub- " lic ſafety might not be endangered, and that the adminiſtration of juſtice might " ſuffer no interruption; he alſo entruſted the management of the revenue to perſons " of acknowledged probity. Being informed that the domains of the crown had, by " inconſiderate alienations, been greatly diminiſhed, he granted letters-patent for re- " voking all ſuch gifts; for it is not his intention to drain the purſes of his ſubjects, " nor to overload them with impoſts. He means to begin by appropriating the revenues " of the domain to defray the expences of his houſhold, and other ſtate charges; and " only to demand of his faithful ſubjects ſuch contributions as are indiſpenſably re- " quiſite for the defence of the kingdom. His firſt and moſt ardent wiſh is to ſee his " people contented and happy: and the promotion of their welfare and felicity was the " ſole object he had in view in the reforms which he has already made. As the nation " incurred a great expence by keeping ſix thouſand mercenaries in conſtant pay, he has " ſent them back to their own country; he has alſo diſmiſſed ſeveral companies of the

" national

" national troops, whoſe aſſiſtance cannot be wanted ſo long as the kingdom ſhall be at " peace; and in order to ſecure the continuation of tranquillity, he has ſent ambaſſa- " dors to all the neighbouring powers, either to renew the old treaties, or to contract " new ones. Theſe occupations have not prevented him from directing his attention to " two other objects of importance—the legiſlation, and the reform of the clergy. With " regard to the firſt, he has cauſed all the ordonnances of Charles the Seventh to be " collected, in order to put them in force; and as to the ſecond point, he conceived, that " without ſubjecting himſelf to cenſure for violating the deciſions of the church, which " he holds in the greateſt reſpect, he might, as head of the ſtate, take cognizance of " whatever related to diſcipline and manners.

" This is what the king has already performed; you are now to hear what he expects " from you; and this formed the fourth motive for aſſembling you. He requires that " you ſhould point out to him whatever abuſes may have eſcaped his knowledge, and " that you ſhould not conceal from him any of the evils with which the people are " afflicted: do not fear that your complaints will be importunate, the king will pay due " attention to all your remonſtrances. And you, princes, who hear me, I entreat and " conjure you, in the name of our country, our common mother, to lay aſide all ſpirit " of party, and to ſuffer the deputies to enjoy a full and perfect freedom of debate.

" The fifth motive for the convention of this aſſembly, was the neceſſity of forming " a council for the king, who might ſecond his plans for the preſervation of peace, for the " re-eſtabliſhment of the police, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the encourage- " ment of trade: this council ought to be compoſed of men, whoſe experience of the " paſt may enable them to provide for the future; whoſe diſpoſitions and characters " are calculated to ſecure to the king the affection of his ſubjects, and the eſteem and " confidence of his neighbours; of men who have a thorough knowledge of the con- " ſtitution of the kingdom, and who are capable of ſetting in motion all the ſprings of " the body-politic, without embarraſſment or confuſion. If the king's wiſhes are gratified, " juſtice will ſit on the throne, and dictate laws to his people. Whoever ſhall commit " any offence againſt juſtice, will offend the king; and whoever may wiſh to prove his " affection for the king, muſt begin by paying a ſtrict attention to juſtice. In order to " remove all doubts as to his true ſentiments, the king has commanded me to warn " every perſon not to preſume to aſk him for any thing unjuſt; for whoever ſhall make " ſuch an attempt, will meet with the puniſhment due to his temerity. Juſtice, Pru- " dence, Reſolution, and Temperance will ſupport the throne, and regulate all the " actions of the monarch. Then may the people—reſcued from ſhipwreck, and daily " repairing their loſſes—exclaim, with tranſports of joy, *O, thrice happy day! that has* " *reſtored to us peace and plenty, and has given us a prince whoſe conduct is influenced by wiſ-* " *dom, and who merits the appellation of—Father of his Country!*

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" In vain ſhould we aſpire to the poſſeſſion of theſe advantages, unleſs concord and " union were previouſly eſtabliſhed among the different members of the ſtate; and this " deſirable object it is chiefly your buſineſs to accompliſh. Recollect what Ceſar ſaid " of our anceſtors:—*All the troops in the world would prove inſufficient to ſubdue the* " *Gauls, were they united among themſelves.* What cauſed the deſtruction of the Roman " republic?—the rivalſhip of two of her citizens. It would be needleſs to remind you " of the calamities produced in France, under the reign of Charles the Sixth, by the " hatred of two powerful families.

" I conclude, by conſigning to your care the intereſts of the king, the church, and " the people. You will obſerve the following order in your deliberations—you will " firſt diſcuſs all matters which relate to the general welfare of the ſtate; you will next " examine ſuch as concern only a ſingle province or town; and, laſtly, you will attend " to the affairs of individuals. Take care not to confound theſe objects. The king " will grant you an audience whenever you ſhall apply for one; and he will refuſe juſ- " tice to no man, not to the meaneſt of his ſubjects [4]."

The aſſembly immediately adjourned till the next day, when they proceeded to the election of a preſident, and two ſecretaries; after which, they agreed to divide themſelves into ſix parts, or *nations*, in order to avoid that confuſion which a contrariety of intereſts might occaſion in the courſe of the debates between the deputies of the different provinces.—The firſt nation comprized the iſle of France, Picardy, Champagne and Brie; the Nivernois, the Maçonnois, Auxerrois, and the Orleanois.

The ſecond conſiſted of the two Burgundies, and Charolois.

The third, of Normandy, Alençon, and Perche.

The fourth, of Aquitaine, Armagnac, the county of Foix, l'Agenois, the Perigord, Querci, and Rouergue.

The fifth, of Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, and Rouſſillon.

And the ſixth, called the *Langue d'Oyl*, included Berri, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, the Limouſin, Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, Forés, Beaujolois, Angoumois, and Saintonge.

Each diviſion had a private apartment for the diſcuſſion of ſuch matters as they meant to lay before the king; after which it was agreed that the ſix diviſions ſhould meet to

[4] Manuſ. de Maſſelin, tirée de la Bibliotheque du Roi.——Garnier, tom. xix. p. 167.

report

report the reſult of their reſpective labours, when the moſt important objects ſhould be ſelected, and formed into one *cahier*, or ſtring of reſolutions, which were to contain the demands of the whole nation.

It would be ſuperfluous to detail *all* the proceedings of this aſſembly, to notice the intrigues of the princes to corrupt the deputies, the petitions of individuals for redreſs of injuries ſuſtained during the preceding reign, or the various diſputes which occurred between the members themſelves. We ſhall only, therefore, ſelect ſuch parts as relate to the general hiſtory of the kingdom, or as tend to explain the maxims of government, and to illuſtrate the notions of liberty, which were then entertained by the French.

The debates on the formation of a regency, and the eſtabliſhment of a council, were long and animated. The nation of Normandy propoſed to leave the king's perſon to the care of thoſe who had hitherto diſcharged that important truſt with wiſdom and with zeal; to veſt the government of the kingdom in the hands of the council; to admit all the princes of the blood to a ſeat in the council, according to their rank, and to give them the power of chuſing eight or twelve of the old councillors, and to diſmiſs the reſt; that, to that number ſhould be added twelve, fifteen, or even four-and-twenty new councillors, to be ſelected from the ſtates-general, by the ſtates themſelves, which new members ſhould enjoy the ſame rank and prerogatives as the old ones. This propoſal, which tended to throw the whole power of the government into the hands of the people, acquired numerous partizans. Many members exclaimed—That its propriety could not be queſtioned; that the ſupreme power was, during the king's minority, veſted in the nation, who had an undoubted right to impoſe its commands on individuals; and that, conſequently, the princes of the blood ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to this regulation. On the other hand it was maintained, with equal warmth, That, in an hereditary monarchy, ſuch as France, the nation had no right to the ſovereign authority, ſo long as there remained any lawful heirs: that, after the king's death, that authority paſſed into the hands of his ſon, if he were in a condition to exerciſe it; and, in caſe of a minority, into the hands of the princes of the blood, who were his natural guardians; that they alſo had a right to form a council, and to regulate all the different departments of government; and that they were under no neceſſity of aſking the people's advice, except with regard to the *diſtribution and collection of impoſts*; that, if the princes, on the preſent occaſion, had deigned to conſult the nation, and chuſe her as the arbiter of their reſpective claims, it was a pure condeſcenſion on their part, which demanded a grateful return, and ſhould not, on any account, be abuſed; that, by exciting their diſcontent on an article in which the happineſs of the people was in no wiſe concerned, they might perhaps be led to diſſolve the aſſembly, and that then every advantage, which the people expected to derive from the convention of the ſtates, would be irretrievably loſt; that prudence required the ſtates ſhould confine themſelves to ſuch objects as came immediately

immediately within their province, and leave to the princes the care of ſettling their own diſputes, as they might think proper.

The ſpeech of Philip Pot, lord of Roche, repreſentative of the nobles of Burgundy, is peculiarly worthy of notice. " If I were not well acquainted"—ſaid he—" with the " ſentiments of the moſt enlightened part of the aſſembly, on the liberty and authority " of the ſtates, I ſhould not now attempt to oppoſe the vain clamours of the multitude; " but after the proofs which you have already given of your diſcernment and know- " ledge, I need not fear to advance what reading and reflection have taught me on this " fundamental point of our public law. If I ſucceed in making myſelf underſtood, I " dare flatter myſelf that thoſe who now blame us for the care we take in the for- " mation of a council, will change their opinion and their language. Before I enter " into an explanation of the reaſons on which I found the authority of the ſtates, let " me be allowed to put a queſtion or two to our adverſaries:—Do they imagine that, on " the death of a king, who leaves a ſon in his minority, the guardianſhip of the infant- " monarch, and the general adminiſtration of the kingdom, belong of right to the firſt " prince of the blood? No, doubtleſs—they will anſwer—for then the life of the mo- " narch would be expoſed to evident danger; the law, too, has provided for this caſe, by " conferring the adminiſtration on the firſt prince of the blood, and the guardianſhip on " the next in ſucceſſion. Take care, I reply, that you do not, by this arrangement, " equally expoſe the life of your ſovereign; for the two princes, between whom you " ſeem to divide the authority, may unite and have the ſame intereſts. But of what law " are you ſpeaking? Where does it exiſt? By whom was it made? In what book " have you read it? I defy you to anſwer any one of theſe queſtions. If ſuch a law " did really exiſt, do you ſuppoſe the duke of Orleans would have conſented to ſubmit " to arbitration a queſtion already decided, and to ſuffer the diſcuſſion of claims already " ſettled? In vain do you cite the caſe of Charles the Wiſe; that caſe makes againſt " you; for Charles did not ſucceed to the regency till two years after the throne had " been vacated, and till that dignity had been conferred on him by the ſtates.—

" I now addreſs myſelf to thoſe who pretend, that, during a minority, the guardian- " ſhip and adminiſtration devolve on all the princes of the blood indiſcriminately; and " let me aſk them, if they mean to comprize in the number, ſuch as are deſcended from " our ſovereigns, on the mother's ſide, for, in that caſe, they will have a long liſt of " guardians and adminiſtrators, among whom it will be difficult to eſtabliſh union and " concord. But I will ſuppoſe that they confine themſelves merely to the male line: if " thoſe princes have any diſpute among themſelves about the government, who is to de- " cide between them? Is it not plain, that they will immediately have recourſe to arms, " and involve the nation in all the horrors of civil war? Is it not evident, alſo, that, " in this caſe, the ſupreme authority will often become the reward of a madman, and a " diſturber of the public repoſe, who, in a well-regulated government, would incur the

" ſevereſt

" ſevereſt puniſhment? What then—will it be aſked—muſt the kingdom during a mi-
" nority, remain in a ſtate of anarchy? No, certainly, for the authority then devolves
" on the ſtates-general, who will not, themſelves, take charge of the government, but
" who will entruſt it to ſuch perſons as they ſhall deem moſt capable of diſcharging its
" duties with zeal and ability. Now, hear what books, and converſation with men of
" wiſdom and experience, have taught me on this important matter.

" When men firſt began to form ſocieties, they choſe for their maſters ſuch of their
" equals as they believed to be poſſeſſed of the greateſt knowledge and integrity;
" in ſhort, ſuch as by their perſonal qualities were beſt calculated to procure the
" greateſt advantage to the infant ſociety. Thoſe who, after their election to this
" important office, only thought of enriching themſelves at the expence of their
" ſubjects, were not conſidered as true paſtors, but as ravenous wolves; and thoſe, who,
" without waiting for an election, ſeized upon the ſovereign authority, were not regarded
" as kings but as tyrants. It is of the utmoſt conſequence to the people, to know the
" diſpoſition of the man who is deſtined to govern them, for on that alone depends the
" happineſs or miſery of the whole community. Now to apply theſe general princi-
" ples:—If any diſpute ariſe with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne, or to the re-
" gency, who is to decide it, unleſs that ſame people who firſt elected their kings, who
" conferred on them all the authority they enjoy, and in whom the ſovereign power
" ultimately reſides? For a ſtate or any government whatever is the *res publica*, and the
" *res publica* is the *res populi*; by the people I would be underſtood to mean the collec-
" tive body or totality of the citizens, and in this totality the princes of the blood them-
" ſelves are neceſſarily included, as chiefs of the order of nobility: can you, then, who
" are the repreſentatives of the people, and obliged by oath to defend their rights,
" ſtill entertain a doubt that it is your province to ſettle the adminiſtration and the
" form of the council? Who is to prevent you? Has not the chancellor declared,
" that the king and the princes expect you will do this? I am told, that imme-
" diately after the death of the late king, the government was ſettled, and a council
" choſen, and that thus our cares on this head became ſuperfluous. To this I reply,
" that as the ſtate could not remain without governors, it was neceſſary to appoint,
" without delay, ſome perſons who might watch over the public intereſt; but that ſuch
" appointments, as well as all other regulations which have been adopted ſince the king's
" death, are merely proviſional, and cannot ſubſiſt without your confirmation. Theſe
" aſſemblies of the ſtates, and the power which I aſcribe to them, are no novelties, as
" all who have read hiſtory muſt know. When, on the death of Philip the Fair, a diſ-
" pute aroſe between Philip of Valois and Edward, king of England, with regard to the
" ſucceſſion, the two competitors ſubmitted their claims, as they were bound to do, to the
" deciſion of the ſtates, who pronounced in favour of Philip. If, then, on that occa-
" ſion, the ſtates could lawfully diſpoſe of the crown itſelf, how can their right to ap-
" point a regency be called in queſtion? During the reign of king John, when that

" courageous, but imprudent, prince was taken priſoner, and conveyed to London; the ſtates " did not entruſt the adminiſtration to his ſon, although he had then compleated his twen- " tieth year; it was not till two years after, that theſe ſame ſtates, aſſembled a ſecond time, " inveſted him with the dignity and authority of regent; and finally, when Charles the " Sixth acceded to the throne, at the age of twelve only, the ſtates general again ap- " pointed a regency, and ſettled the government. This is a fact that cannot be diſputed. " After ſuch poſitive authorities, will you ſtill doubt the validity of your rights? And " ſince, by the form of your oath, you are bound *to do and to adviſe what, according to God* " *and your conſciences, you ſhall deem moſt uſeful to the ſtate*, can you neglect the funda- " mental point of all your proceedings? For if the promiſes which you mean to exact " from the princes ſhould be broken, to whom are you to apply for redreſs? Omit the " article of the council, and all your ſubſequent labours will be ſuperfluous:—In ſhort, " I have proved to you that you have an undoubted right to ſettle the adminiſtration, " and to regulate the form of government; I have quoted a great number of examples " to demonſtrate this truth; the king commands you to exerciſe your right, the " princes conſent to it, and your country exhorts you by the mouth of her firſt magiſ- " trate. If reaſons thus ſtrong can make no impreſſion on your minds, any calamities " which the ſtate may experience hereafter muſt be aſcribed ſolely to your baſeneſs. " And you, who ſtill cheriſh the name and preſerve the reſolution of Frenchmen, do " not give the nation cauſe for accuſing you of having betrayed her confidence, nor let " poſterity have reaſon to reproach you with not having tranſmitted the precious charge " of public liberty in the ſame ſtate in which you received it from your anceſtors."

This ſpeech was differently received by different parties; by ſome the orator was warmly commended for his patriotic zeal; while by others he was loudly cenſured for his audacity and factious diſpoſition: and many long debates and much altercation occurred before the queſtion of the council could be finally decided. At length, on the twelfth of February, the aſſembly came to the following reſolutions:

" The king having entered into his fourteenth year, and diſplayed a degree of wiſdom, " prudence and diſcretion ſuperior to his age, ſhall himſelf publiſh all letters-patent, regu- " lations and ordonnances, after they have been diſcuſſed by the council.——The " ſtates beſeech the king to preſide at the council, in perſon, as often as he can, in " order to acquire an early knowledge of buſineſs, and to verſe himſelf in the arts of " government.

" In the king's abſence, the duke of Orleans, as firſt prince of the blood, ſhall pre- " ſide at the council, where every meaſure ſhall be decided by a plurality of ſuffrages.

" After the duke of Orleans, and in his abſence, the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of " France, ſhall preſide.

" The

" The lord of Beaujeu, who has already rendered ſuch important ſervices to the ſtate, " ſhall have the third place, and ſhall preſide in the abſence of the dukes of Orleans " and Bourbon."

It was farther reſolved, that twelve new counſellors ſhould be choſen by the king and the princes, from among the members of the ſtates, two from each of the ſix nations. The fear of offending the duke of Orleans prevented the ſtates from making any mention of Madame in theſe reſolutions; but ſhe had no reaſon to complain, for the reſolutions were ſo contrived as to leave her in poſſeſſion of all her authority. If ſhe ſhould find her meaſures thwarted in the council, by the preſence of the duke of Orleans, ſhe could eaſily remedy that inconvenience by ſending the king—of whoſe perſon ſhe had the ſole diſpoſal —to preſide. The conſtable, from his age and infirmities, would ſeldom be preſent, ſo that the lord of Beaujeu would moſtly be preſident of the counеil. The king went to the aſſembly, where the reſolutions were read to him; the deputies then bent one knee to the ground, and in that poſture waited his determination. After conferring for ſome minutes with his chancellor, he confirmed them all without any reſtriction.

The next object of importance which engaged the attention of the aſſembly was the ſtate of the revenue; and the deputies ſeemed unanimous in their opinion that a general abolition of impoſts ought to take place. This, they conceived, the king might be enabled to allow; firſt, by re-uniting to the crown all kind of poſſeſſions, which, at any time, had been alienated from it, on whatever pretext: on this ſubject they maintained, that the domain, being the true patrimony of the crown, ought to be appropriated ſolely to the purpoſe of defraying the expences of the ſtate, and that a king could not, without manifeſt injuſtice, alienate any part of it: ſecondly, by ſuppreſſing all uſeleſs offices, and by reducing the wages of ſuch placemen as it ſhould be found neceſſary to retain: thirdly, by retrenching, or, at leaſt, diminiſhing penſions; and fourthly, by reducing the number of national troops. Having diſcuſſed this matter, they came to the following reſolution:

" That all taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, ought to be aboliſhed; and that, in " future, agreeably to the national *franchiſe* of France, no tax or impoſt whatever " ſhould be levied, within the kingdom, without the free conſent of the ſtates-general."

But this reſolution, as well as the article which related to the reduction of the national troops, experienced a violent oppoſition from the king and the princes of the blood; nor, indeed, could the aſſembly themſelves agree as to the moſt eſſential points, from the difficulty which they found in reducing their theory to practice. In order to obtain a juſt criterion of judgment, they had applied to the king for a full and regular account of the different branches of the revenue, and of the different articles of expenditure, that, by a compariſon of the receipts with the expences, they might be able to decide how far their projects of economy were feaſible and adviſeable. This ſtatement had ac-

cordingly been delivered to them by the officers of the revenue; but, on peruſing it, it appeared to be drawn up for the mere purpoſe of deceiving the deputies. The revenue of Normandy was ſtated to amount to no more than twenty-two thouſand livres, and the whole revenue of the crown was only eſtimated at ſeven hundred and fifty-five thouſand, in ſhort, the receipts were every where diminiſhed, and the expences magnified. The account was divided into ſix parts: 1. The expences of the king's wardrobe, of his table, and that of his gueſts. 2. The wages of the officers of his houſhold; of the hundred gentlemen of his guard; of the two hundred archers *à la grande paye*, and of the two hundred *à la petite*; private pleaſures and embaſſies. 3. The pay of the troops, to the number of two thouſand five hundred lances, and of ſeven or eight thouſand infantry; the artillery, the fortifications, and the expences of the royal-camp, or Camp of Peace, eſtabliſhed by Lewis the Eleventh. 4. The ſalaries of the judges of the parliaments of Paris, Bourdeaux, Toulouſe, Burgundy and Grenoble; the chamber of accounts, the chancery, the grand council, and the officers of the finance. And laſtly, the liſt of penſions, in which only the names of the penſioners were mentioned, who amounted to nine hundred.

This falſe account deranged all the combinations of the aſſembly, who, after much altercation and debate, were, at length, induced to give up their original plan, which they found to be impracticable in its full extent, and to make another propoſal to the king. They choſe John de Maſſelin for their ſpeaker, who, at a general aſſembly, at which the chancellor and all the princes of blood were preſent, pronounced the following harangue:

"We have examined the accounts which were delivered to us by the officers of the "revenue, but, at firſt ſight, we found them ſo full of ſuch groſs untruths, and ſuch pal- "pable falſhoods, that we could ſcarcely believe our eyes: we muſt obſerve, that we did "not expect to be treated with ſuch contempt; and ſince it had been reſolved to de- "ceive us, a more ſkilful mode of accompliſhing the reſolution ought, at leaſt, to have "been adopted. I ſhall not attempt to point out every falſhood; a whole day would be "inſufficient for the purpoſe; I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one or two articles. "The revenue of Normandy, for which province I am member, is, in that account, "only eſtimated at two-and-twenty thouſand livres, whereas there are people in this "aſſembly who offer forty thouſand for it, and will give good ſecurity for the perform- "ance of their engagement. The revenue of the two Burgundies, which are known to "amount to eighty thouſand livres, are only eſtimated at eighteen thouſand; and the "ſame falſhoods are obſervable with regard to all the other provinces. The deputies "for the various provinces are all preſent, and ready to atteſt the truth of my aſſertions. "But if they have been actuated by a ſpirit of diminution in their calculation of the re- "ceipts, they have, in revenge, wonderfully ſwelled out the expences. The firſt article, "which includes the expences of the king's wardrobe and table, amounts to an incredible "ſum: God forbid we ſhould ſet ourſelves up for cenſors of our maſter, and pretend to

"throw

" throw any reſtraint on his inclinations!—no;—we ſhall only preſume to requeſt that " he will regulate his houſhold by the example of Charles the Seventh, of glorious " memory. That monarch, whoſe life had been a life of labour, and whoſe brows were " ſhaded with laurels, kept, in his old age, a table much leſs expenſive than that of a " modern prince in his infancy; for although, magnificence—as we have been told— " be the appanage of royalty, and every man ought to live according to his rank, yet, " it muſt be acknowledged, that every thing has its bounds, and that the maſter of the " world might ruin himſelf by ſuperfluous pomp and unbridled luxury. The remarks " we have made on the king's table and wardrobe, apply equally to his guard, which is " three times more numerous than was that of Charles the Seventh. They apply alſo " to the officers of his houſhold, and of the finances, whoſe number is not only doubled, " ſince that period, but their wages likewiſe. Nor can one office, however lucrative, " ſatisfy the perſon who obtains it; the ſame perſon frequently enjoys four or " five, each of which would be ſufficient to conſtitute the happineſs of a worthier " man, who, deſpairing to procure a place, applies for a penſion, and becomes a burden " to the ſtate. In ſhort, the multiplication of officers of every kind, and the increaſe of " their wages, are now carried to an intolerable exceſs; the deputies for Burgundy have " furniſhed us with a ſtriking example of the prevalence of this evil. In the time of " duke Philip the Good, the revenue of the duchy and county of Burgundy was col- " lected by one treaſurer, who had a ſalary of ſix hundred livres; this treaſurer " had a clerk, whoſe wages were two hundred livres, and no other expence what- " ever was incurred by the collection of the revenue. Now there is a treaſurer " with a ſalary of two thouſand nine hundred livres; a receiver-general, with the ſame " ſalary; a private receiver at twelve hundred livres; and a comptroller at ſix hun- " dred; ſo that a conſiderable part of the revenue of the province is totally loſt to " the ſtate.

" Now for the troops: in the liſt which has been preſented to us, the expences have " been made out for the ſupport of two thouſand five hundred lances, and ſix or ſeven " thouſand infantry, with the addition of a royal camp. On this ſubject the ſtates have or- " dered me to make the following repreſentations: if France had *no* mercenary troops, ſhe " never could be conſidered in the light of a kingdom deſtitute of the means of defence, " ſince ſhe poſſeſſes a brave and warlike nobility, obliged by their inſtitution, and by the " nature of their poſſeſſions, to fly to the defence of their country; ſhe has ſeveral " princes of the blood, men of wiſdom and experience, who are the natural chiefs of the " nobility; and laſtly, ſhe can boaſt of a numerous and martial people, who make it " their pleaſure, and think it their duty, to ſhed their blood for their king. For ſeveral " centuries ſhe required no other defenders; and ſo far from finding herſelf expoſed to the " inſults of her neighbours, ſhe gave the law to all the nations of Europe. Theſe ar- " mies of mercenaries, whoſe utility is now ſo much dwelt upon, owe their firſt inſtitu- " tion to ſuſpicious tyrants, who thought they had no other means to defend themſelves " from public vengeance, and who often received their puniſhment from the very men

" to

" to whom they had entruſted the defence of their perſons. Let us, then, no longer be " told—*that they are the arms of the body politic, and that on them the ſafety of the ſtate* " *depends!* It depends on the love which the ſubjects bear their ſovereign. A ſtate is " happy and tranquil, when all orders of men unite in their wiſhes for the preſervation " of their chief. How glorious it is for a king to live among his ſubjects, as a father " in the midſt of his children, and only to be indebted for the ſincere homage which they " are eager to render him, to his own virtues and their affection! But any attempt " wholly to eradicate ſuch an inveterate evil would be vain. Since it appears evident " that they are reſolved not to aboliſh the wretched cuſtom of keeping and paying a " voracious inſtrument of murder, we require, at leaſt, that the example of Charles " the Seventh, may, in this inſtance, be followed;—that is to ſay, that only twelve " hundred lances may be kept in pay, and that the greateſt attention be paid in making " them obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline.

" As to the royal camp, eſtabliſhed by Lewis the Eleventh, we conſider it as a ſu- " perfluous expence, which ought to be immediately aboliſhed. Our opinion is the " ſame with regard to ſeveral garriſons mentioned in the paper that has been delivered " to us: we cannot, for inſtance, conceive the neceſſity of keeping a garriſon of four " hundred lances at Arras, ſince that town is defended by the garriſons of the neigh- " bouring places: if, through exceſs of precaution, it were deemed neceſſary to ſtation " ſome troops there, we are thoroughly perſuaded that fifty lances, and a company of " infantry, would form a ſufficient garriſon. The ſame obſervation applies to Peronne, " and ſeveral other places, too numerous to mention. But we were particularly aſto- " niſhed at finding a captain and a garriſon ſet down for places ſituated in the center of " the kingdom. Who could have expected to find a ſalary of twelve hundred livres, " inſcribed on the liſt for the captain of the Baſtile, and as much for the captain of the " tower of Bourges? as if thoſe fortreſſes were expoſed to any danger, or as if there " were even reaſon to apprehend that the Engliſh could approach ſufficiently near to " them to deſcry, from ſome lofty mountain, the ſummit of theſe towers! I ſhall con- " clude this article by a fact, which, though it be of little importance in itſelf, proves " to what depredations the public treaſury is at this time expoſed. Twelve hundred " livres are ſet down as the expence of preparing this room, when every perſon preſent " muſt know that it could not poſſibly exceed three. If, in an object thus trifling and " expoſed to public ſight, they have not ſcrupled to be guilty of ſuch a groſs impo- " ſition, what muſt be the impoſition on objects of greater magnitude, and with regard " to which it is often impoſſible to procure any information? I know it has been ſaid, in " order to juſtify the perſons who made out the accounts, that their only object was to " amuſe and miſlead us; if that be their excuſe, let me aſk them, how they dare to in- " ſult the repreſentatives of the nation? I ſhall take no notice of extraordinary ex- " pences, but proceed to the penſions. We have only received the names of the penſioners, " without the amount of their reſpective penſions: but even were each penſion mode-

" rate,

" rate, the liſt is ſo long, that they are ſufficient to drain the public treaſury. We are " of opinion that none have claims of this kind on the ſtate, except ſuch as have ren- " dered ſignal ſervice to their country; and that more than half of the names " ſhould be ſtricken off the liſt: we had even ſome thoughts of entreating the king to " ſuppreſs all penſions for a time.

" Such, illuſtrious princes, are the reflections which the ſtates have made on the ac- " counts which have been preſented to them: you will doubtleſs enquire what ſubſidies " they have voted, and what is the final reſult of their deliberations? I will ſatisfy you " in a few words. Although the total abolition of taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, " appeared to us to be the only means of relieving the diſtreſſes of the people; although " we are ſtill perſuaded that ſuch an abolition is not only poſſible, but would be even " advantageous to the king; yet, diſcouraged by the numerous obſtacles which have " been oppoſed to the accompliſhment of ſuch a laudable plan, conſidering how dan- " gerous it would be to draw any concluſions from a falſe account, and deſpairing to " triumph over the malice of thoſe who are intereſted in the perpetuation of abuſes, we " have had recourſe to an expedient, which, although it be onerous to the people, re- " moves all difficulties, and will prove to the king the ſincerity of that affection which " his faithful ſubjects bear him—*We offer then to pay to the crown, by way of gift or grant,* " *the ſame ſum which the kingdom paid to Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory; but on* " *condition, that this contribution ſhall be limited to two years, at the expiration of which,* " *the ſtates ſhall be again aſſembled; and we require that the time and place for the future* " *aſſembly ſhall be immediately fixed by an irrevocable declaration.*—If all ſuperfluous ex- " pences be retrenched, we are thoroughly convinced that this ſum of twelve hundred " thouſand livres, joined to the produce of the domain, the aids and Gabelles, will " more than ſuffice for the diſcharge of all neceſſary expences, and that a very con- " ſiderable portion of it may be ſet apart for unforeſeen contingencies. The reaſons on " which we formed this opinion are theſe: the revenue of Charles the Seventh was " greatly inferior to that of the preſent monarch, ſince he was not in poſſeſſion of An- " jou, Maine, the two Burgundies, Artois, a great part of Picardy, Dauphiné, the " county of Provence, nor Rouſſillon. Charles the Seventh had greater expences to " defray than our king has, ſince he had ſons and daughters, and, moreover, paid pen- " ſions to René of Anjou, and the count of Maine; yet, notwithſtanding theſe addi- " tional expences, he, with ſuch an inferior revenue, had the moſt brilliant court in " Europe. He was a generous and munificent prince; he recovered, by force of arms, " the two moſt important provinces in the kingdom, Normandy and Guienne; and, at " his death, he left immenſe treaſures. We therefore conjure the king and the princes, " not to aſk for any greater ſum than that which we now offer."

This determination of the ſtates occaſioned violent altercations between the princes of the blood and the members of the council; as the acceptance of the offer which had been

been made by the repreſentatives of the people muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned a conſiderable diminution of penſions, ſalaries, and places. The princes, and people in power, did not chooſe that theſe retrenchments ſhould fall upon them, nor upon the perſons who were attached to their party; and it ſeemed impoſſible to engage the ſtates to change their laſt reſolution. The chancellor, however, who was haraſſed by the murmurs and diſcontents of either party, reſolved once more to try his influence with the ſtates; he accordingly repaired to the aſſembly, accompanied by the princes, and addreſſed them in the following words:

"You have made ſome uſeful remonſtrances to the king, who will pay them all the "attention which faithful ſubjects deſerve, for you cannot doubt but that he deems it "more glorious to be king of the Franks than to be king of the ſlaves; but, at the "ſame time, it behoves you not to forget what was ſaid to an ancient people—In aim-"ing at the acquiſition of too much liberty, you run the riſk of falling into the oppo-"ſite extreme: it is no proof of wiſdom, to throw yourſelf on the diſcretion of your "enemies, nor can it be ſafe to ſleep in the midſt of ſerpents. I will ſuppoſe for a mo-"ment, that the kingdom has nothing to apprehend from foreigners; but then has it no-"thing to dread from the inordinate paſſions of ſome of its own members? Who will "be able to check the turbulence of ambitious minds, if you take the troops from the "king? Who will enſure the execution of the laws? Who will defend the wi-"dow and the orphan from violence and oppreſſion? You have paid a juſt tribute of "applauſe to Charles the Seventh, who firſt eſtabliſhed regular companies; with what "propriety then can you cenſure the king for wiſhing to keep them? If it were ever "your intention to do good to your country, this is certainly the time to ſhew it.

"You have entreated the king to be contented with the ſame ſums which Charles the "Seventh levied on his ſubjects; but you have not paid attention to the difference of the "times and of circumſtances. Charles the Seventh was a prince who had learned wiſ-"dom in the ſchool of adverſity; he was, moreover, vigilant, intrepid, and active; "whereas your ſovereign is almoſt an infant, and finds himſelf expoſed to the ſnares of "all who ſhall ſeek to profit by the weakneſs of his youth to ſhake off the yoke of de-"pendence; he is, of courſe, in greater want of troops; from his inability to take upon "himſelf all the cares of government, he ſtands in need of intelligent miniſters and a "numerous council; he cannot, therefore, avoid granting penſions: beſides, ſince the "change that has taken place in the value of money, the ſum you offer is not equivalent "to that which Charles the Seventh exacted from his ſubjects. Weigh all theſe reaſons, "and attend to my propoſal. You require that the king ſhould relieve the people; he "will do more, for to relieve is only to lighten a burden, in a ſmall degree, and you cannot "be ſaid to lighten a burden merely when you take off two thirds of it: the king, then, "is willing to remit three deniers out of five, and this is a greater favour than you could "preſume to hope for. Laſt year the taxes amounted to three millions four hundred

"thouſand

" thouſand livres. Onerous as that impoſt was, had not the king a right to continue " it, ſince he found it eſtabliſhed? Certainly he had, but it is not his intention to ex- " ert that right. He means that the fifteen hundred thouſand livres, to which he is " pleaſed to confine himſelf, ſhall be levied, in equal proportions, on all the provinces " which, in the time of Charles the Seventh, compoſed the monarchy; and he reſerves " to himſelf the power of making a particular arrangement for ſuch as have been an- " nexed to the crown ſince that period. You may now retire, not to deliberate, for " you have heard the king's will, but to prepare yourſelves for expreſſing your gratitude " in a becoming manner."

This ſpeech, far from exciting applauſe, was followed by a dead ſilence—in a few minutes ſome confuſed murmurs were heard, and then a general expreſſion of diſcontent burſt forth from every quarter. The members maintained that the chancellor had attacked the liberty of the nation, and the ſacred rights of property, for, ſaid they, If the king can, of his own will, and without the conſent of the ſtates, exact an additional contribution of three hundred thouſand livres, he may, by the ſame rule, double or triple the taxes, and then all our pretenſions fall to the ground. The preſident, after conferring with ſome of the members, who ſtood near him, aſked permiſſion for the ſtates to deliberate in private; the princes accordingly withdrew, and the next day was appointed by the chancellor for receiving the final deciſion of the aſſembly.

The ſtates ſeemed ſtrongly diſpoſed to reſent the conduct of the chancellor, and to aſſert their own rights, by the immediate adoption of ſome violent meaſure; but the princes of the blood, by the alternate employment of promiſes and threats, at length induced them to yield, and to paſs the following reſolutions:

" In order to defray the expences of government, and to enſure peace to the kingdom, " the members of the three eſtates grant the king, their ſovereign lord, *by way of gift* " *and grant*, and *not otherwiſe*, the ſame ſum [5]—*which can, at no future period, be called a* " *tax, but a gift and grant*—that during the reign of Charles the Seventh, was levied

[5] In the reign of Charles the Seventh, in 1456, the mark of ſilver was worth eight livres, ten ſols; comparing it, therefore, with the modern price of fifty livres, we ſhall find that the livre of thoſe times, bore to the livre of the preſent day the proportion of ſeventeen to a hundred; thus the twelve hundred thouſand livres, granted by the ſtates, were equivalent to ſeven millions, fifty-eight thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-five livres, ten ſols, ſeven deniers.

The chancellor obſerved that the value of money was changed, and that the ſum granted by the ſtates at Tours was not equal to the ſum levied by Charles the Seventh. We know that in 1488, four years after this period, the mark of ſilver was worth eleven livres. *Garnier.*

" on the kingdom, and this, *for two years only and no longer*, on condition, too, that the " ſaid ſum ſhall be equally divided among all the provinces of which the monarchy is " actually compoſed.

" Beſides this firſt annual ſum, the ſtates, who are anxious to promote the welfare, " honour, and proſperity of the king and his kingdom, and who wiſh to obey and to " pleaſe him, grant him the net ſum of three hundred thouſand livres, as a free gift, on " account of his joyous acceſſion to the throne, and in order to defray the expence of his " coronation, and his public entry into Paris.

" The ſtates beſeech and requeſt the king to convene and aſſemble the ſtates at the " expiration of two years, and to immediately point out and declare the time and place " at which ſuch aſſembly ſhall be holden: for it is their intention that, hereafter, no " ſum of money whatever ſhall be levied on the people, without convening the ſtates, " and obtaining their conſent, *agreeably to the privileges and liberties of this kingdom*.

" If the future aſſembly ſhall be of opinion, that the affairs of the kingdom admit " of a diminution, or require an augmentation, the ſaid ſtates will ever be ready, like " moſt humble and moſt obedient ſubjects, to make proviſion accordingly, chearfully, " and courageouſly, without ſparing any thing, ſo that the king, our ſovereign lord, " ſhall have reaſon to be contented with his good and loyal people, and to hold them " in great and perpetual eſteem."

As ſoon as theſe reſolutions were adopted, intelligence of the ſame was ſent to the lord of Beaujeu, who promiſed that the king ſhould come to the aſſembly the next day; but the bad weather prevented the young monarch from attending, though the chancellor and the princes were punctual to their time. This diſappointment ſomewhat diſconcerted the ſpeaker, Maſſelin, who thus addreſſed them:

" We had encouraged the hope that the king would honour this aſſembly with his " preſence; but, ſince he is here repreſented by the princes of the blood, I ſhall ſtill ad- " dreſs myſelf to him——Auguſt prince, under what happier auſpices could you, poſ- " ſibly, have begun your reign? Your firſt ſteps have been guided by wiſdom and juſ- " tice. You aſſembled the ſtates of your kingdom, and ordered them to point out to " you all the abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration; we have obeyed thoſe or- " ders. Not content with diſcovering the diſeaſe we have, at the ſame time, indicated " the means of removing it: it remains with you to complete the cure, and your glory " is intereſted in the event. The nation would be diſhonoured in the eyes of foreign " powers, if, after having undertaken to reform every branch of the adminiſtration, " our labours ſhould be productive of no ſolid advantage, no real good to our country.

" Continue,

" Continue, auguſt prince, to regulate your conduct by wholeſome advice, but beware of " the arts of thoſe perfidious councillors by whom the princes of your blood are ſur- " rounded; they will tell you that a king is omnipotent; that he is never miſtaken; that " his will is law;—theſe are monſters, objects of public execration; exterminate them " without delay, or they will not only corrupt your heart, but will infect your court, and " the whole body of the nation.

" After diſmiſſing ſuch evil councillors, a king who wiſhed to govern with equity " would immediately chooſe others whoſe integrity would juſtify the confidence he repoſed " in them. He would honour the church, becauſe a contempt of religion occaſions a de- " pravation of manners, and prepares the downfall of a ſtate; he would liſten with re- " ſpect to the miniſters of the goſpel; he would impreſs on his mind an exact image of vir- " tue, in order that his thoughts, words, and actions, might correſpond to it; he would " teach his ſubjects, by his own example, to reſpect the laws; he would cheriſh the nobi- " lity, and conſider them as the arm of the ſtate, and the ſupport of the throne; in ſhort, " he would live as a father in the midſt of his children, and would frequently aſk, with a " tender emotion, *How fares it with my people?*

" If he found that his people were burthened with taxes, or that the ſum they paid, " though moderate, was more than requiſite to ſupply the wants of the ſtate, he ought " immediately to put a ſtop to the exaction; this is a duty and not a favour; unleſs words " are groſsly abuſed, and the action of a ſtrong man who forbears to inſult a weak man " whom he meets on his road, is alſo dignified with the appellation of a favour. The peo- " ple in a monarchy poſſeſs rights, and have a real property, ſince they are free and not " ſlaves, and ſince the monarchical government, according to the opinion of the ancient " philoſophers, is the mildeſt of all governments, and that which is the moſt compatible " with liberty. *An abuſe, however ſanctioned by preſcription, can never be pleaded in bar* " *of a natural right*; and whoever affirms that a king who, on his acceſſion to the throne, " finds his people overburdened with taxes, is not bound to relieve them, advances a falſe " and injurious principle.

" It has given us the greateſt concern to find, that there are men baſe enough to accuſe " us of a wiſh to deprive the king of his lawful prerogatives; ſuch an atrocious imputa- " tation can only reflect diſhonour on its author. Convinced that the welfare and advan- " tage of the people, and the welfare and advantage of the king, were one and the ſame, " we thought that, by ſeeking to relieve the people, we were ſerving the king, and ful- " filling the duty of faithful ſubjects. In blaming the diſorders which prevailed in the " old government, we only obeyed the king's commands, as he enjoined us, by the mouth " of his chancellor, to expoſe to him, without diſguiſe, all the abuſes which diſfigured

" the ſtate. If we have expreſſed ourſelves with energy, and with a kind of aſperity, " the ſubject required it, and we do not repent it.

" It has been objected to us, that while we have, on all occaſions, commended the offi- " cers of Charles the Seventh, we have obſerved an offenſive ſilence with regard to thoſe " of Lewis the Eleventh; but we hope our conduct, in this reſpect, has not offended any " one, for by praiſing Peter we do not ſatirize Paul. If among the officers of Lewis " there be—as we doubt not there are—ſome men of integrity and honour, let them be re- " warded and exalted; we willingly conſent to it. But as we know there are alſo many " of a contrary deſcription, we beg and require that all ſuch may be immediately diſ- " miſſed, and kept at a diſtance from the king's perſon.

" I now come to the principal object of this ſeſſion. My lord, the chancellor, having " explained to us the wants of the ſtate, demanded that an annual impoſt of fifteen hun- " dred thouſand livres ſhould be levied on the kingdom. We could wiſh, moſt high and " potent princes, that the French people were in a ſituation to liſten only to the dictates of " their generoſity, and of their love for their ſovereign; but you all know to what a ſtate " of wretchedneſs and humiliation they are reduced, and of what importance it is to " afford them the means of extricating themſelves from their difficulties, Anxious, there- " fore, to pleaſe the king, without completing the miſery of the people, we have adopted " the reſolutions which will now be read to you."

After ſettling the diſtribution of the taxes on the different provinces, and arranging ſome other matters of leſs importance, the ſtates were diſſolved on the fourteenth of March. It appears from their proceedings, that the French, at this period, entertained ſome juſt and rational ideas of civil liberty, and that though they had tamely acquieſced in the tyrannical meaſures of Lewis the Eleventh, they did not chuſe that his conduct ſhould be received as a precedent: indeed, they ſeem rather to have wanted an opportunity than a ſpirit for aſſerting and maintaining their rights, in oppoſition to the unconſtitutional encroachments of their ſovereigns; and had the ſtates-general but procured the privilege of aſſembling at fixed and ſtated periods, deſpotiſm could never have reached to that alarming heighth, to which it attained under the ſucceeding monarchs of the Capetian Race.

The princes of the blood, who had inſiſted, with ſuch warmth, on the convention of the ſtates, derived from it none of thoſe advantages which they had expected to obtain.—Madame triumphed; but far from inſulting her rivals in their diſgrace, ſhe ſpared no pains to conſole them for their diſappointment. To the duke of Orleans ſhe gave the command of a company of one hundred lances, with a conſiderable penſion; and the counts of Angoulême and Dunois had alſo each of them a company, with a penſion of ſixteen thouſand livres. It is probable that the princes, convinced that the majority of the nation were hoſtile

hoſtile to their pretenſions, would not have attempted to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, had not the troubles which prevailed in Brittany, and the dangerous intrigues of a man who, from the moſt abject ſituation, had been raiſed to the higheſt rank, revived their ambition, and betrayed them, by degrees, into an open revolt. As the firſt ſparks of that general conflagration, which ſpread over France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands, were kindled in Brittany, it will be neceſſary to explain the ſituation of that court, at the preſent period, and to point out the motives which induced the deareſt friends and relations to take up arms againſt each other.

Francis the Second, who then reigned over the duchy of Brittany, had been twice married; by his firſt wife, Margaret of Brittany, he had no children; and by his ſecond, Margaret of Foix, only two daughters, Anne and Iſabella. His violent attachment to his imperious miſtreſs, Antoinette de Magnelais, widow to the lord of Villequier, who had acquired an unlimited authority over him, had long prevented him from contracting a ſecond marriage, ſo that he was far advanced in life, when his two daughters were ſtill in their infancy, and there were little hopes of his living to ſee them married. This proſpect equally encouraged all who had any claims to the duchy to advance them; and ſuch as aſpired to the poſſeſſion of theſe rich heireſſes, to make their propoſals.

The diſpute which had ariſen, during the reign of Philip of Valois, between the rival houſes of Blois and Montfort, had never been completely ſettled. Philip had decided in favour of Charles of Blois; but the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the fortune of war, had ſecured the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Brittany to the count of Montfort. After the battle of Aurai, in which the former loſt his life, a convention was ſigned by the belligerent powers, by which the duchy of Brittany was ſecured to the houſe of Montfort, and the county of Penthiévre, with ſeveral other conſiderable poſſeſſions, were ceded to the family of Blois. The latter, in conſequence of a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Brittany, were declared guilty of high-treaſon, and deſpoiled of all their territories; but, through the mediation of Arthur of Brittany, conſtable of France, another convention took place between theſe rival houſes, by which duke Francis the Firſt engaged to reſtore to the Penthiévres the county whence they took their title, and all the other eſtates which they had formerly enjoyed; and he farther declared, in letters-patent duly ſigned and ſealed, that, notwithſtanding the formal renunciation of their claims to the duchy of Brittany, it was his will, that in caſe he, his two brothers, his uncle Arthur, and his couſin Francis, ſhould die without heirs male, John and William de Penthiévre, their niece Nicole, wife to the lord of Broſſes, or their children, ſhould ſucceed to the duchy, to the excluſion of the females of the branch of Montfort. But the Breton hiſtorians affirm—and the affirmation appears to be well-founded—that theſe letters-patent were granted merely for the purpoſe of deception, in order to ſave the honour of the count of Penthiévre, who was afraid that he ſhould be reproached by the court of France, with having too haſtily ſacrificed his pretenſions;

tenſions; and that when the duke granted them, he had exacted a counter-letter, by which the count declared that, after he had ſhewn them the king, and to his friends and relations, he would ſend them back to Francis, and never make any uſe of them. Be that as it may, they had fallen, by ſome means or other, into the hands of Tanneguy du Châtel, who was induced, by the love he bore his country, to keep them ſecret[6]; his widow, however, leſs delicate, delivered them to Lewis the Eleventh, who, ſeeing the male line of the houſe of Montfort on the point of failure, ſince Francis the Second had no ſon, purchaſed of Nicole de Penthiévre, and her huſband, John of Broſſes, the ſole remaining heirs of the houſe of Blois, all their rights to the duchy of Brittany. Though the validity of thoſe rights was expoſed to ſuch ſtrong doubts, Lewis intended to ſupport them by a formidable army; but dying before the duke of Brittany, he tranſmitted them to his ſon.

Next to Charles the Eighth another claimant appeared on the liſt, whoſe pretenſions were trivial indeed: this was Francis, Baron d'Avaugour, a natural ſon of the preſent duke of Brittany by Antoinette de Magnelais; he had been legitimized, and his father had conferred on him a profuſion of honours and riches. Promoted to the rank and dignity of firſt baron and lieutenant general of Brittany, he now aſpired to the ſucceſſion, and imagined, that as the Bretons were attached to the blood of their ancient ſovereigns, and wanted a prince who was able to govern them, they would overlook the defect in his birth, and prefer him to a ſtranger.

The viſcount of Rohan advanced pretenſions that were ſomewhat though not much better founded: he was brother-in-law to the reigning duke, and had two ſons by his wife, Mary of Brittany, ſecond daughter to duke Francis the Firſt. If Francis the Second had ſucceeded to the duchy in right of his wife, the ſons of the viſcount would have had a preferable claim to the children of the duke by Margaret of Foix; but as there was a law in Brittany, by which females were excluded from the ſucceſſion, ſo long as there were any male heirs remaining, though farther removed from the direct line than the females, and as Francis had ſucceeded to the duchy, not as huſband to the princeſs, but as the neareſt male heir, the viſcount could advance no good reaſon for the excluſion of Anne and Iſabella: he, therefore, contented himſelf with claiming for his ſons all the treaſures and moveable effects of duke Francis the Firſt; the dower and moveables of their aunt Margaret; and laſtly, all the territorial acquiſitions made by the firſt Francis, and one half of thoſe which Francis the Second had, himſelf, made during the period of his firſt marriage. Convinced that the duke, even had he the inclination, had not the ability to comply with theſe demands, he propoſed, in order to avoid all diſcuſſion, to unite the claims of the two families by a marriage between his two ſons and the two daughters of Francis. The propoſal was ſupported by the mareſchal de Rieux and the principal nobility of Brittany, but the duke rejected it with diſdain.

[6] Garnier, tom. xix, p. 352.

Francis,

Francis, in order to connect his intereſts with thoſe of the Engliſh monarch, had propoſed an alliance between his eldeſt daughter, Anne, and the prince of Wales, but on condition that Brittany ſhould never be annexed to the crown of England. This alliance, however, had been prevented by the aſſaſſination of the prince and his brother.

Diſappointed in his hopes from that quarter, the duke now caſt his eyes on Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, to whom he propoſed to marry his eldeſt daughter, and, at the ſame time, to give his youngeſt to Philip, the youthful ſovereign of the Netherlands, ſon to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. But the duchy being ſoon reduced to extremity, Maximilian, ſufficiently occupied in providing means for his own defence, and having but little proſpect of affording the duke ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance, Francis was induced to liſten to the propoſals of another lover. This was the lord of Albret, ſurnamed the Great, the moſt opulent ſubject in the kingdom, after the princes of the blood: he had claims on ſome places in Brittany, but more generous or more artful than his competitors, he appeared to forget his own intereſts in order to maintain thoſe of his ally. He demanded that the hand of the princeſs ſhould be the reward of that warrior who ſhould beſt ſignalize his courage and zeal in her defence, and who ſhould render the moſt important ſervices to the duchy. D'Albret, however, had but little to recommend him; he was advanced in years, and had ſeveral children either married or marriageable; his perſon was diſguſting, and his temper inſupportable.

Laſtly, the duke of Orleans appeared in the liſt of competitors, and for ſome time eclipſed all his rivals. His recommendations were ſtrong and powerful; he was firſt prince of the blood; preſumptive heir to the throne, and couſin-german to the duke of Brittany; he was ſupported by the houſe of Foix, whence the ducheſs of Brittany was herſelf deſcended; and as he, moreover, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the art of pleaſing, he ſoon engaged the affections of his youthful miſtreſs.

Such were the principal claimants, whoſe efforts either to diſpoſſeſs or to marry the heireſs of Brittany, ſoon filled that court with factions and intrigues. Even an active, enlightened and reſolute prince would have found the repreſſion of ſo many tumultuous and diſcordant paſſions a taſk of extreme difficulty; and, unfortunately for Brittany, Francis was a weak and irreſolute prince, who had long ſuffered himſelf to be guided wholly by his miniſters. After Leſcun had engaged in the ſervice of France, he placed his confidence in Peter Landois, a man not leſs artful and intriguing than Leſcun, but more proud and corrupt; who, from the abject ſtate of a taylor, had been promoted to the dignity of treaſurer and prime miniſter. Convinced that the nobles would never forgive him for engroſſing the favour of their ſovereign, he did not attempt to conciliate their eſteem, but only ſought to render himſelf formidable by the indiſcriminate deſtruction of all who refuſed to acknowledge his authority. The laſt victim of the favourite's ambition, was Chauvin, chancellor of Brittany, a man of the ſtricteſt integrity, who had rendered the greateſt ſervices to the ſtate: Landois perſuaded the duke that he was a penſioner of the court of France,

France, and was hired to betray the intereſts of his maſter: in conſequence of this falſhood, he ſurprized an order from Francis to impriſon the chancellor; and, after a long ſeries of perſecutions, that worthy magiſtrate periſhed by a moſt miſerable death.

The nobility enraged and alarmed at theſe iniquitous tranſactions, repaired in a body to the palace, in order to ſeize the object of their indignation, but he was ſo fortunate as to elude their ſearch, and to eſcape, for the preſent, the effects of their vengeance. Landois now conceived the deſign of forming a party which might enable him to triumph over his enemies. For this purpoſe he caſt his eyes on the duke of Orleans, and invited that prince to repair, without delay, to the court of his couſin the duke of Brittany, who, he ſaid, intended to beſtow on him the hand of his eldeſt daughter[7]. The duke of Orleans was already married to the ſecond daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, but his averſion to that deformed and ſterile princeſs was a matter of public notoriety. He haſtened to Brittany, contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Landois, and obtained permiſſion to viſit the young princeſs, who, even at that early period of life, gave ſigns of thoſe great qualities which rendered her the admiration of the age.

Madame, to whom the conduct of the duke of Orleans gave juſt ſubject for complaint, profited by the circumſtance of the king's coronation, which was fixed for the thirtieth of May, to recall him to France; and the duke, though extremely mortified at being compelled to leave Brittany ſo ſoon, obeyed the citation, and was preſent at the ceremony. But his return to France occaſioned Madame almoſt as much uneaſineſs as his ſtay in Brittainy would have done. The king became ſo enamoured of his company that he was never eaſy without him; and he was eaſily taught to conſider the ſalutary reſtraints impoſed on him by his ſiſter as deſtructive of his freedom, and derogatory to his rank. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, Charles conſented to elope; ſome councillors of ſtate, in the intereſt of the duke of Orleans, laid the plan of his evaſion, and three of his chamberlains undertook to put it in execution. But Madame, informed of the plot, entered the king's chamber in a rage, broke the chamberlains in his preſence, and immediately appointed others who were devoted to her intereſt. After this event ſhe conceived that ſhe was no longer in ſafety at the caſtle of Vincennes, on account of its vicinity to Paris, of which place the duke of Orleans was governor; ſhe therefore took the king to Montargis, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of the year, attentive to the motions of her enemies, and careful, by adopting the inſidious policy of her father, to foment the troubles in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany had, during theſe tranſactions, been prevailed on by his favourites to declare the nobility, who had ſhut themſelves up in the ſtrong town of Ancenis[8], traitors to their ſovereign. This raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, had, as Landois ex-

[7] Godefroi Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Charles VIII.—Brantome, Vies des grandes Capitaines. [8] Lobineau, Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

pected

expected, engaged the nobles in an open revolt; and having no other resource, they did not scruple to purchase the protection of the king of France by the violation of their oaths, and the sacrifice of their duty. They sent the prince of Orange, Peter de Villeblanche, and John le Bouteiller, lord of Maupertuis, to Montargis, where they promised and swore, that, after the death of Francis the Second, they would acknowledge Charles for their lawful sovereign, and would devote their lives and fortunes to the advancement of his authority, on the following conditions. 1. That after the annexation of Brittany to the crown of France, justice should be administered in that province in the same manner as before, and by the magistrates of the country. 2. That the nobles, ecclesiastics and others, should have their privileges and franchises confirmed. 3. That no tax should be levied in the province, without the previous consent of the states. 4. That the gentry should only be obliged to serve in such cases and in such manner as should be settled by the king. 5. That all employments, both civil and military, should be conferred on the natives of Brittany. 6. That in case the duchess should survive her husband, a proper settlement should be assigned her, to be fixed by the states. 7. That the duke's two daughters should be married, with the advice of the states, according to their rank. 8. That in case Charles or any of his successors should have several sons, one of them should be created duke of Brittany. On these conditions, which were granted without any restrictions, the king took the Breton nobles under his protection, and he immediately sent an order to the duke, his vassal, to abstain from all farther violence against them, and to repair the damages which they had already sustained.

On exciting his master to drive the malecontents to extremities, Landois had explained to him the means by which he meant to reduce them to obedience. Besides the succours which he expected from the duke of Orleans, he assured him that he should soon have all the forces of England at his command. The circumstances on which he founded this assurance, were these:

After the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, which fixed the crown of England on the brows of that sanguinary tyrant, the fourth Edward, the earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond, had embarked at Tynley for France; but contrary winds compelled them to land in Brittany, where they experienced a hospitable reception from Francis the Second. Edward, alarmed at Richmond's escape, who was considered, by many, as next heir to the throne, and on whom, he knew, all the secret friends of the house of Lancaster had cast their eyes, sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany, to require that he would give him up: but that prince refused to commit so flagrant a breach of hospitality as to comply with this demand; though he assured Edward that he would watch Richmond so closely that he should never have an opportunity of disturbing his government; in consideration of which promise, the king of England paid a yearly pension to the duke.

But three years after this attempt, Edward's fears of young Richmond being renewed with redoubled violence, he determined to make another effort for obtaining poſſeſſion of his perſon. With this view he again ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Brittany, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty; after which they proceeded to unfold the real object of their embaſſy. They told the duke, that the king their maſter was extremely deſirous of totally extinguiſhing the embers of thoſe factions which had raged with ſuch violence in England; that the earl of Richmond being the only ſurviving prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, it was his intention to marry him to one of his own daughters, that all future diſputes might be avoided by an union of the rival families; he, therefore, hoped the duke of Brittany would entruſt the earl to his care, that he might diſtinguiſh him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his earneſt anxiety to ſecure, on a ſolid baſis, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. The duke, truſting to the ſincerity of Edward's profeſſions, ordered the young earl, with his uncle Pembroke, to be delivered to them, and they immediately departed with their victims to the port of Saint Malo, whence they prepared to embark for England. But John de Quelenec, admiral of Brittany, being apprized of this circumſtance, entered the duke's apartment with ſorrow expreſſed on his countenance; which the duke obſerving, he enquired the cauſe of it. "The paleneſs you obſerve in my face," replied the admiral, "is the ſure forerunner of death, which, I could have wiſhed, had put a period to my days, before I had witneſſed an action that muſt diſhonour my maſter. My lord, you have acquired the reputation of a man of honour, how then could you be ſo inattentive to the preſervation of that character, and how, after you had pledged your faith, could you conſent to deliver up a prince, who had aſked your protection, to puniſhment and death?"—"Mr. admiral," interrupted the duke, "you are miſtaken; there is nothing to fear for the earl of Richmond, whom Edward only beſought me to ſend to him, that he might make him his ſon-in-law."—"Be aſſured," replied Quelenec, "that if he quit your dominions, he is a dead man." The eyes of Francis were now opened, and he immediately diſpatched his favourite, Peter Landois, to Saint Malo, to bring back the refugees. He arrived as they were on the point of embarking; and, having made known the purport of his miſſion to Richmond and Pembroke, he amuſed the ambaſſadors while they effected their eſcape to a ſanctuary, from whence he would not ſuffer them to be taken. The ambaſſadors complained loudly of this artifice, and Landois made ſome frivolous apologies, which they would by no means admit. He then frankly told them, that the duke his maſter, having duly reflected on the ſubject, had become ſenſible that he could not deliver up his gueſts without a flagrant violation of the laws of hoſpitality; but he renewed, in the duke's name, thoſe aſſurances which had been before made to Edward, that the two earls ſhould be ſo ſtrictly guarded, they would be effectually prevented from interrupting the tranquillity of England.

It was by means of this prince, who was already indebted to him for the preſervation of his life, that Landois hoped to effect a revolution in England; he juſtly imagined, that

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ſhould he ſucceed in his attempts to place him on the throne, he ſhould receive from him ſuch aſſiſtance as would be requiſite to make him triumph over his enemies; and that by the ſubſequent promotion of a marriage between Richmond and the heireſs of Brittany, he ſhould be enabled, after the duke's death, to preſerve his rank and ſtation. In order to ſecure the ſucceſs of this plan, Landois, after the acceſſion of the third Richard, ſent ambaſſadors to England, under the pretence of renewing the truce which ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Theſe ambaſſadors could not have arrived at a more fortunate period, as the duke of Buckingham, diſcontented with Richard, had juſt formed the deſign of depoſing that uſurper, and had entered into a correſpondence, with the view to haſten the execution of his plan, with all the malecontents in different parts of England.

The Breton ambaſſadors returned with this favourable report; and they were ſoon followed by two confidential friends of Richmond, who brought him a ſum of money from his mother, and preſſed him to haſten to England, where his friends were waiting to receive him. Landois, to whom the earl communicated his diſpatches, furniſhed him with a fleet, and a body of five thouſand men, with which he ſailed from St. Malo, in October, 1483; but before he could reach the Engliſh coaſt, the duke of Buckingham had been defeated and executed; not thinking it prudent, therefore, to land, he returned to Brittany. He was there joined by numbers of the Engliſh nobility, who exacted from him an oath, that, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have effected the depoſition of Richard, he would unite the oppoſite pretenſions of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by marrying the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of king Edward. They then ſwore fealty and allegiance to him, as their lawful ſovereign, and Richmond immediately formed a little court of his own at Rennes; Landois ſeemed to encourage theſe proceedings, and renewed his promiſes of aſſiſtance, though, at the ſame time, he had entered into a correſpondence with their enemies.

Richard the Third, convinced that he ſhould never be at eaſe, ſo long as Richmond ſhould be at liberty, ſent an ambaſſador to Brittany, who addreſſed himſelf to Landois, and made him ſuch offers as were well calculated to ſeduce a venal and perfidious mind. He engaged to reſtore to Francis the earldom of Richmond, which had formerly been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; to give Landois all the eſtates and other property of the Engliſh refugees in Brittany, and to ſupply him with a body of troops for the purpoſe of reducing his enemies. Landois, conſidering that the plan for dethroning Richard would be attended with conſiderable difficulty and expence, and was ſubject, moreover, to a thouſand interruptions; and that, even ſhould it ſucceed, he could not expect to derive from it greater advantages than thoſe which were now offered to him, at a time, too, when he was in the greateſt want of them, accepted, without heſitation, the propoſals of Richard, and promiſed to deliver up to him, without delay, the earl of Richmond, and all his partizans. The negociations, however, had not been conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, but that the biſhop of Ely, who was then on the continent, was adviſed of it.

That prelate immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Richmond, warning him of his danger, and urging him to eſcape to France. But this appeared to be a matter of difficulty, as a very early day was fixed for the execution of Landois's plan, and there could be little doubt but that he had taken every precaution to prevent his evaſion. After much reflection, however, Richmond ſettled the plan of his eſcape:—he made the earl of Pembroke and ſome other noblemen take the road to Nantes, where the duke of Brittany reſided, under pretext of imparting to Francis ſome affairs of importance; but he adviſed them by no means to enter that town, and to make the beſt of their way to the frontiers of France. He then announced his intention of viſiting, in two days time, a country houſe which he had at a ſhort diſtance from Rennes; and on this pretence he entered a foreſt, which lay on the road, with only one attendant, and travelled day and night, by private ways, towards the frontiers of Anjou. Landois ordered him to be purſued, and the meſſengers he ſent after him, only miſſed him by one hour. Three hundred Engliſhmen, who remained at Rennes, gave themſelves up for loſt; but the duke, who was a ſtranger to the intrigues of his miniſter, gave them permiſſion to follow their maſter, and defrayed their expences on the road. The fugitives experienced a favourable reception from Madame, and were even encouraged to hope for aſſiſtance.

Though diſappointed in his hopes of procuring aſſiſtance from England, Landois did not renounce his ſchemes of vengeance. The troops which he had at his diſpoſal were more than ſufficient to deſtroy his enemies, had thoſe enemies been left to themſelves; but as they had been taken under the protection of the king of France, he could not attack them without expoſing his country to an immediate invaſion. He, therefore, reſolved to wait till the duke of Orleans and Maximilian ſhould act in concert, and draw all the forces of France to another quarter.

Madame, in the mean time, aware of his deſigns, was ſtudious to throw ſuch obſtacles in the way of Maximilian, as ſhould deter him from engaging in a war with France; ſhe followed the plans of her father in rewarding ſuch of the Flemiſh nobility as reſiſted the authority of that prince, and in encouraging the turbulent inhabitants of Ghent to revolt. She farther ſought to raiſe up a perſonal enemy to Maximilian, in René, duke of Lorraine, celebrated for the victories he had obtained over Charles the Bold. This prince had appeared before the ſtates at Tours, where he claimed the reſtitution of the Barrois, Provence, and the inheritance of the houſe of Anjou, from which he was deſcended by his mother's ſide. Madame, afraid that he might be tempted to eſpouſe the intereſts of the princes, had not rejected any of his demands. She had already reſtored to him the duchy of Bar; and had made a formal ceſſion of all the claims which Lewis the Eleventh had preferred to the duchy of Lorraine: with regard to Provence, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides, to diſcuſs the reſpective rights of either party; and till their deciſion, which was to be delivered at the expiration of four years, ſhould be known, the king had conſented to pay the duke, by way of indemnity, a penſion of thirty-

thirty-ſix thouſand livres,. This generous proceeding had attached the duke of Lorraine to Madame, and ſhe now wiſhed to oppoſe him to Maximilian by making him marry Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu, and daughter to Adolphus, who had been deprived of his dominions by the duke of Burgundy. This young princeſs had but one brother, who had juſt entered the ſervice of Maximilian; and, in caſe of his death, ſhe had an indiſputable right to the duchy of Gueldres, and the county of Zutphen; if, on the contrary, that prince ſhould, with the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lorraine, recover the inheritance of his anceſtors, he would become a powerful ally, and might give his ſiſter a conſiderable dower. To enable the duke of Lorraine to aſſert the rights of the family with which he was about to connect himſelf, Madame procured him the alliance of William de la Mark, chief of the Liegeois, and the implacable enemy of Maximilian.

Maximilian, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to revenge the inſults he had ſuſtained from the French, was ſo ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, that he would certainly have remained tranquil, had not the duke of Brittany, or rather his favourite, Landois, urged him to a renewal of hoſtilities, by a promiſe to give him the heireſs of Brittany in marriage. Reſolved to hazard every thing in order to merit ſuch a flattering diſtinction, Maximilian ſummoned the Flemings to acknowledge him for the guardian of his ſon—whom they had taken from his father—and for the governor of his dominions; and he warned them that he ſhould conſider their refuſal as a declaration of war. The Flemings anſwered this citation by an appeal to the parliament of Paris, or to the court of French peers. Madame, meanwhile, who had only wiſhed to intimidate Maximilian, and was extremely anxious to avoid an open rupture, ſent Anthony and Baldwin, baſtards of Burgundy, into Flanders, in order to promote an accommodation between Maximilian and his ſubjects. With this view, they aſſembled thirteen knights of the Golden Fleece at Tenremonde, where deputies from all the towns in Flanders were invited to attend. William Rym, chief of the deputation from the inhabitants of Ghent, a man of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, after declaiming with great virulence againſt Maximilian, drew his ſword, and threatened with inſtant deſtruction any man who ſhould dare to ſpeak in favour of that prince. The aſſembly was accordingly diſſolved without coming to any deciſion, and Maximilian prepared for war. He firſt took Terremonde by ſurprize, and then reduced Oudenard, Granmont, and Ninove; while the militia of Ghent, under the command of the count of Romont, carried deſolation into the environs of Bruxelles and Hal. Maximilian marched into that country with a view to bring them to action, but they retired on his approach; and the winter being far advanced, the operations on both ſides were ſuſpended.

A. D. 1485.] The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, had adopted every plan he could deviſe for ſtrengthening his party: ſince the court had retired with ſuch precipitation from the caſtle of Vincennes, he had remained at Paris, where he exerted his utmoſt endea-

endeavours to render himſelf popular. As ſoon as he thought his credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed with the multitude, he repaired to the parliament, accompanied by the count of Dunois, and by his chancellor, Denis Mercier, who obſerved to the court[9]—"That "the duke of Orleans, as firſt prince of the blood, and the ſecond perſon in the king- "dom, ought to be entruſted with the ſovereign power during the king's minority: "that, anxious to procure relief for the people, and to correct the abuſes which pre- "vailed in the adminiſtration, he had, in conjunction with the dukes of Bourbon and "Brittany, inſiſted on the convocation of the ſtates-general: that after many contra- "dictions and refuſals, he had at length ſucceeded in convening them; that having re- "ceived information of attempts to intimidate the members by threats, he had declared "himſelf their protector, and had procured for them all the liberty which was neceſſary "for the purpoſe of their meeting: that they had made a great number of ſalutary re- "gulations with regard to the general police of the kingdom, and had alſo determined "that the king, having entered his fourteenth year, ſhould govern in his own name, "but according to the advice of his council, of which the duke of Orleans had been "declared preſident: that all theſe uſeful regulations had been treated with contempt: "that Madame de Beaujeu had taken poſſeſſion of the revenue, and exhauſted the royal "treaſury by a boundleſs prodigality: that the ſtates having granted, beſides the pro- "duce of the taxes, which they had reſtricted to twelve hundred thouſand livres, a ſup- "ply of three hundred thouſand for one year only, that ſum had been already ex- "tended to another year, in violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements; that even "this additional burden had not prevented the government from contracting a debt of "two or three hundred thouſand livres, by which means it would become neceſſary to "double the taxes the following year, and thus reduce the people to a ſtate of deſpair "the moſt wretched: that all this money was employed for no other purpoſe than to "confirm the authority of Madame de Beaujeu, and to render her more deſpotic than "ever: that ſhe had already preſumed to exact from the guards that oath which ought "only to be taken to the king: that ſhe had, of her own authority, deprived three "chamberlains of their places, and conferred them on others: that ſhe kept the king in "ſuch a ſtate of captivity, that no prince or nobleman was permitted to ſee him: that "ſhe had even threatened the duke of Orleans, and had attempted to get him aſſaſſinated "by du Lait: that though that prince deſpiſed all threats and attempts which only af- "fected himſelf, yet he could not but feel the greateſt concern, at ſeeing his ſovereign "kept in the ſtate of confinement and ſervitude, in which he was meant to be retained "till he ſhould have accompliſhed his twentieth year: that he had already written to his "majeſty, to entreat him to take refuge in Paris, where he would be at liberty, and "where he might chuſe a council compoſed of men of virtue and knowledge: that in "order to prove that his advice, in that reſpect, was not influenced by intereſted mo-

9 Reg. du Parlement.—Godefroi, Recueil de Piéces.—Hiſt. Univ. Paris.

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" tives, the duke offered not to appear in the king's preſence, unleſs he ſhould be ſent " for; and, in caſe Madame de Beaujeu would conſent to live at the diſtance of ten " leagues from court, he himſelf would retire to the diſtance of forty leagues: that be- " ing reſolved to devote his life and fortune to the purpoſe of reſcuing the king from " captivity, he had come to conſult the parliament, who conſtituted the ſovereign juſ- " tice of the kingdom, whether it would not be adviſeable to convene the ſtates-general " a ſecond time, or what other meaſures it would be prudent to adopt for the good of " the kingdom."

The firſt preſident of the parliament, very properly, replied—" That the good of the " kingdom chiefly conſiſted in the enjoyment of public tranquillity; that ſuch tran- " quillity could never be maintained ſo long as the principal members of the ſtate re- " fuſed to ſet an example of concord.——Prince"—purſued the worthy magiſtrate, ad- dreſſing himſelf to the duke of Orleans—" you are more intereſted than any one, in pre- " venting the prevalence of diſſentions in the royal family of France, and you ought " not, therefore, on reports often falſe, and always equivocal, to venture on meaſures " which may be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences [10]." The duke's chancellor attempted to reply, but the magiſtrates perſiſted in their reſolution of not becoming in- ſtruments of ſedition; and all that the duke could prevail on them to do, was to ſend his remonſtrances to the king, without obſervation or comment.

The duke of Orleans next attempted to ſecure the univerſity in his favour, which at that time contained five-and-twenty thouſand ſtudents, moſt of them able to bear arms, who formed, as it were, a private republic in the heart of the capital. But that learned body followed the example of the parliament, and would only conſent to forward the duke's propoſals to the king.

Madame, informed of the manœuvres of this prince, ſent a party of ſoldiers, in diſguiſe, to ſecure his perſon [11], but the duke, apprized of the danger, fled with precipitation to Verneuil, a place belonging to the duke of Alençon, who was one of his partizans. Madame then haſtened to Paris with the king, who entered that capital on the fifth of February, 1485. Her firſt care, after her arrival, was to expreſs her gratitude to the par- liament for their firmneſs and loyalty: ſhe then deprived the duke of Orleans of all his poſts, and conferred the government of Paris, and the Iſle of France, on the old count of Dammartin. The government of Dauphiné, which, at the requeſt of the duke of Or- leans, ſhe had given to the count of Dunois, was now aſſigned to Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe, brother-in-law to the lord of Beaujeu. She broke the three regular compa-

[10] Garnier, tom. xix. p. 411. [11] Hiſt. Ludovic. Aurelian, Lancelot—Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Let- tres.—Godefroi, rec. des piéces. Preuves de l'Hiſt. de Bretagne.

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nies commanded by thoſe princes, and by the count of Angoulême, their couſin, and ſuppreſſed their penſions; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, ſhe conducted the king to Evreux, and made the army advance to Verneuil. Such was the celerity of her motions, that the duke of Orleans was deprived of every reſource, and compelled to make his ſubmiſſion to the king: after which he was reſtored to his ſeat in the council, but neither to his place nor penſion. Whatever reſentment he might experience on this occaſion, he concealed it for the preſent, and accompanied the king on his tour to Normandy.

But while the court remained in that province, the duke of Orleans contrived to form a freſh confederacy againſt Madame[12]; in which he engaged the conſtable, Lewis, George, and Buffi d'Amboiſe, Philip de Comines, and ſome other councillors of ſtate, who were diſpleaſed at not being ſuffered to enjoy, in the preſent reign, the ſame credit and influence which they had poſſeſſed in the preceding one. The authority which the conſtable poſſeſſed in the kingdom gave great ſtrength to the confederacy; and the duke of Orleans, confident of ſucceſs, retired to Blois, whence he wrote to the counts of Angoulême and Dunois, and the viſcount of Narbonne—who was then diſputing the county of Foix and the principality of Bearn, with his niece, Catherine, queen of Navarre—to levy troops, and to form a junction either with him, or with the forces under the command of the conſtable. The duke of Brittany, alſo, promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his forces, as ſoon as he ſhould have reduced his rebellious ſubjects; but the prudence of Madame, and the death of his unprincipled favourite, Landois, who was ſeized and hanged by the Breton nobles, prevented him from fulfilling his engagements.

The confederated princes wiſhed to obtain poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong town which might ſerve as a place of rendezvous for their troops, which were levying in different parts of the kingdom[13]. They accordingly pitched upon the city of Orleans, which commanded a bridge upon the Loire; but they were too ſlow in their motions, and that fault decided the fate of the campaign. Madame, apprized of their intentions, ſent the lord of Bouchage, to exhort the citizens of Orleans to remain faithful to the king, and not to tarniſh the glory they had acquired under Charles the Seventh, by an act of rebellion; and that nobleman ſucceeded ſo well in his embaſſy, that when the duke of Orleans preſented himſelf, two days after, before the town, the gates were ſhut againſt him, and the citizens were unanimous in refuſing him admiſſion. The duke's army conſiſted of two thouſand ſix hundred cavalry, and about eight thouſand infantry, with which he ravaged

[12] Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.—Lancelot, Memoire de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres.—Hiſt. de Bretagne par Lobineau. Annales de Belleforeſt. [13] Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Saint-Gelais.—Godefroi, Recueil de piéces.—Reg. du Parlement.

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the country round Orleans, and then proceeded to take poſſeſſion of Beaujenci. Madame, meanwhile, in order to encreaſe the mortification of her rival at the failure of his attempt upon Orleans, repaired to that city, where ſhe attended the celebration of the nuptials of the duke of Lorraine, with Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu. She then placed Lewis de la Tremouille—who afterward acquired, by his conduct, the honourable appellation of *Chevalier ſans reproche*—at the head of her troops; and that nobleman ſent two heralds to Beaujenci to order the forces under the duke of Orleans to lay down their arms; but the heralds were diſmiſſed with contempt, and preparations for reſiſtance were made. But no ſooner had la Tremouille inveſted the place, than the count of Dunois, ſenſible that it was unprovided with proviſions and ammunition ſufficient for ſuſtaining a ſiege, perſuaded the duke of Orleans to make propoſals for an accommodation. The council was divided in opinion as to the propriety of accepting theſe propoſals; Madame, and all thoſe who had eſpouſed her quarrel, inſiſted on the wiſdom of profiting by this opportunity to enſure tranquillity to the ſtate: they maintained, that as ſoon as the duke of Orleans ſhould have extricated himſelf from the danger which now threatened him, he would promote a renewal of hoſtilities, and would take care ſo to frame his ſchemes in future as to enſure his ſucceſs; it would, therefore, they aſſerted, be more prudent to ſecure his perſon, as well as that of the count of Dunois, who was the moſt dangerous man in the kingdom, and ſend them to be tried by the parliament. This advice, however, was over-ruled by thoſe who were fearful of incurring the hatred of the preſumptive heir to the throne; and it was at length agreed to accept the duke's propoſals for a peace, on condition that he would admit a royal garriſon into all the fortreſſes in his appanage, and that the count of Dunois ſhould be baniſhed to the town of Aſt, beyond the Alps. The duke, at firſt, rejected theſe conditions with diſdain, but by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the count of Dunois to the ſentence impoſed on him, and by the ſtrenuous perſuaſions of that nobleman, he was at length prevailed on to accept them. As the conſtable had only taken up arms in favour of the duke of Orleans, he was ſoon perſuaded to diſband his forces, and to become a party in the treaty of accommodation.

At the ſame time, the miniſters of France and Brittany, who had aſſembled at Bourges, concluded a treaty, by which the duke of Brittany engaged to pay the ſame kind of allegiance to the king, as his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the French monarchs; to renounce all alliances, as well within the kingdom as out of it, that could tend to interrupt the tranquillity of the ſtate; to break off all commerce with the king's enemies, and neither to furniſh them with men, arms, or ammunition. There was the greateſt reaſon to believe that the duke would fulfil theſe engagements, as, ſince the death of Landois, he had regulated his conduct by the advice of his barons, all of whom were under obligations to Madame; and, in order farther to ſecure the attachment of the Breton nobles, ſhe diſtributed honours and rewards among them with a liberal hand. She was, at this time, extremely anxious to live at peace with the duke of Brittany, as,

although ſhe had ſucceeded in diſſolving the confederacy of the princes, her arms had been leſs ſucceſsful in the Netherlands.

After the reduction of Tenremonde, Oudenarde, Ninove, and Granmont, by Maximilian, the Flemings, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, had ſent to demand ſuccours of France, and to require that the king would openly declare in their favour [14]. In conſequence of this application, Charles addreſſed a manifeſto to his father-in-law, Maximilian, accuſing him of having violated his duty as a vaſſal to the crown, in attacking the towns belonging to young Philip, who was a peer of France; and enjoining him to make reparation for ſuch damages, as well as for the loſſes which the Flemings—whom the king, as lord paramount of the county of Flanders was bound to protect and defend—had ſuſtained from his arms. As it was not ſuppoſed this manifeſto would have much effect, the mareſchal Desquerdes received orders to march to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Ghent, with an army of ſix hundred lances. The mareſchal firſt attempted to get poſſeſſion of Tournai, but failing in the attempt he repaired to Ghent, where the citizens, whom he had been ſent to protect, ſoon became jealous of his power, and forced him to leave the town. After the expulſion of the French, who retired into Artois, the inhabitants of Ghent concluded an accommodation with Maximilian, on the following conditions:—1. The citizens agreed to acknowledge Maximilian for the guardian of his ſon, and the adminiſtrator of the county of Flanders, and to take an oath of allegiance to him in that capacity. 2. They conſented to receive that prince into the city with the ſame number of troops as generally accompanied him in his viſits to the other towns in Flanders. 3. They engaged to recal all ſuch as had been baniſhed from the town on account of their attachment to Maximilian, and to reſtore them to their eſtates. And, laſtly, they agreed to pay ſeven hundred thouſand florins, for the expences of the war. But a riot which occurred in Ghent, through the imprudence of a German ſoldier, after Maximilian had entered that city, afforded him a ſpecious pretext for completing the humiliation of this turbulent and ſeditious people. He ordered their fortifications to be demoliſhed, deſtroyed a part of the walls, took from them all their artillery, deprived them of their privileges, and eſtabliſhed a magiſtracy of his own ſelection.

After he had reſtored tranquillity to Flanders, the attention of Maximilian was called to another quarter. The marriage of the duke of Lorraine with the princeſs of Gueldres, had already excited his ſuſpicions; and he ſoon learnt that the duke had had an interview, at Meziere, with his great enemy, William de la Mark; that, at the inſtigation of, and in concert with, Madame de Beaujeu, they had formed a plan for making an incurſion into Brabant; and, in order to facilitate that enterprize, La Mark had ceded to

[14] Heuter. Rer. Belgic.—Godefroi rec. de piéces.—Hareus. Annal. Brabant.

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the duke ſeveral fortreſſes in the territory of Liege. Maximilian, however, found means to avert the danger which threatened him, by ſending one of his officers to ſecure the perſon of la Mark, who was conducted to Maeſtricht, where he paid, by his death, the forfeit of his numerous crimes.

A. D. 1486.] Madame de Beaujeu, though poſſeſſed of many good qualities, appears, in ſome reſpects, to have followed that inſidious and diſhoneſt ſyſtem of policy, which had been adopted by her father. Notwithſtanding her late treaty with the duke of Brittany, ſhe ſpared no pains to diſturb the government of that prince. The lord of Broſſes, being dead, ſhe had the precaution to exact from his widow, Nicole de Penthiévre, a freſh confirmation of the ceſſion which ſhe and her huſband had made to Lewis the Eleventh, and his ſucceſſors, of all their claims to the duchy of Brittany. The duke, informed of theſe proceedings, ſent ambaſſadors to the king to expreſs his aſtoniſhment at the conduct of the French council, in thinking of making uſe of a title ſo falſe and illuſive as the famous letter granted to John de Penthiévre, and to offer in his name either to give an authentic copy of the counter-letter written by that nobleman, or to ſhew the original to any commiſſioners whom his majeſty might chooſe to appoint for the purpoſe of inſpecting it. Madame, however, affected to treat this counter-letter as a forgery, and deſired it might be ſent for examination to the council of France; a requeſt with which the duke was not ſo weak as to comply. Finding it impoſſible to obtain any ſatisfaction from the French council, and learning that Madame was uſing her utmoſt exertions to acquire partizans in Brittany, the duke aſſembled the ſtates of the duchy, and made them ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, after his death, they would acknowledge his two daughters, reſpectively, and according to the order of their birth, for his ſole and lawful heirs; that they would pay them obedience as ſuch; and that they would oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their power, any attempts that might be made to deſpoil them of their ſovereignty, and of their juſt rights.

After he had taken this precaution, the duke ſent an ambaſſador to Maximilian, who had lately been raiſed to the rank of King of the Romans, urging him to invade France, and promiſing to ſupply him with a body of troops, with proviſions, and with arms. A treaty was concluded between theſe princes at Bruges, by which they engaged not to lay down their arms, till they had obliged the king to diſmiſs all thoſe members of his council who gave him evil advice, and to obſerve all the regulations propoſed by the ſtates at Tours. The better to ſecure the obedience of the Flemings, he made his ſon, though an infant, ſwear to obſerve this treaty, under the title of duke of Auſtria and Burgundy; and with the money he had exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent, he was enabled to raiſe a powerful army of Germans and Swiſs.

Madame, apprized of theſe preparations, thought it neceſſary to encreaſe the number of her troops. Since the ſuppreſſion, by Lewis the Eleventh, of the free archers, which had

been embodied by his father, and the diſmiſſion of the ſix thouſand Swiſs at the commencement of the preſent reign, France had no other infantry than the militia of the different towns, who were ill-diſciplined, and who were barely ſufficient to defend the places to which they belonged[15]. The regular troops of cavalry diſperſed on the frontiers, and in thoſe fortreſſes which lay neareſt to the enemy, could with difficulty aſſemble, and form a compact body of forces. Madame, therefore, after conſulting the ſeneſchals and bailiffs of the different provinces in the kingdom, on the beſt means of re-eſtabliſhing a body of infantry, which had become requiſite for the defence of the ſtate, decreed, by the advice of the council, that every fifty-five hearths ſhould ſupply one man completely armed, and pay him ſixty ſous a month, This was, to all intents, a new tax, but the neceſſity of the eſtabliſhment was ſo evident as to prevent all murmurs. Beſides this national militia, Madame deemed it prudent to recall the ſix thouſand Swiſs whom ſhe had before diſmiſſed.

Maximilian, before he proceeded to an open declaration of war, gave orders to the governors of his towns to make ſome attempt on the French territories; Montigni, governor of Hainaut, accordingly took the town of Mortagne by ſurprize; while Salazar *eſcaladed* the walls of Terouenne, during the night, and thus, without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood, made himſelf maſter of one of the ſtrongeſt places in Artois; a place, too, rendered more important by the circumſtance of the mareſchal Deſquerdes having eſtabliſhed his magazines there. After this ſucceſs, Maximilian no longer delayed the publication of a manifeſto, in which, excuſing the king on account of his youth, he inveighed againſt the conduct of Madame de Beaujeu and her huſband, whoſe ambition and avarice had, he ſaid, diſguſted the princes and chief nobility in the kingdom, and induced the neighbouring powers to take up arms againſt France. He complained of their intrigues with the Flemings; of the ſupplies, both of men and money, which they had ſent to la Mark; and of the hoſtilities which they had cauſed to be committed in Flanders, by the mareſchal Deſquerdes; he obſerved, that the only mode of averting the calamities with which the monarchy was threatened, was to diſmiſs from the king's preſence all thoſe who took advantage of his weakneſs, and to convene a ſecond aſſembly of the ſtates-general, to which he and the emperor, his father, would ſend ambaſſadors, to reſtore concord among the princes of the blood, and to enſure, by new treaties, the tranquillity of France; and he concluded, by exhorting the parliament and the city of Paris to concur with him in ſo laudable an undertaking. This manifeſto was treated with contempt by the council, and the herald who delivered it was adviſed to diſſuade his maſter from engaging in an unjuſt war. Maximilian did not, indeed, follow their advice, but finding himſelf too weak to undertake any expedition of importance, he was ſoon obliged to diſband his troops, while the attention of the French court was once more directed to the affairs of Brittany.

[15] Godefroi, recueil de pièces—Hiſtoire Manuſcrite de Charles VIII. par Fontanieu.

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The death of Landois had failed to reſtore tranquillity to that duchy; the ſame pretenſions, the ſame intrigues, either for deſpoiling or for marrying the heireſs of Brittany, ſtill ſubſiſted, and the danger to which the duchy had been lately expoſed by the duke's illneſs, awakened the public attention [26]. In a ſhort time a freſh league was formed againſt Madame, into which not only the duke of Orleans and the count of Angoulême entered, but the whole houſe of Foix; the lord of Albret; his ſon, the king of Navarre; the prince of Orange; Leſcun, who had all the forces of Guienne at his diſpoſal; the old count of Nevers, of the houſe of Burgundy; the lords of Pons and d'Orval; and the duke of Lorraine himſelf. This laſt prince had been diſguſted with the king, who, before the commiſſioners, appointed for ſettling their reſpective claims to Provence could come to a deciſion, had, by his letters-patent, irrevocably united that country to the crown; he had, alſo, taken from the duke his company of a hundred lances, and the penſion of thirty-ſix thouſand livres, which had been granted him till ſuch time as the difference with regard to Provence could be ſettled.

Dunois, though in exile, was the ſoul of this intrigue, and he ſecretly congratulated himſelf on the ſucceſs of his efforts. When he found that Maximilian had been able, without any aſſiſtance, to withſtand, during two years, the whole force of the kingdom; that the duke of Savoy claimed the ſovereignty of the marquiſate of Saluces; that the duke of Brittany was inſeparably united to the duke of Orleans, and was influenced by the advice of the enemies of Madame; that the houſe of Foix, the lord of Albret, the king and queen of Navarre, had engaged to promote an inſurrection in Gaſcony; while Leſcun was to arm the inhabitants of Guienne; that ſeveral noblemen of diſtinction in the provinces, and even ſome of the ſtate-councillors, had ſecretly acceded to this league, he had no doubt, but that, in the enſuing ſpring, Madame muſt inevitably fall beneath the united exertions of her numerous enemies. Inſpirited by this hope, he left the place of his exile without the king's permiſſion, and, returning to France, eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the town of Partenai, the fortifications of which he haſtened to repair.

This was the firſt ſymptom that appeared of the conſpiracy. Madame had no doubt, but that a prince ſo renowned for his prudence had duly concerted his projects before he threw off the maſk; in order, therefore, to diſcover his reſources, and to learn what ſhe had to fear, ſhe ſent deputies to deſire he would account for his conduct, and to reproach him with his preſumption in daring to diſobey the king's poſitive orders: theſe deputies told him, that his rendezvous on the frontiers of Brittany had rendered him an object of ſuſpicion to the court; and they propoſed to him, as the laſt proof of his majeſty's condeſcenſion, to retire to his county of Longueville in Normandy. Dunois refuſed to

[26] Hiſtoire de Charles VIII. par Jaligni—Hiſt. Ludovic. Aurelian—Godefroi, recueil de piéces—Hiſtoire de Lorraine par Calmet—Lancelot, Mémoires de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres.

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enter into any explanation, and the only anſwer he would give the deputies was—"*I am at home.*"

An attempt, equally unſucceſsful, was made to allure the duke of Orleans to court; and ambaſſadors were ſent to remonſtrate with the duke of Brittany; but that prince retorted, by reproaching Madame with her intrigues to diſturb his government, and to deſpoil his daughters of their lawful inheritance.

A. D. 1487.] Madame, meanwhile, intercepted a courier, charged with diſpatches, from ſuch of the king's officers and councillors of ſtate as had joined the princes, in which ſhe found a complete plan of the conſpiracy. In conſequence of this diſcovery ſhe immediately iſſued orders for apprehending Geoffrey de Pompadour, biſhop of Perigueux, and almoner to the king; George d'Amboiſe, biſhop of Montauban; his brother, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, and Philip de Comines, the celebrated hiſtorian. She had alſo taken meaſures for ſecuring Lewis d'Amboiſe, biſhop of Albi; but that prelate effected his eſcape to Avignon, whence he afterward obtained permiſſion to return to France.

Madame now perceived the extent of her danger, and concluded that her ruin might be the conſequence of giving her enemies time to collect their forces and ſettle their plans. She, therefore, wrote to the citizens of Bourdeaux, and the inhabitants of all the other towns in Guienne, exhorting them to perſiſt in their allegiance to their lawful ſovereign, and warning them to be on their guard againſt the intrigues of the governors and garriſons of the different fortreſſes; and, ſo early as the eleventh of February, ſhe paſſed the Loire, and took the king into Poitou. Dunois expected that it was the intention of the royaliſts to beſiege him in Partenai, but he ſoon learnt that the king had paſſed through Poitiers, and was directing his march towards Guienne. Charles, accordingly, entered that province, which was defended by Odet d'Aidie, ſeneſchal of Carcaſſonne, brother and lieutenant to the lord of Leſcun, who advanced with a ſmall body of troops to the town of Saintes, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of the royaliſts over the river Charente, and to give time to the lord of Albret and the count of Angoulême to join him with the forces under their command. But being foiled in the attempt—from his neglect to ſecure a tower which commanded the bridge—he evacuated Saintes and repaired to Pons. He was ſoon, however, obliged to quit that place, and, being cloſely purſued by the king's army, he, at length, ſhut himſelf up in the ſmall town of Blaye, where his troops revolted, and, in conjunction with the inhabitants, compelled him to capitulate. Reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the king's clemency, he only demanded to be continued in his office, and to have his ſalaries and penſions ſecured to him; on which condition he promiſed to ſurrender to the royaliſts all the fortreſſes and caſtles in his brother's poſſeſſion. The offer was accepted, and in a few days, the king became maſter of the caſtle of Trompette, of Fronſac, Reole, Saint-Sever, Dax, and the citadel of Bayonne. He gave the government of Guienne to the lord of Beaujeu, who being unable to reſide, appointed the

the lord of Candale his lieutenant. The admiralty of Guienne was united to that of France, and the county of Comminges annexed to the crown.

The rapid progreſs of the royal arms ſtruck a panic into the confederates, many of whom haſtened to procure, by timely ſubmiſſion, a pardon for their offences; the lord of Albret, and the king and queen of Navarre, made terms with the king; the count of Angoulême, too, forſook the confederates, and Madame, being anxious to ſecure his future attachment, promoted his marriage with Louiſa of Savoy, daughter to the count of Breſſe, and niece—by her mother's ſide—to the lord of Beaujeu, and the conſtable de Bourbon; from this marriage ſprang Francis the Firſt. The count of Dunois, on the approach of the royal army, evacuated Partenai, and fled, with precipitation, into Brittany, whither the king prepared to follow him.

The aſcendancy which the duke of Orleans had acquired at the court of Brittany, gave great offence to the Breton nobles[17]; and the mareſchal de Rieux, the count of Laval, the viſcount of Rohan, and upwards of fifty other gentlemen, retired in diſcontent to Chateaubrient, where they formed an aſſociation, which was ſoon after joined by the baron d'Avaugour, the duke of Brittany's natural ſon. The conduct of this ſeditious band, being properly reſented by their ſovereign, they ſacrificed the intereſt of their country to the gratification of their private reſentment, and entered into a treaty with the king of France; by which it was agreed—1. That the king ſhould ſend an army into Brittany, not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thouſand infantry; and that he ſhould prefer no claim to the duchy during the duke's life.—2. That theſe troops ſhould be placed under the command of the mareſchal de Rieux, or of ſome one of the confederated barons, and that they ſhould not lay ſiege to any town, where the duke ſhould have eſtabliſhed his reſidence.—3. That as ſoon as the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, tbe prince of Orange, and the lord of Leſcun, againſt whom the war ſhould be directed, ſhould have evacuated Brittany, the king ſhould withdraw his troops, without requiring any recompence. Charles accepted theſe terms without heſitation, and without the ſmalleſt intention of adhering to them; this was a part of his father's infamous policy, which his ſiſter had been careful to inſtil into his youthful mind. Madame had reſolved to execute her favourite project of reducing Brittany to ſubjection; and the ſtate of Europe was ſuch as appeared to favour her ſchemes.

Maximilian, indeed, was engaged in cloſe alliance with the duke of Brittany, and was in hopes of marrying his daughter; but his indigence, and the ſeditious diſpoſition of the Flemings, prevented him from affording that aſſiſtance which was expected from him. The attention of Ferdinand and Iſabella was wholly engroſſed by the conqueſt of Grenada; and

[17] Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.—Bouchard.—Jaligny.—Hiſt. Ludov. Aurelian.

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had they even been unoccupied, it was well known that the reſignation of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, to which they had claims, would have effectually ſecured their neutrality. England, alone, was both enabled by her power, and invited by her intereſt, to ſupport the independence of the Bretons. Of this Madame was aware, and to avert the ſtorm which ſhe expected from that quarter, ſhe ſent ambaſſadors to England, to congratulate Henry on his ſucceſs in reducing his rebellious ſubjects, and, at the ſame time, to make the greateſt profeſſions of amity, eſteem and confidence.

The ambaſſadors ſought to perſuade the Engliſh monarch that in the conteſt between the court of France and the duke of Brittany, the latter was the aggreſſor, in having offered protection to the duke of Orleans, who had been guilty of treaſonable practices: and that the war, which, on the part of France, they affirmed was merely defenſive, would ceaſe the moment that protection ſhould be withdrawn. They farther obſerved, that their maſter was ſenſible of the obligations which Henry owed to the duke of Brittany for protecting him in the hour of diſtreſs; but reminded him, at the ſame time, that at a more critical period Francis and his miniſters had forſaken him, and reduced him to ſeek for refuge in the court of France, where he had not only experienced the moſt hoſpitable reception, but received that aſſiſtance which had laid the foundation of his ſubſequent ſucceſſes. For theſe reaſons, they hoped, that if the ſituation of Henry's affairs precluded the poſſibility of returning the obligation to France on the preſent occaſion, he would, at leaſt, obſerve a perfect neutrality. In order to ſtrengthen this plauſive diſcourſe, they imparted to Henry, as in confidence, the intention of their ſovereign, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have ſettled the diſputes in Brittany, to enforce by arms his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which, they knew, could give no umbrage to the court of England. Henry, however, was not to be deceived by theſe artful evaſions; but as he imagined that France could not ſucceed in her attempts, he was induced to liſten to the dictates of his avarice, which rendered him averſe from all foreign enterprizes and diſtant expeditions, however politic, and however neceſſary to the future ſafety of his dominions. He, therefore, determined to try the expedient of negociation, and gave a general anſwer to the ambaſſadors, expreſſive of his concern at a rupture between two princes, to each of whom he was under ſuch eſſential obligations, and of his reſolution to act as a mediator between them.

The French, meanwhile, had entered Brittany; and, beſides the ſtipulated number of troops which had been promiſed to the barons, the king ſent two other detachments into the duchy, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpenſier, la Tremouille, and Saint-André[18]. Hoſtilities were firſt began by the army commanded by the Breton nobles, who took Rhedon, and laid ſiege to Ploermel, which ſoon capitulated. The duke

[18] Lobineau.---Jaligny.---Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.---Belleforêt, Annales de France.

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of Brittany, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, had placed himſelf at the head of ſix hundred lances, and ſixteen thouſand infantry, with which he advanced to raiſe the ſiege; but finding the place had ſurrendered, he purſued his rebellious barons, in order to bring them to action. But his principal officers, infected by the general contagion of revolt, found means to inſtil a ſpirit of diſſention into the ſoldiers, ſuch numbers of whom diſbanded, that the duke was compelled to fly before the rebels, and ſhut himſelf up in Vannes, which was immediately inveſted. The town being incapable of defence, the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, with the count of Dunois and Leſcun, muſt inevitably have fallen into the king's hands, but for the activity of the prince of Orange, who no ſooner heard of their ſituation, than he left Nantes, and, ſailing down the Loire, ſtopped at Croiſic and Guerrande, where he collected all the veſſels he could find, and entered the port of Vannes in ſafety. The duke of Brittany and the French princes immediately embarked, and made the beſt of their way to Nantes, while the garriſon of Vannes ſurrendered that town to the French.

Nantes, the moſt conſiderable town in the duchy, and the beſt fortified, was now beſieged by the French army; and Dunois, who was with the duke of Brittany, entertained ſuch apprehenſions for its ſafety, that he reſolved to go to England in perſon, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Engliſh monarch: he accordingly left the town in diſguiſe, and repaired to Saint-Malo, but the prevalence of contrary winds prevented his embarkation. This circumſtance, however, which Dunois was induced to conſider as a misfortune, proved the means of ſaving the duchy, for it haſtened the arrival of a fleet, containing a reinforcement of fifteen hundred veteran troops, which Maximilian had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his ally. Dunois having, at the ſame time, received information that the peaſants of Lower Brittany, apprized of the danger to which their ſovereign was expoſed, had aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and only wanted a leader to head them, he immediately offered himſelf to this formidable band, and having ſelected ten thouſand of the moſt able and beſt-armed, he joined the Germans, and returned in triumph to Nantes.

While the king was engaged in the ſiege of this city, Urſwic, almoner to Henry the Seventh, arrived as ambaſſador from that prince. Having made known to Madame the purport of his journey, that able princeſs accepted with alacrity Henry's offer of mediation, under the idea that the duke of Orleans, from a conſciouſneſs that his ruin muſt form the baſis of an accommodation, would exert his utmoſt influence with the duke of Brittany to make him reject the propoſal of the Engliſh monarch. The event juſtified her prudence. When the ambaſſador made the ſame offer to the duke of Brittany, who was then confined to his bed by ſickneſs, he was anſwered by the duke of Orleans, in the name of Francis, that, in ſuch a perilous conjuncture, he expected from Henry the moſt effectual aſſiſtance, rather than a fruitleſs offer of mediation, which could not tend, in the ſmalleſt degree, to impede the progreſs of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not ſufficient to impel him to the adoption of ſuch a meaſure,

his prudence, at leaſt, ſhould ſuggeſt to him how very important it was to England to prevent the annexation of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France. This, however, did not induce Henry to depart from that line of conduct which he had previouſly determined to purſue; and, indeed, when he found that the peaſants of Lower Brittany had riſen in favour of their prince, and that the reinforcement introduced into Nantes by the count of Dunois, compelled the French to raiſe the ſiege of that city, he was fortified in his opinion that the court of France would experience ſuch inſurmountable obſtacles to the accompliſhment of their object, as would finally oblige them to abandon their deſign.

From Nantes the French army haſtened to Cliſſon, a town belonging to the baron d'Avaugour, who, enraged at the introduction of a French garriſon into a place where he commanded in perſon, abandoned the confederates, and returned to his father's court. Vitry ſurrendered to the French; and the ſmall town of Dol, in conſequence of a refuſal to open her gates, was taken by aſſault, and reſigned to pillage. Saint-Aubin du Cormier made a vigorous reſiſtance, under the command of its brave governor, William de Roſnyvinen, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the French army, under Charles the Seventh, his ſon Lewis; and the deſertion of the garriſon had left this gallant veteran with only forty or fifty men, with which trifling force he ſucceſsfully oppoſed, for ſeveral days, the utmoſt exertions of an army of fourteen thouſand combatants. He had expreſſed his determination rather to bury himſelf beneath the ruins of the town, than to ſurrender it to the enemy; but the earneſt entreaties of his friends, and his generous concern for the few brave men who had remained attached to his fortunes, at length induced him to break the raſh reſolution, and to propoſe terms of capitulation, which were immediately accepted. The honours paid him by the French, who admired his courage, rendered him an object of ſuſpicion to the court of Brittany, who ſeized his eſtates, plundered his houſe, and deprived him of his places. A ſubject leſs faithful might have been led to revolt, by ſuch an act of injuſtice; but in the mind of Roſnyvinen, honour always roſe ſuperior to reſentment. He immediately repaired to Nantes, where he procured an audience of his ſovereign, to whom he repreſented, with manly firmneſs, that four of his nephews, the only ſupport of his houſe, had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their prince; that his brother, who had married the rich heireſs of Vaucouleurs, had alſo periſhed in the field of battle; that, for his own part, ever ſince he had been able to mount his horſe, he had never failed in his duty to his country; that he had been preſent at every battle which had been fought in Brittany, and although, when his country was at peace, he had entered into the ſervice of France, and had acquired ſome reputation in the wars of Charles the Seventh, and Lewis the Eleventh, he had, whenever war was declared between the kings of France and the dukes of Brittany, without heſitation reſigned his places, and rejected the moſt tempting offers, in order to fly to the aſſiſtance of his country; that he had not only ſerved her with his ſword, but had been ſo fortunate as to aſſiſt his maſters with his purſe in times of neceſſity; that the duke muſt recollect that when Guerche

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was taken by the French, he had lent him two thouſand crowns; and that he had alſo lent two thouſand more to the count of Dunois, to enable him to ſubſiſt the troops which he was conducting to the relief of Nantes; and he, laſtly, explained his conduct at Saint-Aubin du Cormier, and juſtified himſelf ſo completely, that the duke, deteſting the perfidy of his enemies, and condemning his own weakneſs, in having liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, immediately ordered his property to be reſtored, and, being unable, at that time, to indemnify him fully for the loſſes he had ſuſtained, appointed him to be one of his maîtres d'hôtel.

Various towns and fortreſſes were now taken and retaken by the two armies; while Maximilian ſent a freſh reinforcement to his ally. The duke was ſo well pleaſed at this new proof of his friendſhip, that he immediately wrote to the king of the Romans, telling him, that if he could, within a certain time, repair in perſon to Brittany, with an army ſufficiently ſtrong to expel the French from the duchy, his daughter ſhould marry him without delay, and he would make the ſtates take an oath of allegiance to him. But Maximilian was unfortunately in a ſituation which rendered it impoſſible for him to profit by this propoſal.

The mareſchal Deſquerdes, who commanded the French forces in the Netherlands, had taken the towns of Saint-Omer and Terouenne, the former by ſurprize, the latter by the perfidy of one of the inhabitants[19]. He had alſo, by an act of treachery, dignified, by the cruel policy of war, with the appellation of ſtratagem, ſeduced a body of Germans into an ambuſcade, in which moſt of them periſhed by the ſword. Weakened, by theſe repeated loſſes, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Maximilian had been able to ſend a ſmall reinforcement to the duke of Brittany; and ſo far from being able to join him with a powerful army, he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance himſelf.

Charles, by this time, found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the towns of Ancenis, Cliſſon, Châteaubrient, Guerche, Vitré, Dol, Saint-Aubin, Ploermel, Vannes, and Aurai[20], and, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he diſtributed his troops in the different places he had reduced, and returned to France.

The duke of Orleans, and the other confederates, now plainly perceived, that, unleſs they could ſucceed in promoting unanimity among the Breton nobles, and in procuring more powerful aſſiſtance than they had hitherto been able to obtain, their ruin was inevitable. In order, therefore, to remove thoſe prejudices, which the people of Brittany, who imputed to them all the misfortunes of their country, had been led to encourage, they

[19] Heuter. rer. Belgic.—Haræus, Annal. Brabant.—Jaligny.

[20] Belleforêt, Annales de France.

gave it out, that as they had only come to Brittany on the invitation of the duke, their ally, and in the view to defend him, they were ready to leave the duchy, if the king would engage to let him live in peace, and to reſtore all the places which he had unjuſtly taken from him: and to prove their ſincerity, they demanded a ſafe conduct of Charles for the lord of Leſcun, whom they appointed to ſettle the conditions of their return. This nobleman accordingly repaired to Pont à l'Arche, in Normandy (where the court then reſided) accompanied by Dubois, an officer in the houſhold of the mareſchal de Rieux, who had been prevailed on by Leſcun to forſake the aſſociated barons of Brittany, in caſe the king ſhould refuſe to comply with the demands of the princes.

As Leſcun was aware of the improbability of concluding, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the accommodation he was ſent to negociate, he only dwelt, in his ſpeech to the French council, on thoſe circumſtances which he knew would moſt offend Madame: he expatiated on the abuſes which prevailed in the government, on the infraction of the articles accorded by the ſtates of Tours, and on the unjuſt perſecution of the duke of Orleans. No anſwer was made to his propoſals; he had been heard with indignation, and was diſmiſſed with contempt. Dubois next ſpoke, in the name of the mareſchal de Rieux; he accuſed the king of having broken the two firſt articles of the treaty of Châteaubrient, as well by ſending into Brittany a greater number of troops than had been agreed on, as by forming the ſiege of Nantes, where the duke reſided: he expreſſed his hopes, however, that his majeſty would fulfil the third article, by immediately evacuating the duchy, and by reſtoring the places he had taken from the duke, ſince the princes of the blood, againſt whom alone the war had been directed, offered to leave Brittany on condition only that they ſhould be ſuffered to live at peace. Madame, at firſt, attempted to ſeparate the cauſe of the mareſchal from that of the princes, and ſhe continued, for ſome time, to elude the demand of his envoy; but Dubois, aware of the artifice, inſiſted, with becoming firmneſs, on a direct and poſitive anſwer; When Madame, reſolved to ſacrifice juſtice to policy, told him that the king would ſuffer no man to interfere in his affairs, and that he had advanced too far to retreat.

As ſoon as the mareſchal de Rieux was apprized of this anſwer, he diſmiſſed all the French who were then at Ancenis, where he reſided, and exacted a freſh oath of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, from the remainder of the garriſon, and the inhabitants of the town; and repaired to Châteaubrient, which belonged to his ſon-in-law, the lord of Montafilant. Having gained acceſs to that town, with a ſmall body of troops, he entered the caſtle, where ſeveral of the confederated barons were at ſupper, and thus addreſſed the company:—"Gentlemen, you all know what were the conditions of the treaty we ſigned "in this very place, with the French: they have all been violated. I have complained of "this infidelity, my remonſtrances have given offence, and the French no longer make a "ſecret of their intention to ſubdue Brittany, and to treat it as a conquered country. It

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"is now time to ſhew who we are. This place is already in the power of the duke, our "maſter; but as I gained admiſſion as a friend, I do not mean to offer violence to any "man's inclinations; ſuch as chooſe to return to their duty, may remain here and rely on "my friendſhip; while thoſe who had rather perſiſt in their alliance with France, are at li- "berty to leave the town with their arms and baggage."—The lord of Montafilant, and many of his friends, immediately choſe the former, and renewed their oaths of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, while ſome few of the barons profited by the permiſſion to depart.

A. D. 1488.] During theſe tranſactions, Maximilian was reduced to the moſt wretched ſituation; Deſquerdes, having ſucceſsfully exerted the deteſtable policy of exciting an inſurrection in an enemy's country, the inhabitants of Ghent, ever ripe for ſedition, had ſhaken off the authority of their lawful ſovereign, re-eſtabliſhed the democratical form of government, and placed themſelves under the protection of France. The king of the Romans, on the firſt news of this event, haſtened to Bruges, where the citizens, tainted with the ſame ſpirit of revolt, flew to arms, and compelled the prince, who was but ſlightly attended, to ſhut himſelf up in his palace. The brave Salazar, who had accompanied him, propoſed to force a paſſage through the ſeditious rabble, but Maximilian declined an attempt which he regarded as deſperate; Salazar, however, reſolved to try it himſelf: accordingly, having clad himſelf in complete armour, and fixed on twelve determined men to accompany him, he ſeized the opportunity while the citizens were opening one of the gates of the town, to attack them ſword in hand, and killing all who dared to reſiſt, he cut his way through the mob, and effected his eſcape. After his departure, Maximilian was treated with the greateſt indignity; he was confined a cloſe priſoner in his palace, many of his officers were maſſacred, and his own life was almoſt hourly in danger. The inhabitants of Ghent were no ſooner informed of his ſituation, than they ſent to deſire he might be delivered into their hands; this, however, the citizens of Bruges thought proper to refuſe, though they conſented to deliver up ten of his attendants, who were conveyed to Ghent, where they were put to the torture. Ten of the citizens of Ghent, who had alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty, were invited to dine with the principal magiſtrates, who, after regaling them in the moſt ſplendid manner, and loading them with careſſes, introduced an executioner and ſeveral prieſts. The unhappy gueſts were immediately put to death, and their bodies having been conveyed to the church of a neighbouring convent, the inhuman magiſtrates ſent for their wives, telling them they were at liberty to viſit their huſbands, and to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſed. To ſuch refinement of cruelty did theſe popular demagogues proceed; and, indeed, we have generally found, that where the people have uſurped an authority, which, though in particular caſes they may be entitled to confer, it was certainly never intended they ſhould exerciſe, they have employed it for the moſt abominable purpoſes.

While theſe events were paſſing in the Netherlands, the king returned to Paris, where he

he held a bed of juſtice, at which the confederated princes were formally tried, though it was not deemed adviſeable to paſs ſentence on them. Theſe violent proceedings, at length, opened the eyes of the Engliſh monarch, to avert the effects of whoſe reſentment, lord Bernard d'Aubigny, a Scotch nobleman, was ſent to London; and this ambaſſador had orders to perſuade Henry to perſiſt in his offers of mediation to the duke of Brittany. Henry, on his part, diſpatched another embaſſy to Paris, conſiſting of Urſwic, the abbot of Abingdon, and ſir Richard Tonſtal, who were charged with new propoſals for an accommodation, all of which were rejected by Madame. No ſuccours, meanwhile, were provided for the diſtreſſed Bretons. Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen of England, having aſked permiſſion to raiſe privately a body of volunteers, and tranſport them into Brittany, met with a refuſal, which, however, proved inſufficient to deter him from his purpoſe. Being governor of the iſle of Wight, he went thither, and raiſed four hundred men, whom he immediately conducted to the aſſiſtance of the Bretons; but this enterprize proved fatal to its projector, and afforded ſmall relief to the unhappy duke.

The French, meanwhile, had opened the campaign by the ſiege of Châteaubrient, the garriſon whereof, after an obſtinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The town of Ancenis, belonging to the mareſchal de Rieux, was next reduced and pillaged; the ditches were filled up, and all the fortifications demoliſhed[21]. At length, however, the duke of Brittany aſſembled an army (commanded by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the mareſchal de Rieux and the lord of Albret) ſufficiently formidable to reſiſt the progreſs of the French, had not the generals been more anxious to lay ſnares for each other, than to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy. The object of this army was to relieve the town of Fougeres, which was then beſieged by the French; but finding it had ſurrendered, they directed their march towards Saint Aubin du Cormier, with the view to carry that place by aſſault before the garriſon could be reinforced. La Tremouille, who commanded the French, having gueſſed their deſign, directed his march to the ſame quarter, and the two armies met, unexpectedly, at the village of Orange. It is generally allowed that had the Bretons attacked the French without delay, they might have obtained an eaſy victory; but the diſſentions which prevailed amongſt their leaders made them loſe the opportunity; and both ſides proceeded, with great deliberation, to form their plan of attack. The duke of Orleans was entitled, from his rank, to have the chief command, but a report having been propagated that he maintained a correſpondence with the enemy, he alighted from his horſe, and placed himſelf in the ranks, and his example was followed by the prince of Orange, and ſome other French officers. The command of the van devolved on the mareſchal de Rieux; the lord of Albret led the center, and the rear was entruſted to the lord of Montafilant. One of the wings was covered by a thick wood, and the other by the baggage. The French army was drawn up in two diviſions, the firſt of which was com-

[21] Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau---Jaligni---Hiſt. Ludovic. Aurelian---Belleforêt, Annales de France.

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manded by Adrian de l'Hopital, and the ſecond by La Tremouille; a body of cavalry was placed in ambuſh, under the conduct of Galiot, who had orders to profit by any confuſion which might occur during the action. The firſt attack of the Bretons was firm and impetuous; the French, unable to withſtand it, gave way and retreated to ſome diſtance; but the Bretons, in purſuing them, incautiouſly opened their ranks, and thus afforded an opportunity to the cavalry, in which the French were greatly ſuperior, to attack them to advantage. This opportunity was eagerly ſeized and ſucceſsfully improved: the horſe ruſhed forward, overthrew the firſt ranks, and cut their way to the center of the army; at that critical moment, while the Bretons were in confuſion, Galiot attacked them in flank; The rout then became general; twelve or thirteen hundred of the Bretons periſhed in the field; near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners, and the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Among the ſlain was the young lord of Leon, ſon to the viſcount of Rohan; and among the priſoners were the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and Moſen Gralla, captain of the Spaniſh guards. Lord Woodville, and all the Engliſh, were maſſacred in cool blood; together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Engliſhmen, in order to ſtrike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial proweſs of that nation was always formidable.

After the battle, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were conducted to Saint Aubin, where Tremouille invited them, and all the officers who had been taken with them, to ſup with him. After ſupper, he whiſpered ſomething to one of his attendants, who, in a ſhort time, introduced two friars into the room. The princes, alarmed at the ſight, immediately roſe from table, and remained motionleſs; but Tremouille deſired them not to be alarmed, for that their lives were ſafe till the king ſhould have decreed otherwiſe. "But,"—ſaid he—"as for you, captains, who have been taken in the act of "fighting againſt your king and country, prepare yourſelves for death, for you muſt die "inſtantly." The princes in vain interfered in behalf of their partizans; the inhuman general remained inexorable, and his ſanguinary orders were immediately executed. The duke of Orleans himſelf, after being transferred from one priſon to another for ſome time, was, at length, confined in the tower of Bourges, where he was treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, being ſhut up, every night, in an iron cage. The prince of Orange was confined in a priſon at Angers.

By the defeat of Saint Aubin the military force of Brittany was totally broken, and the greateſt conſternation ſpread throughout the duchy. La Tremouille haſtened to Rennes, and ſummoned the citizens to ſurrender, threatening them with the effects of his vengeance, ſhould they preſume to reſiſt; but they treated his threats with contempt, and expreſſed their reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. He was induced, therefore, to alter his plan, and to direct his courſe to Dinant, which he ſpeedily reduced; he then proceeded to Saint Malo, a place of great ſtrength, but the cowardice of the garriſon rendered it an eaſy conqueſt.

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The duke of Brittany, finding himself unable to cope with the superior power of France was, at length, reduced to the necessity of suing for peace[22]. The propriety of noticing his application was submitted to the discussion of the French council; when Madame, and her partizans, maintained that, after so much labour and expence, it would be madness to stop, when in sight of the goal; that the smallest delay might change the face of affairs, and render that conquest a matter of doubt, which now appeared to be certain: that care should be taken not to give the Bretons time to recover from their consternation, and to claim the protection of foreign powers: and that, in all expeditions, the best mode of ensuring success was to make the most of a favourable opportunity, which once lost might never be recovered. These reasons, more specious than solid, were admitted as decisive by the majority of the council, from a servile deference to those who urged them; when William de Rochefort, chancellor of France, thus addressed the council:—"All those who have spoken "before me, have endeavoured to prove that the conquest of Brittany would be easily ac- "complished; but yet no one has taken the trouble to examine whether it would be just to "attempt it, yet that surely is the first object of consideration! Nations of old, who had not "received the light of the gospel, thought the plea of convenience sufficient to authorize "the seizure of any neighbouring country: but a Christian prince has other rules of "conduct. He owes an example of justice to the rest of the world, and he considers "a war, that is not founded in equity, as oppression. The king, I know, advances "certain claims upon the duchy of Brittany, but these claims are still involved in the ob- "scurity of the cabinet; they have not been submitted to the censure of the laws. Let, "then, commissioners—men of knowledge and integrity—be speedily appointed; let the "respective titles be submitted to their inspection, and let a perfect freedom of discussion "be accorded them: if, after a strict examination, those of the king shall be deemed unjust, "or even doubtful, there will be no room for hesitation: the conquest of Brittany—were it "even more easy of accomplishment than it is represented—must be renounced. This "example of moderation will do the king more honour than the most splendid conquest. "If, on the contrary, they should be declared valid, it will then be proper to enforce them; "the Bretons will open their eyes, and will no longer dare to resist a prince, who has "justice on his side." This honest advice was, after much discussion, adopted by the council; and, on the twenty-first of August, 1488, the king concluded a treaty of peace, at Sablé, with the ministers of the duke of Brittany, on the following conditions:

"1. The duke shall dismiss from his dominions all the foreigners whom he has drawn "thither, and he shall swear, upon the gospel, and upon the true cross, that neither he, "nor his successors will ever invite any foreigners into Brittany, to assist him with their "advice or with their sword, in making war upon the king, his sovereign. 2. He shall

[22] Jaligni—Lobineau.

"not

" not marry the princeſſes, his daughters, without the knowledge and conſent of the king, " who, on his part, declares that he will treat them favourably, and as his near relations. " 3. The two preceding articles ſhall be ſworn to by all the nobles, eccleſiaſtics, barons " and inhabitants of the principal towns in the duchy; who ſhall engage to pay the king, " in caſe of any breach of this treaty, the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold; " for which ſum the principal towns in the duchy ſhall be mortgaged, and particularly the " town of Nantes. 4. The king ſhall keep, until the full accompliſhment of theſe con- " ditions, the towns of Saint Malo, Dinant, Fougeres, Vitré and Saint Aubin, and ſhall " put what garriſons he may think proper in thoſe towns; but he engages immediately to " withdraw the garriſons from all the other towns now in his poſſeſſion, and to renounce all " farther conqueſts. 5. The king ſhall reſtore to the duke's daughters, or their heirs, the " towns of Saint Malo and Fougeres, in caſe the commiſſioners appointed to examine the " claims of either party, ſhall determine that his pretenſions are invalid, without requiring " any indemnity for the expences of the war; but if the princeſſes ſhould marry againſt his " will, or even without his conſent, he ſhall then keep, as his own property, all the towns " he poſſeſſes in Brittany."

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Sablé, which Francis ſwore to obſerve, and, a few days after, having received a fall from his horſe, he expired at Coiron, on the ninth of September [23]. By his laſt will, he appointed the mareſchal de Rieux his executor, and guardian of the two princeſſes, the care of whoſe perſons he entruſted to Frances de Dinan, counteſs of Laval; he ordered the county of Penthiévre to be reſtored to the children of the lord of Albret, and an indemnity to be made to that nobleman himſelf for the expences he had incurred during the war. He empowered the mareſchal de Rieux, to whom he entruſted the ſupreme power during the minority of his daughters, to conſult, in all matters of difficulty, with the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and Leſcun, count of Comminges. He was ſilent as to the marriage of the two princeſſes, that he might not violate the treaty he had juſt concluded with the king; but from the manner in which he had ſettled the adminiſtration, it appeared impoſſible for the princeſs Anne to eſcape the lord of Albret, whoſe intereſt was eſpouſed by all who had authority over her. Her averſion from this nobleman was, indeed, well known, but this was conſidered as a matter of ſuch little conſequence by the parties concerned, that the lord of Albret had already taken the neceſſary ſteps for procuring a diſpenſation from the pope.

Anne had received from nature a ſtrong mind, whoſe firmneſs and reſolution had been encreaſed by adverſity. Informed of the raſh conduct of the lord of Albret, ſhe ordered her chancellor, Philip de Montauban, to draw up a deed of oppoſition, and to ſignify it to the lord of Albret and the mareſchal de Rieux. This ſtroke of authority aſtoniſhed the two noblemen, who ſuſpected it proceeded from the chancellor, and they

[23] Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau---Jaligni.

accordingly threatened to put him to death, in caſe he continued to oppoſe their views. Theſe menaces, however, had no effect on Montauban, who being joined by the count of Dunois, Lewis de Lornai, captain-general of the Germans, and ſeveral of the Breton nobles, formed a party in oppoſition to the lord of Albret and the mareſchal de Rieux.

Anne's firſt care was to apprize the king of her father's death, and to requeſt that an event ſo unfortunate for Brittany might operate no change in the conditions of the treaty of Sablé. But the French court had reſolved to adopt a ſyſtem of perſecution hoſtile to every principle of honour, generoſity, or good-faith; a ſyſtem conceived and enforced in the true ſpirit of Lewis the Eleventh. Agreeably to this ſyſtem the young monarch replied, that he was willing to fulfil his engagements, on the following conditions: 1. That, being the lord paramont, and the neareſt relation of the two princeſſes, he ſhould be declared their guardian, and ſhould have the management of their property during their minority. 2. That, for the final ſettlement of the difference between them and him, relative to the duchy of Brittany, they ſhould communicate their titles to the commiſſioners, who ſhould aſſemble before the month of January, in order to examine their validity; and that, until their deciſions ſhould be known, neither Anne nor her ſiſter ſhould aſſume the title of ducheſs. 3. That conformably to the firſt article of the treaty of Sablé, all foreigners ſhould be immediately expelled from Brittany.

Anne, without entering into any diſcuſſion on theſe demands, replied, that ſhe ſhould religiouſly adhere to the laſt treaty; and that as one of the articles ſtipulated that the three eſtates of the duchy ſhould ſwear to obſerve it, ſhe had juſt convened them for that purpoſe. She then complained of the conduct of the French generals, who, in violation of the treaty, had continued to ravage the country, and had recently made themſelves maſters of Moncontour. The king promiſed to repair all damages, withdrew the garriſon of Moncontour, and delivered up the town to the Breton officers. But while he thus affected to pay a rigid obſervance to his word, on matters of little importance, in order to inſpire the princeſs with a dangerous confidence, he connived at proceedings which were more calculated to alarm her.

The viſcount of Rohan, at the head of a conſiderable detachment of the French army, addreſſed a long manifeſto to the principal towns of Lower-Brittany, in which, after deploring the calamities of his country, he conjured all his fellow citizens to unite in her defence. He aſſerted, that the king of France having taken up arms for the ſole purpoſe of preventing the duchy—which was a fief of the crown—from falling into the hands of a foreigner, was ready to lay them down as ſoon as the Bretons ſhould have choſen, as a huſband for their ſovereign, a prince on whoſe fidelity he could rely; that he had already obtained the king's conſent for his ſon to become her huſband, and that the juſtice of his pretenſions had been acknowledged at the court of Brittany, by the

mareſchal

mareſchal de Rieux, and the counteſs of Laval, whom the duke had entruſted with the ſovereign authority: he ſummoned the municipal officers to contribute to the reſtoration of public tranquillity, by joining him in the purſuit of his plan, and by opening to him the gates of their towns.

Theſe inſidious profeſſions of patriotiſm, calculated to conceal the moſt intereſted deſigns, were treated with the contempt they deſerved; but the viſcount finding his rhetoric fruitleſs, had recourſe to arms, and reduced many of the towns in Lower-Brittany. Anne, meanwhile, perceiving that the king, regardleſs of his oaths and promiſes, was only ſtudying how to deſpoil her of her inheritance, prudently determined to retain the foreign auxiliaries which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of her father, and even employed the moſt earneſt ſolicitations with her allies to induce them to furniſh her with freſh ſuccours. She firſt addreſſed herſelf to Maximilian, whoſe propoſals ſhe had evinced a greater inclination to favour than thoſe of any of her lovers, except the duke of Orleans.

Maximilian had, by the aſſiſtance of his father, releaſed himſelf from the hands of his rebellious ſubjects, who, nevertheleſs, ſtill continued to make war on him: he was in Holland when he received the ambaſſadors from the young ducheſs of Brittany, who informed him of the deplorable ſituation of their miſtreſs, and demanded a freſh ſupply of troops. Maximilian ſent her all the forces he could poſſibly ſpare, and informed the ambaſſadors, that having received a promiſe of effectual aſſiſtance from the princes of the empire, he fully intended to penetrate ſo far into France, that Charles would be compelled to evacuate Brittany, in order to protect his capital.

A. D. 1489.] Unfortunately the ſituation of the ducheſs was ſuch as not to permit her to wait the effects of theſe promiſes. The viſcount of Rohan, after reducing Breſt and Concarneau, had extended his invaſions to the gates of Rhedon, whither Anne had retired; but as that place was, in a manner, defenceleſs, ſhe formed a deſign of repairing to Nantes, which was one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the duchy, and where ſhe expected to find the jewels of the crown, which, in the preſent ſcarcity of money, would have been highly acceptable to her[24]. She accordingly ſent for the mareſchal de Rieux and the lord of Albret to eſcort her, but inſtead of obeying her orders, they haſtened to Nantes themſelves, placed a ſtrong garriſon in the city, and perſuaded the citizens, that Dunois and Montauban, who accompanied the ducheſs, and who enjoyed a great ſhare of her confidence, only wiſhed to gain admiſſion into the town, in order to watch for an opportunity of delivering it to the French. After they had taken theſe precautions, they ſent word to their ſovereign that ſhe might come to Nantes, but with a retinue

[24] Lobineau—Jaligni—Ferreras—Belleforet.

only of twelve perſons. Being informed, however, that ſhe diſregarded their threats, and was advancing towards the town, where they feared her preſence would excite an inſurrection of the citizens, they went to meet her at the head of a ſtrong detachment, with the view to ſeize her perſon. As ſoon as Anne ſaw them approaching, ſhe ordered her attendants to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, then placing herſelf behind the count of Dunois (on the ſame horſe) ſhe offered them battle. This unexpected diſplay of reſolution diſconcerted the rebels; and Rieux, aſhamed of attacking a young princeſs, at once his ward and his ſovereign, immediately returned to Nantes. The next day, however, he reproached himſelf for having ſuffered ſo fair an opportunity to eſcape, and placing himſelf at the head of a ſtronger detachment, he again went forth to ſeize the princeſs. Anne received him as before, but the count of Dunois, judging the party unequal, advanced before the ranks, and deſired to ſpeak with the mareſchal. He promiſed to conduct the ducheſs to Nantes, and delivered John de Louan, a captain in the guards of the duke of Orleans, as a hoſtage for the performance of his promiſe. The life of this brave man depended on the punctuality with which Dunois ſhould fulfil his engagement, but his fidelity roſe ſuperior to the fear of death. Having gained information of the meaſures which had been concerted for ſecuring the ducheſs, and compelling her to beſtow her hand on the lord of Albret, he wrote to Dunois, whom he generouſly releaſed from his promiſe, requeſting he would leave him to his fate, and only think of conſulting the ſafety of the ducheſs. Dunois availed himſelf, though with reluctance, of this permiſſion, and conducted the princeſs to Vannes, whence ſhe afterwards returned to Rhedon. At this laſt place ſhe received a deputation from the city of Rennes, whoſe inhabitants deteſting the perfidy of their countrymen at Nantes, entreated her to honour their city with her preſence, where, they aſſured her, ſhe would find none but loyal ſubjects, who had long been accuſtomed to devote their own lives, and thoſe of their children, to the defence of their ſovereigns. The ducheſs accepted the invitation, and was received by the faithful citizens of Rennes with great pomp and magnificence: not only the principal inhabitants, but even the loweſt tradeſmen, haſtened to offer her a part of their ſavings, which the ducheſs accepted with tears of gratitude.

The king of England, urged by the clamours of his ſubjects, at length found himſelf obliged, much againſt his inclination, to adopt ſome more vigorous meaſures than he had hitherto purſued, for the relief of the Bretons. He, therefore, reſolved to engage as an auxiliary to Brittany, and to conſult the intereſts as well as deſires of his people, by an attempt to oppoſe the dangerous progreſs of the French power. Rieux and Leſcun, who were well aware of the importance of aſſociating Henry in their deſigns, had cauſed it to be repreſented to him, by ſecret emiſſaries, that Dunois and Montauban, who had, they ſaid, obtained an entire aſcendancy over the mind of the young ducheſs, were paid by the French miniſtry; that, in order to effect her ruin with the greater certainty, they had led her to ſuſpect the fidelity of her moſt faithful ſubjects, and had inſpired her with diſguſt for the lord of Albret, who had ſacrificed every thing to her intereſt: who had, moreover,

moreover, well-founded claims to one-third of Brittany; who had been accepted by the duke for his ſon-in-law, and whom all *well-deſigning* Bretons deſired to have for their ſovereign: they repreſented that the marriage they propoſed would be equally advantageous to England as to Brittany, ſince the lord of Albret, the moſt powerful nobleman in Gaſcony, father to the king of Navarre, allied to the king of Spain, might, when duke of Brittany, afford effectual aſſiſtance to the Engliſh in the recovery of Guienne: that he was, in all reſpects, the moſt ſuitable ally for them, being ſufficiently powerful to render them important ſervices, and yet too weak to ſeparate his intereſts from theirs; whereas Maximilian, ſole heir to the vaſt dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, veſted with the Imperial power, father-in-law to the king of France, and maſter of all the ports of Holland and Flanders, might, on the moſt trivial pretext, break with them, and attempt to deprive them of Calais. Theſe reaſons, it may be preſumed, had but little effect upon Henry, but as he was compelled to adopt ſome deciſive meaſure, he thought it would be leſs dangerous to deceive a young princeſs, and force her to marry a man ſhe did not like, than to affront two noblemen, who had almoſt all the forces in Brittany at their diſpoſal, and who might, on any grounds for diſcontent, ſurrender Nantes, and a great number of other places, to the French. In the treaty which he concluded with the ducheſs, he had three objects in view: the firſt was to ſell his troops as dearly as he could; the ſecond, to exact large ſecurities for the ſums he might expend; and the third, ſo to bind down his new ally, that he might become the arbiter of her fate, and obtain ſuch power over her as to make her give her hand to the lord of Albret.

The following were the principal articles of the treaty. 1. "The king of England "undertakes to ſend ſix thouſand regular troops to the aſſiſtance of the ducheſs of "Brittany, or even more, ſo that the number ſhall not exceed ten thouſand, which "troops ſhall be obliged to ſerve in Brittany from the ſixth of January to the firſt of "November. 2. The ducheſs engages to reimburſe the king of England, according to "the eſtimation of commiſſioners choſen by the two powers, all the expences he ſhall "incur for the embarkation, tranſport, and ſupport of theſe troops, and to remit to Eng-"land the ſum ſtipulated for ſuch reimburſement. 3. In order to enſure the validity of "her engagement, the ducheſs will ſurrender to the Engliſh troops, two of the five fol-"lowing towns, at the option of the king of England, viz. Concarneau, Hennebonne, "Aurai, Vannes, and Guerrande; which two towns, with all their dependencies, ſhall "remain in the power of the king of England, till ſuch time as all his expences have been "defrayed. Should the ducheſs ſucceed in retaking any of the places which are now "in poſſeſſion of the French, the king of England ſhall be at liberty to take them in "exchange for thoſe which he had before choſen, on condition, however, that the Eng-"liſh ſhall not hold at the ſame time Breſt and Concarneau. 4. The ducheſs, and "four of the principal nobility, one of whom ſhall be the mareſchal de Rieux, ſhall "ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe will not enter into any treaty, nor form "any engagement, with regard to her marriage with any ſovereign prince, or nobleman,

"without

" without the knowledge, approbation, and conſent of the king of England; and that " ſhe will even inform him of the object of all other negociations which ſhe may open " with foreign powers."

Hard as theſe conditions indiſputably were, the ducheſs ſubſcribed them without any reſtriction; but ſhe ſoon found that moſt of them had been dictated by her guardian, and that her new protector was likely to become her principal perſecutor. She, therefore, was in no haſte to deliver up the two places ſhe had agreed to ſurrender to the Engliſh, who landed, to the number of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of lord Willoughby of Broke. When they diſembarked, they were received by ſome officers who had been ſent by Anne to compliment them on their arrival, and to concert with them the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign; but neither quarters nor proviſions had been provided for them, and they were reduced to the neceſſity of encamping on the ſhore. Diſguſted with this reception, they diſmiſſed the officers with contempt, and refuſed to hold any commerce with them. Anne haſtened to ſend a new embaſſy to Henry to excuſe the bad treatment which his troops had experienced; ſhe repreſented to him, that ſhe had no longer any authority over her ſubjects: that Rieux, under the name of her guardian, had become her tyrant, and ſet an example to the Bretons of diſobedience and revolt: that he already boaſted of having ſecured in his intereſt the principal leaders of the Engliſh forces, and that it would be impoſſible for his victim to eſcape him: and that ſhe well knew, from the beſt authority, that that dangerous man ſuborned the Engliſh, by making them believe that if the lord of Albret were duke of Brittany, he might afford them effectual aſſiſtance in the recovery of Guienne: but, ſhe obſerved, Henry was too prudent to adopt ſuch viſionary plans, and to found any hopes on an adventurer, baniſhed and diſinherited, who did not then poſſeſs a ſingle inch of land in the kingdom: and, laſtly, ſhe remarked that the lord of Albret had rendered himſelf ſo odious by his unjuſt perſecution, that, rather than marry him, ſhe would bury herſelf for ever in a cloiſter. Henry, in his reply, endeavoured to calm her mind, by exhorting her not to give credit to every report ſhe ſhould hear, and by treating her ſuſpicions of the fidelity of her principal officers as the effects of a groundleſs terror; but he was totally ſilent with regard to the lord of Albret; he even ſent ſecret orders to his generals not to treat with Anne's officers, but to induce her, if poſſible, to repair to their camp, herſelf, or, ſhould they fail in that attempt, to lead their troops to Rennes, under pretence of ſhewing them to her, and to endeavour, at all events, to ſecure her perſon[25]. Anne would have been unable to reſiſt the efforts of ſo many enemies who had conſpired againſt her liberty, but for the arrival, at this critical conjuncture, of a conſiderable reinforcement of Spaniſh troops, under the conduct of don Diego Perez de Sarmiento, and don Pedro Carilla d'Albernos. Theſe ſhe ordered immediately to march to Rennes, and joining them to the

[25] Garnier, tom. xx. p. 129.

Ger-

Germans ſhe had received from Maximilian, the French attached to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, and ſuch of the Bretons as the mareſchal de Rieux had not been able to ſeduce from their duty, ſhe found herſelf in a ſituation to oppoſe an inſurmountable barrier to the violent projects of her perſecutors. Ferdinand, not content with having ſent this body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the ducheſs, promiſed that he would, in the courſe of the ſummer, make a diverſion on the ſide of the Pyrenees, which ſhould compel the French to divide their forces.

The king, meanwhile, remained at Paris, pretending to be no wiſe concerned in the hoſtile attempts of the viſcount de Rohan, and waiting, for the regulation of his future conduct, the iſſue of thoſe intrigues by which Brittany was, at this time, convulſed[26]. When the French council found that the faction of the lord of Albret had acquired a ſuperiority over the oppoſite party, that Henry the Seventh had joined it, and that Rieux and Albret, beſides the national troops under their command, had at their diſpoſal the ſix thouſand Engliſh, they thought that by attacking the princeſs they would drive her into the ſnares which had been laid for her by the enemies of France; that the beſt way would be to remain on the defenſive, to give time to the two factions to weaken each other, and then to make uſe of the weakeſt, to facilitate their triumph over the ſtrongeſt.

For this purpoſe, Madame was careful to conciliate the favour of the Roman pontiff, to whom d'Albret had applied for a diſpenſation, by releaſing two prelates—the biſhops of Pui and Montauban—who had been thrown into priſon, for maintaining a correſpondence with the duke of Orleans. Some other perſons, who had ſuffered on the ſame account, were alſo releaſed; but Philip de Comines was treated with greater ſeverity. After having been confined eight months in an iron cage, he was delivered over to the parliament, who pronounced a ſentence of baniſhment upon him—the place of his exile to be fixed on by the king—and confiſcated one-fourth of his property; but Charles remitted his fine, and afterward took him into favour.

As the capture of the duke of Orleans was openly aſcribed to the jealouſy and manœuvres of the lord of Albret, the duke's partizans had become the moſt implacable enemies of that nobleman. The count of Dunois, in whom the ducheſs repoſed an entire confidence, exerted the ſtrong talents which he had received from nature, to counteract all the intrigues of Leſcun and Rieux, and ſecretly rendered France all the ſervice he could, without betraying the intereſts of Anne. Madame, to whom this conduct had fully reconciled him, determined to give him an aſſociate, actuated by the ſame views,

[26] Jaligni.—Lobineau.

and

and ſhe, accordingly, fixed her eyes on the prince of Orange, who was releaſed from priſon, and ſent, on ſome frivolous pretext, into Brittany.

The king had now three armies on foot; one in Brittany, a ſecond in Flanders, and a third—under the command of the count of Angoulême and the mareſchal de Gié—deſtined to cover Gaſcony and Languedoc, which were threatened with an invaſion from Ferdinand [27]; and as the ordinary revenue of the ſtate was inſufficient to defray the additional expences incurred thereby, the king determined to exact a tenth of the revenues of the clergy. This reſolution was accordingly communicated to the parliament of Paris, who were ordered to ſupport the commiſſioners appointed to collect the impoſt. That court, however, obſerved, that as they had been inſtituted for the adminiſtration of *juſtice*, it behoved them to inform his majeſty that no ſuch impoſt could be legally levied till the clergy had been aſſembled, and conſulted thereon.

The king, diſpleaſed at their interference, ſent them a ſecond meſſage, forbidding them to admit any appeals with regard to the impoſt, and to grant any delay to ſuch as ſhould refuſe to pay. With this prohibition, however, the parliament poſitively refuſed to comply, and they ſanctioned their refuſal by the laws of the realm and the principles of the conſtitution. Charles, deſpairing to make the magiſtrates deviate from their duty, had recourſe to the pope, who accordingly, in his own name, exacted a tenth from the clergy of France, on pretence of an expedition againſt the Infidels; two thirds of this impoſt were to be paid to the king, and the remaining third the ſovereign pontiff reſerved for himſelf. But the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the parliament, ſeconded by the univerſity of Paris, rendered the tax extremely unproductive.

Nothing of importance occurred in Brittany during the preſent campaign: the mareſchal de Rieux made an attempt to ſeize the chancellor de Montauban, but he was defeated by the count of Dunois, and the prince of Orange; while the Engliſh, ſeeing the duchy thus rent by contending factions, became diſguſted with the expedition, and haſtened to return. They had already, of their own authority, concluded a truce with the commander of the French garriſon at Dinant, and had even opened conferences for a peace. Anne ſent them what money ſhe could collect, and did not fail to complain to Henry, whom ſhe ſtiled *her good father*, of the conduct of his officers, who, ſhe ſaid, publickly conſpired the ruin of Brittany, and had ſold themſelves to the mareſchal de Rieux. Henry anſwered the complaints of *his good daughter* by other complaints of her neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and to provide neceſſaries for his troops, and of her unjuſt ſuſpicions of his officers, who, he ſaid, were men of the firſt families in England. He inſinuated that ſome kind of reparation was due to them for this inſult, and

[27] MS. de Fontanieu.—Du Boulai, Hiſt. Univ. Paris.—Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane.

he required that ſhe ſhould either pay them a viſit in their camp, or ſuffer them to go to Rennes, and review their troops in her preſence[27]. Anne immediately replied, that the Engliſh officers, whoſe fidelity he boaſted of, did not even take the trouble of concealing their commerce, as well with the rebels as with the French; that on the contrary they had repelled with contempt, and had almoſt inſulted, the officers whom ſhe had ſent to them: that the ſtate of her affairs did not permit her either to repair to the Engliſh camp, or to ſuffer the troops to abſent themſelves, even for a day, from Lower Brittany, which was expoſed to the depredations of the French:——"*Should they dare*"—added the young heroine—"*to come to me, without having previouſly obtained my permiſſion, I will receive them in ſuch a manner that they will have little inclination to repeat their viſit.*"

In the Netherlands, the arms of Maximilian proved every where ſucceſsful, and the mareſchal Deſquerdes was foiled in every attempt. The diet of the empire, too, had been ſummoned to meet at Frankfort, and, from the preſent diſpoſition of the German princes, there could be little doubt but that their united efforts would be exerted to humble the pride, and to thwart the treacherous projects, of France. To avert this ſtorm, Madame ſent ambaſſadors into Germany, and though they were treated with the utmoſt contempt by Maximilian himſelf, the terms they propoſed appeared ſo moderate, that the princes of the empire compelled him to accept them. A treaty was accordingly ſigned at Frankfort, by which it was agreed that Maximilian and Charles ſhould have an interview at Tournay, for the re-eſtabliſhment of that harmony and confidence, which ought ever to ſubſiſt between a father and a ſon-in-law; that Maximilian ſhould have the guardianſhip of his ſon Philip, that his authority ſhould be acknowledged by the Flemings, and, in caſe they ſhould make any difficulty on that head, the king of France engaged to compel them to obey him; that, as neither the king of the Romans, nor his ſon Philip, had received the revenues of the county of Flanders, the inhabitants of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, ſhould pay them an adequate ſum, by way of indemnity. Charles engaged to reſtore without delay, to the ducheſs of Brittany, all the places he had reduced ſince the death of his father, provided ſhe would diſmiſs the Engliſh troops, and promiſe never to recal them. The towns of Saint-Malo, Dinant, Fougeres, and Saint-Aubin, were to be ſequeſtered in the hands of the lord of Beaujeu (now duke of Bourbon) and the prince of Orange, who ſhould ſwear to deliver them up to whichever of the two parties they ſhould be adjudged, by commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe. But while France by this treaty, which ſhe never intended to obſerve, endeavoured to deceive Maximilian, ſhe was herſelf deceived by that prince, on an object of greater importance.

[27] Garnier.

Anne, ſurrounded by traitors, was apprehenſive that, in ſpite of all her precautions, ſhe ſhould at length fall into the power of the lord of Albret; and, therefore, in order to liberate herſelf from the perſecution to which ſhe was daily expoſed, ſhe informed the king of the Romans, that ſhe had choſen him for her huſband, and placed her fate entirely in his hands. Maximilian accordingly ſent the count of Naſſau, Wolfang Polhaim, and his ſecretary, Gondebald, to celebrate the marriage by proxy. The oſtenſible object of their embaſſy was to enforce an obſervance of the treaty of Frankfort; and as the French miniſtry were unacquainted with their ſecret commiſſion, Charles not only received them with diſtinction, but ſent two of his heralds to conduct them to Rennes. In that city the ceremony was performed with ſuch ſecrecy, that none of the ducheſs's attendants were apprized of it, and the preciſe date of the tranſaction has not yet been diſcovered,

A. D. 1490.] As ſoon as the news of the peace between France and Maximilian was received in Brittany, it occaſioned the moſt violent commotions. The partizans of the lord of Albret, though ignorant of the terms of the treaty, did not doubt but as it had been dictated by Maximilian, and approved by the court of France, that it tended to ruin their hopes, and perhaps to promote their deſtruction. They remonſtrated with Henry on the inſult which he had ſuſtained from the contracting powers, as well as from the ducheſs herſelf, in ſtipulating, without deigning to conſult him, the expulſion of the Engliſh from Brittany; and they exerted themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully in exciting the reſentment of the Engliſh officers, that they intercepted and cut to pieces a body of Germans, whom the ducheſs had ſent to Guerrande.

Anne, meanwhile, had convened the ſtates-general of the duchy at the town of Rhedon, to make them accept the treaty of Frankfort; and ſhe even ſent ſafe-conducts to the principal leaders of the rebels, that they might repair thither in ſafety. They accordingly came, but completely armed, and with the intention of murdering the chancellor, and diſſolving the aſſembly. Unable to perpetrate the crime, or to impede the acceptance of the treaty, they reſolved, at leaſt, to oppoſe its execution. The Engliſh, at the inſtigation of the mareſchal de Rieux, committed the moſt deſtructive ravages in Brittany, while the mareſchal himſelf made excurſions into Poitou and Touraine. The king—whoſe conduct to Anne was founded on a baſe dereliction of every principle of honour—was ſecretly pleaſed at being ſupplied with a pretext for refuſing to evacuate Brittany; and he ſent a formal embaſſy to the ducheſs, to demand reparation for the hoſtilities which had—in contempt of the late treaty—been committed in the French territories; and to ſummon her to fulfil, without farther delay, the fundamental article of that treaty, by expelling the Engliſh from Brittany. The ducheſs was now in a moſt diſtreſſed ſituation, oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, and haraſſed by an unprincipled neighbour; while her huſband, Maximilian, was at the fartheſt extremity of Europe, engaged in a fruitleſs attempt to recover the kingdom of Hungary. In this dilemma, ſhe reſolved,

reſolved, if poſſible, to regain the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch; and, to intereſt him the more in her behalf, ſhe renewed her promiſe never to marry without his conſent. In this, indeed, ſhe deceived him; but the deceit was innocent and juſtifiable. The kind reception, however, which her ambaſſadors experienced from Henry, inſpired her with a greater degree of confidence; and induced her to entruſt him with the ſecret of her marriage; at leaſt, on this ſuppoſition alone can the change which took place in the conduct of that monarch be accounted for. From this period, Henry diſplayed the utmoſt zeal in ſerving the king of the Romans, and evinced the moſt earneſt deſire to ſecure his friendſhip. After promoting a reconciliation between the ducheſs and the mareſchal de Rieux, he ſent an embaſſy to Maximilian, who was then in Auſtria, to inform him that France was guilty of continual violations of the treaty of Frankfort, and to exhort him to return with expedition to the Netherlands, in order to concert with him the means of ſaving Brittany. Maximilian, who was detained in another quarter by a mad ſcheme of conqueſt, which he was unable to execute, contented himſelf with ſending ambaſſadors to England, who ſigned a treaty offenſive and defenſive againſt France. Henry, at the ſame time, concluded a ſimilar treaty with the king of Caſtile and Arragon, by which the contracting parties agreed to declare war againſt France, and not to lay down their arms till Charles had reſtored to Ferdinand the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, and to Henry the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. Henry did not fail to publiſh theſe treaties, as well to intimidate the French council, as to obtain ſubſidies from the Engliſh parliament.

It was about this time that the French miniſtry received intelligence of the marriage of the ducheſs of Brittany with Maximilian, from their emiſſaries, the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange. Madame, apprehenſive that ſhe was on the point of loſing a province, to ſecure which her utmoſt efforts had been exerted, aſſembled the council, who formally pronounced the marriage to be null and void; and had the vanity and arrogance to ſuppoſe that their deciſion would be final. After this prepoſterous ceremony, they proceeded to deviſe means for preventing the ducheſs from conſummating a marriage which ſhe had contracted from inclination; they were acquainted with the firmneſs of her mind, and they knew that, from her earlieſt infancy, ſhe could ill brook controul. By having recourſe to violence they would only alienate the affection of the Bretons, and diſguſt the princeſs, who would, in that caſe, fly to England, and arm all the princes of Europe in her behalf. It was, therefore, determined to ſecure the ſuffrages of the principal nobles of Brittany, and to bring the young ducheſs, partly by perſuaſion and partly by force, to renounce her firſt engagement, and to accept another huſband of equal rank, who, his pretenſions being favoured by the Bretons themſelves, might reſtore peace and tranquillity to her diſtracted country. The only perſon poſſeſſed of all theſe advantages was Charles the Eighth, who had been contracted to Margaret, daughter to Maximilian; and that princeſs, though too young for the conſummation of her marriage, had been ſent to Paris to be educated, and now enjoyed the title of Queen of France. In a conteſt

teſt between intereſt and honour, princes are ſeldom at a loſs how to decide: Charles determined to ſacrifice his integrity to the gratification of his ambitious ſchemes; but, as ſuch a ſtep could not fail to give umbrage to every court in Europe, it was neceſſary to obſerve the moſt profound ſecrecy, that no diſcovery might be made till too late for prevention. The French miniſtry accordingly diſplayed their uſual policy in the management of this delicate enterprize, marked by the moſt diſguſting features of treachery, and calculated to violate every principle of good faith, decency and decorum.

The ducheſs, during the formation of this abominable plan, had ſent frequent embaſſies to Charles, to requeſt he would conform to the treaty of Frankfort; and that monarch, who had hitherto eluded her demand, now, having arranged his plan of proceedings, promiſed to give her ample ſatisfaction. After leaving ſtrong garriſons in the few towns which he had reſerved by the treaty, he cauſed all the others to be evacuated, and ordered his troops to retire into Normandy, while he himſelf went to viſit Dauphiné. Before his departure, he fixed the time for opening the conferences between his miniſters and thoſe of Maximilian, at the city of Tournay, which were to precede his interview with that prince. He reproached the ducheſs with her neglect in not having appointed commiſſioners to attend theſe conferences; and he ſent her ſafe-conducts for two hundred and forty perſons, a much greater number than ſhe intended to ſend, but the king wiſhed thoſe in whom ſhe placed the greateſt confidence to be abſent from Brittany, at the time which he had fixed for the accompliſhment of his project.

A. D. 1491.] The ſtrong town of Nantes was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the lord of Albret, who, finding his ſituation deſperate, reſolved to employ it as the means of ingratiating himſelf with the king of France, and of procuring the reſtitution of his territories which that monarch had confiſcated. Accordingly, having made his terms with the French miniſtry, he ſurrendered Nantes to the duke of Bourbon; and Charles, ſoon after, repaired thither in perſon, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

The loſs of this important place ſpread a general conſternation throughout the province, and the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange, who had received their ſecret inſtructions from the court of France, profited by this event to ſound the diſpoſition of the mareſchal de Rieux and the counteſs of Laval, with regard to Anne's marriage with the king, and they were eaſily induced to favour the ſcheme.

Dunois demanded, as the reward of his ſervices, the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, but Madame, who knew that prince to be her enemy, rejected the propoſal with pride and diſdain. The count, however, engaged Jane of France, the duke's unhappy wife, to exert her influence with her brother and ſiſter, to procure her huſband's liberty. Jane forgot, at this moment, every ſubject of complaint which ſhe had received from that inconſtant prince, who had always treated her with contempt. Her prayer being rejected

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by her ſiſter, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in deep mourning, and, with diſhevelled hair, threw herſelf at the feet of her brother, and pleaded, with ſo much eloquence, the cauſe of her huſband, that Charles preſſed her in his arms, and exclaimed—"*Be comforted, my ſiſter, "you ſhall obtain what you ſo ardently wiſh for, and heaven ſend you may never have occaſion "to repent it!*"

Notwithſtanding this promiſe, the duke's releaſe ſtill ſuffered great difficulties. The king, who had hitherto made no uſe of his authority, could not prevail on himſelf to mortify, in ſo ſenſible a manner, his governeſs and his ſiſter. But two young noblemen of his houſhold, Miolans and Coſſé, at length encouraged him to ſhake off this humiliating reſtraint, and to convince the French that they had a king. He accordingly pretended to go out on a hunting-party, and having ſlept at Montrichard, he advanced as far as the bridge of Barangon, whence he diſpatched d'Aubigni to the priſon where the duke of Orleans was confined, with orders to conduct that prince to him. The interview was truly affecting; the king, in his earlieſt years, had evinced a ſtrong predileſtion for the duke of Orleans, who, notwithſtanding the improper conduct into which his ambition and bad advice had betrayed him, had never ceaſed to eſteem the king. Pleaſed at being indebted for his liberty ſolely to the friendſhip of his ſovereign, he no ſooner approached him than he haſtily alighted from his horſe, and threw himſelf at his feet, while his feelings were too powerful for utterance. Charles repeatedly preſſed him to his boſom, intreated him to forget what was paſt, and being unwilling to leave his company, ordered a bed to be prepared for him in his own apartment.

When Madame was informed of this event, ſhe immediately conceived that her authority was at an end; ſhe even ſuſpected that her brother had been prejudiced againſt her, and that the loſs of her influence would not be the only effect of his reſentment. She haſtened, therefore, to write him a ſubmiſſive letter, in which ſhe reminded him of the care ſhe had taken of his infancy, entreated him not to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of her enemies, and aſking permiſſion to give a full account of her adminiſtration. Charles, in his anſwer, endeavoured to quiet his ſiſter's apprehenſions; by aſſuring her of the continuance of his friendſhip, and of his unwillingneſs to attend to any reports to her prejudice, which, however, he did not believe any one would be bold enough to hazard. As the king had inſiſted that the duke of Orleans ſhould be reconciled to the duke of Bourbon, an interview took place between them, at which they not only promiſed to forget the paſt, but ſwore mutually to protect and defend each other in future, and to unite their forces for the ſupport of the royal authority, and for the welfare of the people: they aſſociated in this league the count of Dunois, the mareſchal de Baudricourt, the biſhops of Albi and Montauban, and the lords of Miolans, Liſle, Bouchage and Gonnaut, whom they promiſed to advance to the utmoſt of their power. The duke of Orleans ſoon reaped the fruits of this reconciliation; the government of Normandy was conferred on him, and he received orders immediately to repair to that province, to adopt

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ſuch meaſures as prudence ſhould ſuggeſt to him for defending it from a threatened invaſion of the Engliſh.

The king of the Romans, on his return from Hungary, received an embaſſy from the ducheſs of Brittany, who apprized him of the loſs of Nantes, and of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed at Rennes, and who enjoined him not to loſe a moment, if he wiſhed to prevent a princeſs, who had ſtrong claims on his affection, from falling into the hands of the French. Maximilian, aſhamed of his neglect, haſtened to his father, who, convening a diet of the empire at Nuremberg, obtained from the princes a ſupply of twelve thouſand men; but the avaricious emperor poſitively refuſed to advance him ſufficient money for the ſupport of theſe troops; and as the inſidious machinations of the French king had excited a freſh inſurrection in Flanders, he was deprived of all hopes of obtaining a ſupply from his Flemiſh ſubjects.

While the court of France were ſtudious to provide employment for Maximilian in his own dominions, they laid freſh ſnares for the ducheſs of Brittany, who was now ſurrounded by traitors. Her council was entirely compoſed of men[28] in the intereſt of France; even her chancellor, Montauban, had withdrawn his oppoſition to the ſchemes of Charles: Anne alone remained reſolute. On the firſt mention of her marriage with the king, ſhe broke out into ſuch violent reproaches, ſhe exhibited ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of deſpair, that it was not deemed prudent to preſs it. She had imbibed a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt the French nation, particularly againſt Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earlieſt infancy, had befallen her family: ſhe was convinced, too, that her inheritance, rather than her perſon, was the object of his purſuits, and this idea encreaſed her hatred and diſguſt. Beſides, ſhe had fixed her affections on Maximilian, and ſhe could not, ſhe thought, give her hand to another, without incurring the greateſt guilt, and violating the moſt ſacred engagements. Under theſe circumſtances, the prince who could ſeek to force her inclinations, and the men who could urge her to ſuch a breach of her duty, are alike objects of execration and abhorrence. The prince of Orange, who, as her couſin-german, had been entruſted with the negociation, informed the king, that it would be neceſſary to ſupport his remonſtrances by the operations of terror, and particularly to take effectual meaſures for preventing the ducheſs from repairing to England, whither ſhe was reſolved to fly ſooner than give her hand to his majeſty. Charles, whom a juſt ſenſe of honour and delicacy ſhould have induced to give up all thoughts of a woman to whom he was odious, haſtened to profit by this advice; the army under the viſcount of Rohan ſeized upon Lower-Brittany; while La Tremouille, with another, inveſted Rennes, then the reſidence of the ducheſs; and the king, with a third, entered Brittany on the ſide of Anjou. The conſternation was now

[28] Lobineau, Hiſt. de Bretagne—Belcarius rerum Gallicarum—Godefroi, recueil ſur Charles VIII.

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general: there was not a garriſon in the duchy capable of withſtanding ſuch ſuperior forces; no orders had been iſſued for levying troops, and there was no general to lead them, if any had been levied. The prince of Orange, Dunois, Rieux, and the other members of the council, were ſhut up with the ducheſs, and availing themſelves of the diſtreſſed ſituation to which their treacherous machinations had reduced her, they told her that there was no time to be loſt, and that the only alternative left her, was to become queen of France, or a diſinherited princeſs, and they deſired ſhe would immediately take her choice.

It is needleſs to repeat the inſidious arguments they employed to enforce this infamous propoſal. The unfortunate ducheſs, aſſailed on all ſides, and finding no one ſufficiently honeſt to ſupport her in the virtuous reſolution ſhe had adopted, was at length compelled to open the gates of the city, and conſent to eſpouſe the man ſhe hated. She was accordingly taken to the caſtle of Langeais in Touraine, where the marriage was celebrated on the ſixteenth of December, 1491; from thence ſhe was conducted to Saint Denis, where the ceremony of her coronation was performed. She then made her entry into Paris, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the moſt propitious occurrence which could have befallen the monarchy.

By the marriage contract, Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs to the duke of Brittany, ſince the death of her ſiſter, which occurred the preceding year, ceded and transferred to the king, in caſe ſhe died before him, and left no children, all her rights to the duchy of Brittany, the county of Nantes, and all her other eſtates and lordſhips whatſoever; and Charles, king of France, on the other part, in caſe he died firſt and left no children, ceded and transferred to the princeſs all his rights and pretenſions to the ſaid duchy, county and lordſhip, on condition that ſhe ſhould marry no other than the king of France, his ſucceſſor, if that monarch ſhould conſent to eſpouſe her; and in caſe he were already married, that ſhe ſhould give her hand to the next heir to the crown, who ſhould be bound to do homage for the duchy, and not alienate nor transfer any part of her territories, except to the king.

A. D. 1492.] Maximilian could not fail to experience the moſt ſenſible mortification at this unexpected triumph of Charles. He had loſt a conſiderable territory which he thought he had acquired; and an accompliſhed princeſs whom he had eſpouſed. He was inſulted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him, after ſhe had been treated, during ſome years, as queen of France; and he had reaſon to reproach himſelf with having, by his imprudent neglect, greatly contributed to this complication of diſgrace; for had he conſummated the marriage with Anne, which he might certainly have done, and to which, indeed, he was impelled by the moſt powerful motives, the tie would then have been indiſſoluble. Theſe conſiderations threw him into a moſt violent rage, and he endeavoured, by the moſt bitter invectives, to promote a general confederacy of the European powers, for an invaſion of France. He repreſented the king as a raviſher, a

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monſter of perfidy, who, to gratify an inſatiate ſpirit of ambition, had wantonly violated the rights of nations, and the moſt ſacred oaths. He maintained that the marriage which that monarch had contracted with a princeſs already married, was contrary to all laws, and that the offspring of ſuch a connexion muſt be conſidered as baſtards, and incapable of ſucceeding to the throne. How far he was authorized to make the laſt aſſertion, the Roman canoniſts, who, in ſuch caſes, generally allowed themſelves a latitude of interpretation forbidden to the hiſtorian, were alone competent to decide; but all the other accuſations, though conſidered as indecent and unjuſt by the French writers, were certainly well-founded; nor, when we conſider the juſt cauſe for indignation which had been given to Maximilian, can we wonder at the warmth of his expreſſions.

Charles, who had been unfortunately trained in a ſchool for perfidy and falſhood, now ſent ambaſſadors to the archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Low Countries, who declared, that the king their maſter, juſtly offended with the king of the Romans and the emperor Frederic, for having accuſed him of taking away the princeſs Margaret in a violent manner, thought his *honour* was intereſted in removing the ſubject of this reproach: *for which reaſon* he had choſen another wife, and was ready to ſend back Margaret in an honourable manner to the Netherlands, after having given her an education ſuitable to her rank: that his majeſty being aware that this new arrangement would render a modification of ſome of the articles of the treaty of Arras neceſſary, would conſent to ſubmit that matter to commiſſioners appointed by either party, provided that the king of the Romans and the archduke would previouſly renounce their alliance with England and Spain; on which condition he made them an offer of his friendſhip.

To this curious declaration, replete with falſhoods and inſults, and conſequently unworthy of a monarch, the chancellor Corondelet replied, in the name of Maximilian and his ſon, that the king of France, in this tranſaction, had neither conſulted what he owed to himſelf, nor what he owed to the princeſs Margaret, to the archduke, to the king of the Romans, and to the emperor. That the houſe of Auſtria would reſent his conduct at a proper time: that, with regard to the treaty of Arras, it would have become thoſe who had dictated the terms of that treaty, to have been more punctual in fulfilling them: that the king of the Romans and the archduke beſt knew what alliances they ought to preſerve, and what to renounce, and that they had not been accuſtomed to take the advice of the king of France on that head: that, after what had paſſed, they cared as little for his friendſhip as his hatred.

This proper and ſpirited reply—which has been ſtigmatized by the French hiſtorians as *offenſive* and *miſplaced*—was followed by the immediate diſmiſſion of the ambaſſadors; and the count of Naſſau was, ſoon after, ſent to Paris, in the name of the archduke, to demand his ſiſter, and the two provinces which had been given as her dower. Charles replied that *he would think of it at his leiſure*, though common juſtice ſhould have dictated

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an inſtant compliance with ſuch a demand. The fact was, that he wiſhed, before he came to any deciſion, to ſee the iſſue of his negociations in the Low Countries, where the mareſchal Deſquerdes was ſtill employed in the diſhonourable attempt to extend the deſtructive flames of rebellion. All his hopes, however, from that quarter, were ſoon deſtroyed: the Flemings, and particularly the citizens of Ghent, feeling the greateſt indignation at the affront offered to their princeſs, and enraged with France for breaking a match which they regarded as their own work, maſſacred Coppenole, one of the demagogues in the intereſt of the French, and ſeveral of his partizans, and then ſubmitted to a reconciliation with Maximilian, on terms much more ſevere than thoſe which they had rejected the year before.

The attention of Charles was now called to the conduct of Henry the Seventh, who, as well as Maximilian, had juſt grounds for ſelf-reproach, in the late important tranſaction: for, though it was not poſſible he ſhould have foreſeen that the affair would have terminated as it did, his negligence in leaving his moſt uſeful ally ſo long expoſed to the attacks of a ſuperior power, muſt, on reflection, appear the reſult of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himſelf on his extenſive foreſight and profound judgement, the aſcendant acquired over him by a raw youth, ſuch as Charles, could not but afford him the higheſt diſpleaſure, and prompt him to ſeek for vengeance, when it was impoſſible to find a remedy for his miſconduct. But he was farther actuated by avarice—a motive ſtill more predominant with him than either pride or revenge—and he ſought, even from his preſent diſappointment, the gratification of this ruling paſſion. On the pretence of a French war, he iſſued a commiſſion, for levying on his people that odious ſpecies of taxation, called *a Benevolence*; and the produce of this tax not proving ſufficient for his purpoſe, he ſummoned a parliament, in the hope of enriching himſelf ſtill farther by the prejudices and paſſions of the members. He attempted to rouſe their martial genius, by expreſſing his intentions of renewing the claims of his predeceſſors to the crown of France; he endeavoured to enflame their enthuſiaſtic zeal, by calling to their minds the memorable victories of Creçy, Poictiers, and Azincourt; he ſought to remove their doubts, and allay their fears, by mentioning the different powers that were ready to co-operate with his meaſures; and, having expatiated on theſe perſuaſive topics, he concluded by demanding a ſupply adequate to the magnitude of the enterprize.

Inflamed by the flattering ideas of ſubduing France, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of that kingdom, the parliament fell into the ſnare prepared for them by the king, and granted him two fifteenths; and, the better to enable his vaſſals and nobility to attend him, an act was paſſed, empowering them to ſell their eſtates, without paying the uſual fines for alienations. The Engliſh nobility were now ſeized with a violent thirſt for military glory: they hoped, notwithſtanding the obvious abſurdity of the idea, to ſee their monarch's promiſes realized; to behold their triumphant banners diſplayed on the walls of Paris; and to place the crown of France on the head of their ſovereign.

Many of them mortgaged their eſtates for large ſums, or ſold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater ſplendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order.

The news of theſe preparations was ſoon received in France; and as the regular companies were inſufficient to protect the coaſts from inſult, the king convoked the *ban* and *arriere-ban*. In the midſt of theſe alarms, the queen gave birth to a dauphin, who was baptized by the name of *Charles Orlando*; this event was celebrated with great rejoicings by the Bretons, and afforded the king an opportunity for aſſembling the ſtates of that province, from whom he exacted a conſiderable contribution; in return for which, he confirmed and extended the privileges of the principal towns in Brittany; and, three years after, in 1495, he exempted the Bretons from the juriſdiction of the parliament of Paris, and eſtabliſhed a ſovereign court within the duchy, conſiſting of two preſidents, and eighteen inferior judges, ten of whom were laymen, and the reſt eccleſiaſtics.

Notwithſtanding the threats of Henry, and notwithſtanding the inſulting manner in which he had received the laſt ambaſſadors from France, the council deemed it expedient to ſend a freſh embaſſy to the court of England, the better to ſound his ſecret intentions, which, they had reaſon to believe, but ill-accorded with his public profeſſions. Nor were they deceived in their expectations, for the ambaſſadors were received by the Engliſh miniſtry, with the utmoſt complacency, and if the treaty was not abſolutely concluded, it was, at leaſt, far advanced, ſince, on their return, and before Henry had completed his preparations, the king gave full powers to the mareſchal Deſquerdes and the preſident la Vacquerie, to treat, in his name, with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries[29]. As it was poſſible, however, that Henry might only affect this pacific diſpoſition the better to deceive his enemy, every neceſſary preparation was made for reſiſting his efforts; all the towns, in the vicinity of Calais, were ſtrongly fortified, and the young adventurer, Perkin Warbec, ſo celebrated in the Engliſh hiſtory, was allured to the court of France. Charles alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, promiſing to reſtore to that monarch the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, on condition that he ſhould forego his alliance with Henry and Maximilian. Ferdinand accepted the propoſal, and appointed commiſſioners to regulate the terms of the treaty.

The Engliſh monarch, meanwhile, embarked with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, and landed at Calais, on the ſixth of October, 1492. Some imagining, from the late period at which the campaign commenced, that peace would ſoon be concluded, Henry ſaid—"He had come over to make an entire conqueſt "of France, which was not the work of one ſummer. It was, therefore, of no conſe-

[29] Godefroi, recueil de pièces—Garnier.

"quence

" quence at what ſeaſon he began the invaſion, eſpecially as he had Calais ready for win-
" ter quarters." As if he had ſeriouſly intended to put his boaſt in execution, he inſtantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid ſiege to Boulogne. But, notwithſtanding this appearance of hoſtility, it ſoon appeared that he was ſerious in the ſecret advances which he had made towards a peace above three months before. In order to reconcile the minds of his ſubjects to this unexpected event, it was contrived that ambaſſadors ſhould arrive in the Engliſh camp from the Low Countries, with intelligence that Maximilian was wholly unable to fulfil his engagements, and that no aſſiſtance muſt be expected from him. Theſe were ſoon followed by meſſengers from Spain, who brought advice that a peace was concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had ceded the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Theſe articles of intelligence were carefully diſperſed throughout the army: but Henry, ſtill apprehenſive of being expoſed to reproach by a ſudden peace, after the high expectations he had been ſtudious to raiſe, privately prevailed on the marquis of Dorſet, and twenty-three other perſons of diſtinction, to preſent him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late ſeaſon of the year, the difficulty of ſupplying the army at Calais during the winter, the obſtacles which daily occurred to the ſiege of Boulogne, and the deſertion of thoſe allies, whoſe aſſiſtance had been moſt relied on—all of them events which had been foreſeen before the embarkation of the forces.

Theſe preparatory ſteps being taken, the Engliſh monarch appointed the biſhop of Exeter, and lord Dauheney, governor of Calais, to confer at Eſtaples with the French plenipotentiaries. As moſt of the articles had been ſettled in England, the conferences were very ſoon brought to a termination. Charles agreed to pay Henry ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns—nearly four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money—partly as a reimburſement of the expences he had incurred in behalf of the ducheſs of Brittany, and partly as arrears of the penſion due to Edward the Fourth; and he farther ſtipulated a yearly penſion to Henry, and his heirs, of twenty-five thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1493.] Maximilian had the option of being comprehended in the treaty, but, diſdaining to be in any reſpect beholden to an ally of whom he had juſt grounds for complaint, he rejected the propoſal with ſovereign contempt. About this time, the citizens of Arras, diſguſted with the conduct of the French, took an opportunity of delivering that town to the Auſtrians. The mareſchal Deſquerdes, who, whatever were his military talents, was a moſt deteſtable politician, adviſed the king to puniſh his rebellious vaſſal by annexing the counties of Artois and Flanders to the crown; thus he wiſhed to deprive the archduke of his lawful inheritance, for having defended his father againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and for having reſiſted an inſult offered to his ſiſter. Such a man was a miniſter truly worthy of Lewis the Eleventh; but a monarch who had known to appreciate the principles of honour and virtue, would have rewarded his zeal with perpetual impriſon-

ment. Charles rejected the treacherous advice of Deſquerdes, and even concluded a treaty with Maximilian and his ſon, by which he agreed to reſtore Artois and Franche-Comté; reſerving only the three towns of Heſdin, Aire and Bethune, which were to be ſequeſtered in the hands of Deſquerdes, till the archduke ſhould come of age, and Tournay, Mortagne, and Saint Amand, which had formerly belonged to France.

This peace was concluded very opportunely for Maximilian; whoſe father, the emperor Frederic, having died at Lintz, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, the Turks profited by the occaſion to make incurſions into Croatia, and upon the confines of Auſtria.

In the treaty which Charles had concluded with Ferdinand, he had exacted a promiſe, in return for the ceſſion of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, that the king of Arragon ſhould oppoſe no obſtacle to his projected attempts upon Italy; that he ſhould not marry his children, either to thoſe of the king of the Romans, or to the children of Henry; and that he ſhould form no kind of connection, by marriage, with either of thoſe princes. But Ferdinand was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of Rouſſillon, than he married one of his daughters, the Infanta Catherine, to Arthur prince of Wales; and, on the death of that prince, contracted her to his brother Henry; another of his daughters he married to the archduke Philip, only ſon to Maximilian; and his ſon eſpouſed the princeſs Margaret, whom Charles had ſent back to her father[30].

The reduction of Brittany had been the work of Madame; but theſe treaties were the firſt meaſures of her brother's adminiſtration, who conſented to make the conceſſions required of him, with a view to new acquiſitions, and the hope of diſtant but ſplendid conqueſts. He was at an age when a lively imagination often gives birth to vaſt deſigns, and eaſily becomes enamoured of its own productions. The bent of his mind, the education he had received, the genius of the age, and a fortuitous concurrence of events, all contributed to lead him aſtray. It will be neceſſary to take a ſhort review of the motives, and origin of a war which forms an epoch in the Hiſtory of France, and occupies the greater part of three ſucceſſive reigns.

[30] It is ſaid that this princeſs, on her voyage to Spain, whither ſhe was going to celebrate her marriage, had nearly periſhed in a ſtorm; and expecting the veſſel to ſink every moment, ſhe took out a pencil, and wrote the following epitaph on herſelf——

" Ci git Margot, la gente demoiſelle,
" Qu' eut deux maris, & ſi mourut pucelle."

Which may be thus tranſlated—

" Beneath this tomb, the gentle Margaret's laid,
" Who had two huſbands, and yet dy'd a maid."

Charles,

Charles, as we have before obſerved, was born with a delicate conſtitution and a feeble frame; his father, conſcious of his ſon's inability to ſupport the ſmalleſt degree of mental fatigue, had ſtrictly forbidden his application to any ſerious ſtudy; and had contented himſelf with reciting to him the atchievements of thoſe monarchs who had acquired the greateſt glory in the government of France, and with attempting to make the ſeeds of emulation ſhoot forth in his infant mind. As he advanced in years, he became eager for inſtruction, and having peruſed with avidity the Commentaries of Cæſar, and the life of Charlemagne, he became enamoured of thoſe warriours, and choſe them for his heroes. A taſte thus decided, generally implies ſome conformity of character with the object of admiration. Charles was as ambitious, as brave, as intrepid as his two models; but he poſſeſſed neither that extent of genius which is neceſſary for the proper combination of a plan, thoſe ſuperior talents which fix the ſmiles of fortune, nor that ſtrength of mind which, by a continued exertion of conſtancy, triumphs, in the proſecution of its plans, over the greateſt obſtacles. Led away by a martial ardour, and ſeduced by a blind preſumption, he thought, that in order to equal his models, he had only to form an enterprize, in boldneſs and extent ſurpaſſing their own. With this view, he reſolved on forming the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and on completing the conqueſt of the Eaſtern empire. Having adopted this reſolution, the next object of conſideration was to find the means of tranſporting an army to the gates of that capital: France, at this period, had but a ſmall number of trading veſſels, which, in time of war, were equipped for hoſtile purpoſes: to have recourſe, as in the times of the former cruſades, to the Venetians or other Italian ſtates, was deemed dangerous, as the king's perſon, and the ſafety of the ſtate, muſt, in that caſe, have been truſted to the diſcretion of foreigners; beſides, it was neceſſary to ſecure a place of retreat in caſe of miſfortune. The poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples would, from its ſituation and flouriſhing towns, have procured him all the advantages he could deſire; he, therefore, reſolved, previous to his grand expedition, to enforce his claims to that part of Italy.

The kingdom of Naples, as well as Sicily which was annexed to it, had been enjoyed, for the beſt part of two centuries, by the princes of the two royal houſes of Anjou. Alphonſo, king of Arragon, whoſe anceſtors had already taken Sicily from the Anjevin princes, availing himſelf of the troubles which prevailed in France, deſpoiled them alſo of the kingdom of Naples, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence. This prince, at his death, left the kingdom of Arragon, and the iſland of Sicily, which he had inherited from his anceſtors, to his brother, don Juan, father to Ferdinand of Arragon; but, with the conſent of the pope, who was conſidered as lord paramount of Naples, he bequeathed his conqueſt to a natural ſon, named Ferdinand, who reſiſted all the efforts made to diſpoſſeſs him of that kingdom by René of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Sicily, and his ſon, John, commonly called the duke of Calabria. The failure of theſe princes to recover the dominions of their anceſtors, had proceeded from the diſinclination of Lewis the Eleventh to promote the elevation of any part of his family, which had led him to fruſtrate all their plans. King René, having ſurvived his ſon and grandſon, left all his claims to the king-

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dom of Naples, and the county of Provence, to his nephew, the count of Maine, in preference to Réne, duke of Lorraine, ſon to Yoland, his eldeſt daughter. The count, dying ſoon after without heirs, bequeathed all his rights and pretenſions to Lewis the Eleventh; and after him, to the dauphin Charles, and all his ſucceſſors on the throne of France. To this ſecond will no oppoſition could be formed, but the validity of the firſt was ſtrongly conteſted by the duke of Lorraine, who maintained that Provence and the kingdom of Naples, not being ſubject to the Salic law, and having been frequently governed by females, belonged of right to his mother; and that his grandfather had no power to annihilate the rights of nature, by a deed which had been extorted from him at an age when his faculties were impaired. In oppoſition to this claim, the king of France produced *a family compact*, and the wills of the two princes of the houſe of Anjou, who had appointed their male heirs to ſucceed them, to the prejudice of females, who were more nearly related to them.

The duke of Lorraine, however, was unable to cope with the king, who reſolved to enforce his pretenſions on the firſt favourable opportunity, which ſpeedily occurred. The Neapolitans, diſguſted with the oppreſſive and tyrannical conduct of Ferdinand the Firſt, and his ſon Alfonſo, had reſolved to depoſe the former, and diſinherit the latter; the nobility had taken up arms to effect this purpoſe, but, through the mediation of the king of Spain, and pope Innocent the Eighth, a treaty was concluded, and tranquillity reſtored. But, in violation of this treaty, which they had ratified by the moſt ſolemn oaths, Ferdinand and his ſon invited the nobility, under pretence of attending the celebration of a marriage, to the royal palace, where they were ſeized and maſſacred. Three only eſcaped, viz. the prince of Salerno, and two of his nephews, ſons to the prince of Biſignano. Theſe left the kingdom in diſguiſe, and haſtening to Venice, conſulted the ſenate, as to what monarch they ſhould apply for aſſiſtance. Three princes had claims to the kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand, the Catholic; the duke of Lorraine, and Charles the Eighth. The ſenate excluded the firſt, becauſe, being already maſter of Sicily, he would, by the conqueſt of Naples, become a too formidable neighbour to the other Italian ſtates. The duke of Lorraine, they obſerved, had outlived his reputation, and it would be abſurd to loſe time in attempting to raiſe the dead. To the king of France neither of theſe objections could be oppoſed, and the Neapolitan refugees accordingly reſolved to apply to Charles.

The ſolicitations of the prince of Salerno and his nephews were ſtrongly ſeconded by ambaſſadors from Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, who governed Milan, in the name of his nephew, John Galleazzo, the lawful ſovereign of that duchy; and from pope Alexander the Sixth, a man of infamous character[31], who was raiſed to the papacy,

[31] Guicciardini thus enumerates the vices of this pontiff: "Coſtumi oſceniſſimi, non ſincerità, non vergogna, "non verità, non fede, non religione, avarizia inſaziabile, ambizione immoderata, crudeltà più che barbara." *Iſtoria d'Italia, tomo primo, pagin* viii. 4to.

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notwithſtanding he had five natural children, whom he publickly acknowledged, by Vanoſſa, a lady of Rome. The object of theſe princes, was to check the overgrown power of the Neapolitan monarch, and of Pietro de Medicis, duke of Florence, who had evinced a diſpoſition to oppoſe the deſigns of the uſurper (who meant to dethrone his unſuſpecting kinſman, and ſeat himſelf on the ducal throne) and of the ſovereign pontiff.

The ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience, where, by an artful homage, they influenced the military ardour of Charles, though their arguments made a very different impreſſion on the members of his council. Admiral de Graville repreſented, that a war, in ſuch a diſtant country, where no communication could be preſerved with France, would be attended with immenſe expence, without much probability of a happy iſſue: that the enemies whom they propoſed to attack, were by no means ſo contemptible as the ambaſſadors had repreſented them; that every body did juſtice to the penetration, knowledge, and prudence of Ferdinand, who was ſuppoſed to have amaſſed immenſe treaſures, during a reign of thirty-five years; that his ſon Alfonſo enjoyed the reputation of the braveſt warriour and the beſt general in Italy; that theſe princes were allied to the king of Spain, who would never tamely acquieſce in the depoſition of his neareſt relations, nor ſuffer the French to eſtabliſh themſelves in the vicinity of Sicily; that the profeſſions of the Italians were not to be truſted; nor was it to be ſuppoſed that they would behold, with an eye of indifference, the crown of Naples on the head of a French king; that Lewis the Eleventh, whoſe political knowledge no one would diſpute, had conſtantly rejected the invitations of the popes to carry his arms into Italy; and that, before any engagement were contracted, it would be neceſſary to ſend ſome prudent perſons into Italy, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the different courts, and to aſcertain what degree of reliance might be placed on their promiſes and profeſſions.

Graville's opinion was adopted by the whole council; even the king himſelf apeared to concur in it, and he accordingly appointed Peron de Baſchi, and ſome other perſons diſtinguiſhed for their merit, his ambaſſadors to the Italian courts; but he was ſecretly determined not to wait their return before he ſettled his plan of operations. Led away by the warmth of his imagination, and by the intereſted advice of Stephen de Veſc, and William de Briſſonet, his two chief favourites (the firſt of whom, from being his valet de chambre, had become ſeneſchal of Beaucaire and lord of Grimaut; while the laſt had been promoted to the biſhoprick of Saint-Malo, and the office of ſuperintendant of the finances) who had been bribed by the Italian ambaſſadors, Charles privately ſigned a treaty, by which he engaged to conduct an army into Italy, ſufficiently powerful to enſure the conqueſt of Naples. Ludovico, on his ſide, promiſed to give his troops a free paſſage through the duchy of Milan; to reinforce them with a body of five hundred men at arms; to lend the king two hundred thouſand ducats to defray the expence of the war; and to give him permiſſion to equip, in the port of Genoa, as many veſſels as he ſhould want for the expedition.

There

There were ſeveral other ſtipulations in favour of Ludovico, on whom Charles promiſed, on the reduction of Naples, to confer the principality of Tarento.

A. D. 1494.] On the firſt report of the hoſtile deſigns of Charles, the king of Naples ſent an embaſſy to France, offering to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns. Theſe conditions, ſo advantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his ſubjects, oppreſſed by years, and ſenſible of the calamities which impended over his country, was ſeized with an apoplexy, which terminated his exiſtence, and his crown devolved on his ſon, Alfonſo the Second. That prince immediately prepared to detach the ſovereign pontiff from the intereſt of the French; and, by procuring ſplendid eſtabliſhments for his ſons, he not only ſucceeded in that attempt, but engaged Alexander to join him in an application to the ſultan Bajazet, requeſting his aſſiſtance in oppoſing the projected invaſion of Charles.

Charles, meanwhile, had ſent the lord d'Urſé to Genoa, to make the neceſſary preparations for the equipment of a fleet, in which he meant to embark a part of his army. The troops were already in motion, and directing their march into the ſouthern provinces, though Charles had not yet made known his deſigns to the nation. The reſiſtance he had experienced from the council had made him dread a ſtill greater oppoſition from the parliaments, and principal towns. He was perſuaded by thoſe who favoured his paſſions, to take the nation, as it were, by ſurprize, that the advice of the more prudent part of his council might not have time to operate. He accordingly appointed a day for holding a grand tournament at Lyons, to which all the nobility of the kingdom repaired, and, in the midſt of their feſtivity, he propoſed to them an immediate expedition to Italy, the glory and dangers whereof he expreſſed his reſolution to ſhare. Moſt of the nobles eagerly embraced a plan, which, in their cooler moments, they would, probably, have rejected; and, that their ardour might not be ſuffered to cool, he gave orders for the troops to advance without delay.

But Charles's inattention to buſineſs and want of foreſight were never more ſtrongly diſplayed, than on this occaſion, for when the army began their march, it appeared that no money had been provided for their ſubſiſtance [32]. The king was obliged to borrow, of a banker at Genoa, one hundred thouſand ducats, at the enormous intereſt of fourteen thouſand ducats for four months; and a banker at Milan advanced fifty thouſand more. Theſe ſums proving inſufficient, even for the equipment of the fleet, recourſe was had to extraordinary meaſures; and by anticipations of the revenue, and other expedients, he

[32] Comines.---Godefroi.---Belcarius.

raiſed

raiſed ſufficient to *begin* his enterprize. But as this money could not arrive very ſoon, and the ſeaſon was already far advanced; Briſſonet, who had the ſuperintendance of the finances, attempted to diſſuade the king from the expedition, with as much warmth, as he had before diſplayed in perſuading him to adopt it. The council was again convened, and the mareſchal Deſquerdes, who had been ſent for from Picardy, to take the command of the army, repreſented, that the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced as to preclude the poſſibility of penetrating as far as Naples, before the concluſion of the year; that the autumnal rains would render the roads in Lombardy impracticable for the artillery; that, even were that obſtacle removed, the troops would neceſſarily be ſtopped by the ſnow on the Appenines: that the army, expoſed to the inclemency of the ſeaſon, deſtitute of proviſions and ammunition, and left to the diſcretion of a deceitful ally, who was more to be feared than an open enemy, incurred the riſk of annihilation before the return of ſpring: that Ludovico was a conſummate cheat and traitor, who only ſought to make the French the inſtrument of his own ambition, and who would never think himſelf in ſafety, till he ſhould have promoted their deſtruction; that ſince the king was reſolved on the reduction of Naples, the only means to be adopted for the accompliſhment of his ſchemes, was to devote the remainder of the ſeaſon to the ſeizure of the duchy of Milan, which belonged, of right, to the duke of Orleans, where he might refreſh his troops during the winter, and the poſſeſſion of which would enable him to eſtabliſh a communication between France and Naples: that the execution of this plan was eaſy at a time when Ludovico was off his guard; that it was juſt, ſince it tended to puniſh a tyrant, who was juſtly an object of deteſtation; and, laſtly, that it was neceſſary, ſince the king's ſafety, and that of his army, depended on it. The mareſchal was ſupported in his opinion by the duke of Orleans, and all his partizans; but Charles could not prevail on himſelf to diſhonour his arms by an act of treachery, and to deprive himſelf of the only ally which he had in Italy. The council were divided in their ſentiments, and the king himſelf was at a loſs how to act: one day he ſent orders for the troops to advance; the next he diſpatched a courier to ſtop them; and he was on the point of giving up the expedition, when the cardinal di San Pietro in Vincola, an implacable enemy to the pope, arrived, and, by an inflammatory harangue, fixed the king's irreſolution.

The duke of Orleans was appointed to command the fleet; and the duke of Bourbon was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the abſence of Charles. The count of Angoulême was made governor of Guienne; Normandy and Picardy were entruſted to the care of admiral Graville: Burgundy to the mareſchal de Baudricourt; Champagne to the lord d'Orval, and Brittany to the baron d'Avaugour, and the viſcount de Rohan [33].

33 Chronique d'Aquitaine.---Fontanieu, rec. des pièces.---Defrei, cont. de Gaguin.

After taking every neceſſary precaution for the ſafety of the kingdom, the king left Lyons, and repaired to Grenoble, where he appointed commiſſioners for providing the troops with proviſions; and appointed the officers who were to command under him. The death of the mareſchal Deſquerdes, which occurred at this period, proved a great loſs to Charles; for though he had many other experienced commanders, ſuch as the count de Montpenſier,; la Trémouille; d'Aubigni; and mareſchals de Gié and de Rieux, yet had he none to whoſe advice he paid ſuch implicit reſpect.

Charles continued his march through Dauphiné to Savoy, where he experienced a magnificent reception from the ducheſs-dowager, who, being informed that he was in want of money, and having none to advance him, lent him her jewels, which ſhe requeſted he would pledge for twelve thouſand ducats. When he came to Caſal, the marchioneſs of Montferrat was equally generous, and lent him her jewels alſo, towards defraying the neceſſary expences of the enterprize.

The king arrived at Aſt, in Piedmont, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of his army, on the ninth of September: he was here ſeized with the ſmall-pox, from which he recovered, after the moſt imminent danger of his life. The joy occaſioned by the return of his health, was farther encreaſed by the news that the duke of Orleans had obtained a victory over the fleet of Naples, commanded by don Frederic, brother to Alfonſo: the duke himſelf was the bearer of this intelligence.

Charles left Aſt on the ſixth of October, and purſued his victorious career towards Naples. Previous to his departure from Piedmont, he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza, who left him, in a few days, to take poſſeſſion of Milan, which he ſeized, on the death of John Galleazzo, his nephew, though that prince had left an infant ſon. The pope, apprized of the approach of the French, ſent a nuncio to the king, to forbid him, under pain of excommunication, to ſet foot on the territories of the church; but Charles replied, that he had made a vow to viſit the tomb of Saint-Peter, and was reſolved to fulfil it.

Two roads now preſented themſelves to the French; the firſt, which was the ſhorteſt and beſt, led through Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona into Abruzzo, the firſt province in the kingdom of Naples; whereas the other lay acroſs the Appenines, and through the ſtates of Florence, and the territories of the pope, who were in ſtrict alliance with the Neapolitans. Several were of opinion that the former ſhould be preferred; while others repreſented that this road could not be followed without keeping the army at a diſtance from the fleet, on board of which were all the heavy artillery, and moſt of the baggage; that by ſeeming to avoid the danger of paſſing through an enemy's country, they would inſpire the Italians with freſh courage; and that by leaving behind them two powerful enemies, whom, poſſibly, Ludovico Sforza, and the Venetians, might be

be induced to join, they would run a risk of cutting off their communication with France. These reasons, appearing decisive, the army prepared to pass the Appenines. It consisted of the king's household troops, composed of one hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers; sixteen hundred lances, each lance having six horses; twelve thousand infantry, half Swiss, half Gascons, and a numerous body of volunteers:—the train of artillery consisted of one hundred and forty pieces [34].

The Italian powers were wholly unable to cope with this formidable force; having remained, during a long period, undisturbed by the invasion of any foreign enemy, they had formed a system with respect to their affairs, both in peace and war, peculiar to themselves. In order to adjust the interests, and balance the power, of the different states into which Italy was divided, they were engaged in perpetual and endless negociations with each other, which they conducted with all the subtlety of a refining and deceitful policy. Their contests in the field, when they had recourse to arms, were decided in mock battles, by innocent and bloodless victories. Upon the first appearance of the danger which now impended, they had recourse to the arts which they had studied, and employed their utmost skill in intrigue, in order to avert it; but this proving ineffectual, their effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in the country, being fit only for the parade of service, were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk at its approach. Charles's cavalry was entirely composed of those companies of Gendarmes, embodied by Charles the Seventh, and continued by Lewis the Eleventh; and his infantry, as we have before observed, consisted partly of Swiss, hired of the Cantons, and partly of Gascons, who were armed and disciplined after the Swiss model.

The arms and discipline of the Swiss were different from those of other European nations. During their long and violent struggles in defence of their liberties against the house of Austria, whose armies, like those of other considerable princes, consisted chiefly of heavy-armed cavalry, the Swiss found that their poverty, and the small number of gentlemen residing in their country, at that time barren and ill-cultivated, put it out of their power to bring into the field any body of horse capable of facing the enemy. Necessity compelled them to place all their confidence in infantry; and, in order to render it capable of withstanding the shock of cavalry, they gave the soldiers breast-plates and helmets as defensive armour; together with long spears, halberts, and heavy swords, as weapons of offence. They formed them into large battalions, ranged in deep and close array, so that they could present, on every side, a formidable front to the enemy [35]. The men at arms could make no impression on the solid strength of such a body: it

[34] Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. i. p. 84. [35] Machiavel's Art of War, b. ii. c. ii. p. 451.

repulsed the Austrians in all their attempts to conquer Switzerland: it broke the Burgundian Gendarmerie, which was scarcely inferior to that of France, either in number or reputation; and when first called to act in Italy, it bore down, by its irresistible force, every enemy that attempted to oppose it [39].

After the army had passed the Appenines, Montpensier, who commanded the vanguard, invested Fivizano, the first fortress in the Florentine dominions: the place being carried by assault, the whole garrison, and most of the inhabitants, were put to the sword; the Italians, who had been wholly unused to such treatment, were thrown into the utmost consternation by this cruel mode of waging war. The French next approached the small town of Serezana, and the strong fortress of Serezanello, which, from their situation, on the summit of lofty rocks, and in the centre of a dry and barren country, might long have resisted their utmost efforts; but the arrival of Pietro de Medicis in their camp, soon removed this difficulty.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of the French arms, Pietro was induced to sign a treaty with Charles, by which he engaged immediately to deliver up to the French the fortress of Serezanello, with the towns of Serezana, Pietra-Santa, Pisa, and Leghorn; and to make the Florentines advance him, by way of loan, the sum of two hundred thousand ducats. The king, on his part, promised to restore the towns, as soon as he should have completed the reduction of Naples. The Florentines were so incensed with Pietro, for having signed such a dishonourable treaty, that they declared him a traitor to the state, and compelled him to take refuge in Venice. Charles passed through Pisa, whose inhabitants desired to be taken under his immediate protection, and to be considered, thenceforth, as subjects of France, and continued his route to Florence; into which city, after some hesitation on the part of the inhabitants, he obtained admission, and renewed, with the Florentines themselves, the very treaty which had induced them to expel Pietro de Medicis. From Florence Charles marched to Sienna, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, who had levelled their walls, and pulled down their gates, to facilitate the entrance of his troops. The pope received the intelligence of his success with terror; he hastily retired into the castle of Saint Angelo, and commanded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who took possession of the city without striking a blow, and disposed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles resisted the importunities of those cardinals, who advised him to depose the profligate and turbulent Alexander, and fill the apostolic chair with a more holy successor. The king rejected their counsels, and concluded a treaty with the Roman pontiff, who solemnly granted him the investiture of Naples, and delivered to him the towns of Viterbo, Terracina, Spoleto and

[39] Robertson.

Civita-

Civita-Vecchia, with his ſon, Ceſar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, as a pledge of the ſincerity of his intentions.

A. D. 1495.] Alfonſo the Second, king of Naples, at this critical conjuncture, abdicated the throne, and reſigned his ſceptre to his ſon Ferdinand the Second, and retired to the town of Mazara, at the fartheſt extremity of Sicily, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in a convent. The terror of the French arms was generally ſuppoſed to have occaſioned this haſty reſolution; but, independent of that conſideration, his conduct was influenced by another motive of at leaſt equal weight:—Alfonſo had received intelligence that a powerful confederacy was forming at Venice, for the expulſion of the French from Italy, and that Ludovico Sforza was the principal promoter of it; and he was afraid, that the perſonal hatred which ſubſiſted between him and Ludovico might prevent that nobleman from bringing matters to a concluſion, till ſuch time as he could be certain that he had nothing to apprehend from him.

Charles was at Rome when he received the news of this ſtrange revolution: aware how eſſential it was to the ſucceſs of his enterprize, not to allow young Ferdinand time to ingratiate himſelf with the Neapolitan nobility, he began his march on the twenty-eighth of January, after he had remained near a month at Rome, during which time juſtice had been adminiſtered in his name, and he had exerciſed every other act of ſovereignty: he arrived the next day at Veletri, and that ſame evening, the cardinal of Valenza, who was to have accompanied him, as a hoſtage, till he had completed the reduction of Naples, effected his eſcape. Nobody entertained a doubt but that the evaſion of Ceſar Borgia had been previouſly concerted with the treacherous pontiff; and the fact was ſoon aſcertained. Zizim, brother to the ſultan Bajazet, had been detained a priſoner at the court of Rome, and the ſultan had offered the pope three hundred thouſand ducats to put him to death; but Charles, who thought he might be of infinite ſervice to him in his projected expedition againſt the Turks, had made the pontiff, by the late treaty, reſign him to his care: ſoon after the flight of the cardinal, Zizim was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which, in a few days, put a period to his exiſtence; and it was generally believed that the pope had cauſed him to be poiſoned, in order to obtain the reward which had been offered by Bajazet. Nor were theſe the only effects of the pontiff's reſentment, which the king was deſtined to feel. Alexander had long been ſoliciting Ferdinand the Catholic to declare war againſt France; and, to ſupply him with the means of ſupporting it, he had cauſed a cruſade againſt the Infidels to be preached in Spain, all the contributions levied in conſequence whereof he allowed the Spaniſh monarch to employ againſt the French. Tempted by this offer, Ferdinand ſent Anthony de Fonſeca, as his ambaſſador, to the court of Rome, with orders to regulate his conduct by the advice of the ſovereign pontiff. Immediately after the evaſion of the cardinal of Valenza, Fonſeca repaired to the French camp, and, with a haughty mien, thus addreſſed the king:

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"The king of Arragon and Caſtile, by whom I am ſent to you, has ſome ancient "claims to the kingdom of Naples, which, though he was willing to ſuppreſs them in "favour of his relations, he has not renounced: he is in quiet poſſeſſion of Sicily, and "will not ſuffer a foreign prince to eſtabliſh himſelf in his neighbourhood."—"When "I ceded to him," replied Charles, "the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, Ferdi-"nand ſwore that he would not oppoſe my deſigns upon Italy; and I am unwilling to "believe that ſo religious a monarch can be capable of violating the obligation of an "oath." The ambaſſador made no anſwer, but taking the original treaty from his boſom, tore it in pieces; then calling, by their names, ſeveral Spaniſh officers, who had entered the French ſervice, ordered them to follow him, under pain of being declared traitors to their country. Charles had ſufficient reſolution to reſtrain his anger, but many of the French officers reproved Fonſeca for his inſolence, and dared him to ſingle combat[37].

From Veletri, the army proceeded to inveſt the ſmall town of Monte Fortino, which was taken by aſſault, and abandoned to the rage of the ſoldiers. Monte di San Giovanni was next reduced, and experienced a ſimilar fate; and this ſeverity, to which the Italians were wholly unaccuſtomed, ſpread ſuch a general conſternation, that not another town durſt refuſe to open its gates.

Ferdinand, having aſſembled an army of fifty ſquadrons, and ſix thouſand infantry, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſt of San-Germano, reſolved to diſpute with the French the entrance into his dominions. He could not have choſen a more proper place for making a ſtand; he was protected on one ſide by a ſteep and rugged mountain, on the other by impaſſable marſhes; and his front was defended by the river Garigliano. Ferdinand had alſo rendered the approach to it more difficult by cutting down a great quantity of trees, and by erecting batteries which commanded the road. The attempt to force this paſs would have been extremely dangerous, but the terror which preceded the French had unmanned the enemy. They no ſooner perceived Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guiſe, ſon to the unfortunate duke of Nemours, advance towards them with three hundred lances, and two thouſand infantry, than, forgetting the ſtrength of their poſt, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Ferdinand, in vain, attempted to rally his troops, he was compelled to yield to the torrent, and to ſhut himſelf up, with his cowardly followers, in the town of Capua. Here he hoped to reſiſt the attacks of the enemy, till the arrival of foreign ſuccours; but fortune continued her perſecution, and ſoon deprived him of this laſt reſource: the news of an inſurrection at Naples, compelled him to fly to that capital, promiſing, however, to return to Capua the next day; but after his departure, Gianiacopo da Triulzi, to whom he had entruſted the

37 Garnier.

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command of the town during his abſence, ſurrendered it to the king. The town of Averſa, ſituated mid-way between Capua and Naples, alſo ſent a deputation to Charles. The capital itſelf was in commotion, and Ferdinand, compelled to yield to the ſtorm, aſſembled the principal citizens of Naples, in the open ſpace before his palace, and thus addreſſed them:

"I call God to witneſs, and all thoſe who have had an opportunity of knowing me, "that I never wiſhed to aſcend the throne from any other motive than that of regaining "your affection by an oppoſite conduct to that which my father and grandfather ob- "ſerved. The hope of deſerving your eſteem flattered me infinitely more, than the vain "ſplendour of a crown; but the misfortune attached to our houſe has not permitted me "to enjoy that ſatisfaction: our affairs are now reduced to the laſt extremity, and we "have the additional mortification to know that our ruin is owing leſs to the valour "of our enemies, than to the treachery of our officers, and the cowardice of our troops. "We ſhould ſtill have reſources were we able to reſiſt, for a time, ſince the king of "Spain, and all the Italian powers, are riſing in our favour. Were my perſon alone "at ſtake, I feel ſufficient courage to terminate my exiſtence by a death worthy a king; "but as I could not acquire that glory without expoſing the lives and fortunes of my "ſubjects, I yield to the torrent, and reſign a ſceptre which I only accepted with a view "to promote their happineſs. I adviſe and exhort you to treat with France; and, to "enable you to do ſo without ſhame, I releaſe you from your oaths of allegiance to me: "may your timely ſubmiſſion diſarm the victor's rage! Should his pride render the "yoke inſupportable, and lead you to regret your lawful ſovereign, I ſhall not be far "off; and you will ever find me ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in your de- "fence. If, on the contrary, you ſhould live happy and contented under your new maſ- "ters, fear not that I ſhall diſturb your repoſe; the idea of your happineſs will conſole "me in my retreat. Though baniſhed from my dominions, I ſhall ſupport my fate "without a murmur, if you will but acknowledge, that, ſince I firſt drew my breath, I "never injured any one; that I never betrayed any ſymptoms of avarice, any diſpoſition "to cruelty; and that I ſuffer not for my own ſins, but for thoſe of my father[38].

This noble ſpeech had a momentary effect on the Neapolitans; but their hatred to the houſe of Arragon ſoon ſtifled all ſentiments of loyalty and compaſſion, and Ferdinand had no ſooner returned to the palace, than word was brought him that the populace were pillaging the out-buildings. Enraged at the indignity they offered him, he ruſhed out of the palace, and attacked the ſeditious rabble ſword in hand. Having diſperſed the mob, he ſelected ſuch veſſels as he meant to take with him, and deſtroyed the reſt; then

[38] Guicciardini, t. i. l. i. p. 113, 114.

haſtened

haſtened to the caſtle, and prepared for his departure. Having diſcovered, by certain ſymptoms, the intention of the garriſon, which conſiſted of five hundred Germans, to ſeize his perſon, and deliver him to the French, he gave up to them all the furniture and effects which the caſtle contained; and while they were employed in dividing the ſpoil, he eſcaped by a private door, and embarked for the iſle of Iſchia, about thirty miles from Naples. On his arrival at that place, the governor refuſed to admit him into the citadel, unleſs he came unattended; a propoſal which the unhappy monarch thought it adviſeable to accept; but as ſoon as he entered the citadel, he ſeized the governor, and threw him to the ground, to the great aſtoniſhment of the garriſon, who, awed by this act of reſolution, ſubmitted to their lawful ſovereign.

Charles, meanwhile, advanced to Averſa, where he received a deputation from the citizens of Naples, who ſent him the keys of the town: and, on the twenty-firſt of February, he made his triumphant entry into that capital, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. Thus, in the depth of winter, without money, and without magazines, did Charles march through Italy, and complete the reduction of that fertile country. From Lyons to Naples, not a town reſiſted his arms for more than one day, and the troops did not ſleep in tents a ſingle night. The whole expedition rather reſembled the peaceable progreſs of a monarch through his own dominions, than the hoſtile march of a conqueror.

But Charles wanted prudence to ſecure this conqueſt; his miniſters and favourites were ſuffered to act as they pleaſed; and their rapaciouſneſs and oppreſſions ſoon diſguſted the Neapolitans; even ſuch of the native nobility as had been forward in aſſiſting the progreſs of the French arms, were treated with neglect and injuſtice, and many others were deſpoiled of their eſtates and reduced to poverty. Theſe injuries, ſharpened by repeated inſults, the ſubject of which was the impotent effeminacy of the Italian troops, produced a prompt revolution in the ſentiments of the Neapolitans, who now conceived a violent hatred to the French, while their averſion from the houſe of Arragon was converted into pity and remorſe.—Charles, however, who, wholly abſorbed in pleaſure, was ignorant of this change, and, by a conſiderable diminution of the uſual impoſts, had even been led to believe he had ſecured the affections of his new ſubjects, appointed the twelfth of May for his coronation: and that ceremony was accordingly performed, with the utmoſt magnificence.

Dazzled with ſo extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Conſtantinople, and the ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire; but while he inconſiderately waſted his time at Naples, in feſtivals and triumphs, on account of his paſt ſucceſſes, or was fondly dreaming of future conqueſts in the Eaſt, a powerful combination was formed againſt him. The firſt news he received of this confederacy, came from Philip de Comines whom he had ſent as ambaſſador to the republic of Venice, to require their aſſiſtance in his projected expedition againſt the Turks. Comines ſoon had occaſion to perceive

ceive that the rapid progreſs of the French arms was highly diſpleaſing to the Venetians, and that they began to repent the encouragement they had given to Charles; for which reaſon he had adviſed his maſter to accept an offer made him by Ferdinand, to hold the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the crown of France, and to pay tribute for the ſame. But the king, intoxicated with ſucceſs, rejected the advice of his ambaſſador. The more fortune ſeemed to favour an enterprize which prudence diſavowed, the more did Comines tremble for the conſequences. Apprized of the deſigns of the confederates —the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Naples, the emperor Maximilian, and the duke of Milan—and finding all his remonſtrances loſt upon Charles, he wrote to the duke of Orleans to fortify the town of Aſt, where he had been detained by a violent fever; to the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to ſend, with all poſſible expedition, a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to Aſt, which was on the point of being beſieged; and, laſtly, to the marchioneſs of Montferrat, deſiring her to ſupply the duke of Orleans with all her Gendarmes, to enable him to defend himſelf until the arrival of the expected ſuccours from France. The duke of Orleans authorized his couſin, the duke of Bourbon, to ſell, or mortgage, all the eſtates of his family, if he had no other means of collecting and forwarding troops; obſerving, at the ſame time, that on the celerity of their motions, the ſafety of the king, and of the kingdom, depended.—In fact, the danger was imminent; for, after much heſitation, the league had been finally concluded.

Ferdinand of Arragon engaged to ſend an army into the kingdom of Naples, commanded by one of his moſt experienced generals, and to make ſuch a powerful diverſion on the ſide of the Pyrenees, that the duke of Bourbon ſhould not be able to ſend a reinforcement of troops into Italy. The emperor agreed to ſupply the confederates with a body of the beſt troops in Germany, and to enter Champagne with another army, provided they would furniſh him with money for the expedition. The duke of Milan undertook to reduce the town of Aſt, and to ſecure the paſſage of the Alps; and, laſtly, the Venetians engaged to equip a fleet, and to pay, in conjunction with the pope and the duke of Milan, an army of forty thouſand men, which ſhould wait for the French at the foot of the Appenines. "The league," ſays Comines, "was concluded late at night, and the "next morning the ſenate ſent for me at an earlier hour than uſual. As ſoon as I was "arrived and ſeated, the doge told me, that in honour of the Holy Trinity, they had "concluded a league with our holy father, the pope, with the king of the Romans, the "king of Caſtile, and the duke of Milan, for three purpoſes: firſt, for defending Chriſ-"tendom againſt the Turks; ſecondly, for the defence of Italy; and, thirdly, for the "preſervation of their dominions; and he deſired I would carry this intelligence to the "king."

Although Comines was prepared for this news, yet ſtill he was ſo thunder-ſtricken when he heard it, that, for a moment, he loſt the power of utterance. But when he had recovered

vered his ſurprize, he replied, with apparent tranquillity, That he knew before what they had juſt told him, and many more particulars which they had not thought proper to notice; that he had not only apprized the king of theſe circumſtances, but the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon alſo, in order that they might have time to provide for the ſafety of the town of Aſt, which they had already done. The Venetians, who pique themſelves on the ſecrecy of their deliberations, were extremely mortified at hearing this; and, in order to excite miſtruſt among the confederates, Comines added, That he had not even had the merit of being the firſt to inform the king of this league, ſince Charles had already received certain advice of it both from Rome and Milan. The doge was now diſconcerted in his turn, and wiſhing to engage the ambaſſador in a converſation, he began by repreſenting to him that a league, the only object whereof was to ſecure the dominions of the powers who had joined it, could not poſſibly injure the king, unleſs he had a deſign to attempt the conqueſt of Italy; he then aſked him, whether he had no new propoſal to make; but Comines replied, that it was too late to negociate, when war was already declared.

Comines was ſo ſtricken with what he had heard, and was ſo buried in reflection, that, turning to the ſecretary, whom the ſenate had appointed to conduct him to his reſidence, he ſaid to him—"*Pray, friend, repeat what the prince ſaid to me, for I have for-*
"*gotten every word of it: I don't know what is become of my memory and my reaſon!*"

Charles, though leſs alarmed than his ambaſſador, at length became ſenſible of his danger. In this critical ſituation there was not a moment to loſe. If he gave time to the confederates to bring a ſtrong body of diſciplined veterans into Switzerland and Germany, and intrench them in the defiles of the Appenines, all was loſt, and the laurels he had already reaped would only tend to augment the humiliation of his defeat. The only mode of eſcaping was to cut his way through the Italian ſtates, while they had none but their own national troops to defend them. This, indeed, appeared no eaſy matter, for as he could not prevail on himſelf to evacuate Naples, and loſe all the fruits of his labours, he was obliged to leave a part of his army behind him, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpenſier, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general in the kingdom of Naples. The character of this nobleman is given by Philip de Comines in a very few words:—"*He was brave, but poſſeſſed of little prudence;—he never roſe*
"*till noon!*"

The king left Naples on the twentieth of May, 1495, with an army conſiſting of nine hundred lances, two thouſand five hundred Swiſs, and fifteen hundred houſhold troops, amounting, in the whole, to nine thouſand four hundred men[39]. The firſt enemy,

[39] Comines.—Guicciardini.—Giovio.

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Charles the Eighth struck with remorse, by a Lady invoking the Virgin to protect her honour from insult.

Published as the Act directs, July 28. 1792. by C. Lowndes.

through whoſe dominions he had to paſs, was the pope, who, conſcious that he deſerved no mercy from the French, withdrew from Rome, and wrote to Charles, informing him, that having taken care that the army ſhould want for nothing in its paſſage through the eccleſiaſtical territories, he had retired to Orvietto, whence he would not fail to viſit the king, as ſoon as he ſhould be apprized of his arrival at Viterbo. Charles paſſed through Rome, but refuſed to alight at the Vatican, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. When he came to Viterbo, the pope fled to Perucia; but the king, notwithſtanding the juſt grounds for complaint which he had againſt the treacherous pontiff, reſtored to him the towns of Civita-Vecchia, Terracina, Spoleto, and Viterbo, reſerving only Oſtia, which he afterwards reſigned to the cardinal di San Pietro, in Vincola. All the places in the pope's dominions opened their gates to the French, and ſupplied them with proviſions, except the ſmall town of Toſcanella, which refuſed them admiſſion. It was, in conſequence, taken by aſſault, and abandoned to pillage: among the priſoners, who had eſcaped the ſword, was a young girl of extraordinary beauty, who was reſerved for the king. Notwithſtanding the horror and deſpair which were ſtrongly depicted on her countenance, and notwithſtanding the tears which ſtreamed from her eyes, Charles ſeized her in his arms, and was proceeding to commit violence on her perſon, when, as ſhe ſtruggled to get looſe from him, ſhe perceived the picture of the Virgin hanging in the room:—"*In the name of her,*" exclaimed the virtuous maid, "*who, by her purity* "*deſerved the honour of becoming mother to the Son of God, O king, ſpare my honour!*"—Charles, caſting his eyes on the picture, reſtrained his deſires; and being informed that the maid was betrothed to a young man of a decent family, who, with her father and mother, had alſo eſcaped the fury of the troops, and were then priſoners in the town, he releaſed them all, and gave the fair captive a marriage-portion of five hundred crowns of gold.

On the arrival of Charles at Sienna, he was met by Comines, of whom he enquired, with a ſmile, whether the proud republicans whom he had juſt left, meant to ſend any body to meet him? "Sire," replied Comines, "they aſſured me, when I took leave "of them, that it was their intention to ſend forty thouſand men to meet your majeſty." The young courtiers, who held the Italians in contempt, and were perſuaded that France was the only country for ſoldiers, were highly diverted with the ambaſſador's ſerious looks, and the king himſelf partook of their amuſement. In vain did Comines expatiate on the number and quality of the enemy's troops, and the ſkill of their leaders; in vain did he conjure Charles not to wait the arrival of the Germans, whom the emperor had promiſed to ſend into Italy; nothing he could ſay had any effect on the king, or could induce him to haſten his march. He loitered away ſix days at Sienna, and was ſo imprudent as to yield to the ſolicitations of the inhabitants, who urged him to receive them as his ſubjects, and to the intereſted perſuaſions of the count of Ligni, who aſpired to the government of the city; and to diminiſh his army, by leaving a garriſon of three hundred men, who, ſoon after his departure, were expelled by the Sienneſe themſelves.

Already were the combined forces of the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, on their march to the foot of the Appenines, where they intended to wait for the French. Beſides this army, which conſiſted of between thirty and forty thouſand men, Ludovico had raiſed a ſecond, compoſed of ſeven hundred lances, and three thouſand foot, which he deſtined for the ſiege of Aſt, which he now ſummoned to ſurrender. But before he was in a condition to act, the duke of Orleans had received a reinforcement from France; and thus finding himſelf at the head of a little army of three hundred lances, and two thouſand Swiſs, beſides a body of provincial troops from Dauphiné, he forgot the purpoſe for which theſe forces had been entruſted to his conduct: two Milaneſe gentlemen, having offered to procure him admiſſion into the town of Novara, where they had formed a conſpiracy, he accepted their propoſal, and made himſelf maſter of the place without the loſs of a man. This enterprize, raſh as it was, might have been productive of the moſt happy conſequences, had the duke of Orleans known how to profit by the advantage he had already gained. He ought either to have marched to Milan, whoſe inhabitants would have revolted at his approach, or, at leaſt, to have laid in ſuch a ſtock of proviſions at Novara, as would have enabled that town to ſtand a ſiege: inſtead of which, he perſiſted in his attempts to reduce the citadel, and thereby gave time to the duke of Milan to ſecure his capital, and to ſend San-Severino to oppoſe him with ſuch a ſuperior army, that the duke, no longer able to keep the field, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in his new conqueſt, almoſt without proviſion. Thus the troops, which had newly arrived from France, in order to ſecure the retreat of the army, far from being able to afford the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to Charles, muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the enemy, unleſs the king could arrive in time to relieve them.

Charles was at Sienna, when he received intelligence of the firſt exploits of the duke of Orleans; he immediately left that city, and proceeded to Poggibonzi, a place belonging to the Florentines, where he received ambaſſadors from that republick, who urged him to fulfil his engagements, by reſtoring the towns which had been delivered to him on his march to Naples. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt on his arrival at Piſa, whither he was followed by the ambaſſadors; but the Piſans, ſhocked at the idea of again ſubmitting to a power, from whom they had experienced nothing but tyranny and oppreſſion, found means to intereſt the Swiſs in their behalf; and the whole army riſing, inſiſted that the inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to remain under the protection of the French.

Charles, deeming it prudent to ſuffer the zeal of his ſoldiers, in defence of the Piſans, to evaporate, feigned a compliance with their requeſt, and ſecretly promiſed the Florentines to give them full ſatisfaction on his arrival at the town of Aſt. Though highly diſpleaſed at this freſh delay, they, nevertheleſs, permitted two of their generals, Franciſco Secco, and Camillo Vitelli, with three hundred lances, and two thouſand infantry,

infantry, to accompany the king, and to ſerve with the French army, as long as they ſhould remain in Italy.

But this reinforcement was trifling, when compared with the magnitude of the danger; though ſo far were the king, and the young warriors of France, from conſidering that danger, in a proper light, that the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, having promiſed, if they would give him a detachment of the French army, to excite an inſurrection in Genoa, obtained, againſt the advice of the more prudent part of the council, all the troops he required—viz. one hundred and twenty French lances, ſome companies of Italians, and five hundred croſs-bowmen, under the command of Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe; John de Polignac, count of Beaumont; and Hugh d'Amboiſe. This little army advanced to the ſuburbs of Genoa, where they meant to wait the arrival of the French fleet, commanded by Miolens, which, ſince the defection of Ludovico Sforza, was reduced to ſeven galleys, and four veſſels of inferior ſize. Theſe were overtaken by the Genoeſe fleet, reinforced by the pope's gallies, near Repallo, and, after a ſhort conteſt, were all captured. The troops, after this misfortune, found it neceſſary to retire, by private roads, to the town of Aſt, where they waited the iſſue of the king's expedition.

Charles, after ſtaying ſix days at Piſa, paſſed through Lucca, Pietra-Santa, and Serezana, and proceeded to Pontremoli, the firſt place in the duchy of Milan. The inhabitants, having diſmiſſed the garriſon, opened their gates to the French, on condition that their lives and property ſhould be ſafe. In violation of this agreement, the Swiſs, forty of whoſe comrades had been killed the year before, in a fray with the inhabitants, drew their ſwords, and, without communicating their intentions to the French, maſſacred the defenceleſs citizens, pillaged their houſes, and ſet fire to the town.

This infraction of the law of nations, this contempt of the royal authority, merited the ſevereſt puniſhment; the Swiſs themſelves, when the firſt ebullitions of their rage had evaporated, became ſenſible of the infamy of their conduct, and waited in ſilence the effect of the king's diſpleaſure. A mode, however was pointed out to them of expiating their fault. The army being now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, the council were employed in deliberating on the beſt means of tranſporting the heavy artillery over thoſe ſteep and rugged mountains, and by roads that appeared impaſſable. As no means could be deviſed which appeared feaſible, it was propoſed to leave the guns behind, after rendering them unfit for uſe; though, at the ſame time, they were aware, that by ſo doing they would deprive the army of its principal ſtrength, and perhaps of its only reſource. In this emergency the Swiſs offered, on condition that the king ſhould grant them a pardon for their late offences, to drag the artillery themſelves over ſuch places as were inacceſſible to horſes. Charles not only conſented to pardon them, but promiſed never to forget ſo ſignal a ſervice. Accordingly, the martial band prepared for the laborious taſk, which La Trémouille

mouille was appointed to ſuperintend. He was careful to place, at certain diſtances, refreſhments for the men, and to ſtation relays of horſes and mules wherever thoſe animals could be employed: companies of pioneers preceded the Swiſs to break off the rugged points of the rocks, and to fill up the ravines; other companies of carpenters, ſmiths, and wheelwrights, accompanied the carriages, to repair, without loſs of time, any damage they might ſuſtain on the road. La Trémouille was preſent every where, animating the workmen by his words and geſtures. Convinced, too, that example is more perſuaſive than exhortation, he carried two cannon-balls himſelf. After ſuſtaining incredible fatigue, the army at length reached the ſummit of the mountain. But the greateſt difficulty yet remained to be ſurmounted; it now became neceſſary to ſupport, with cables from behind, thoſe enormous maſſes which they had had ſo much trouble to drag up, in order to prevent them from cruſhing the men who were before them. The fatigue of this laborious operation was greatly encreaſed by the extreme heat of the ſun, which darting its rays from a cloudleſs ſky, proved almoſt inſupportable. When La Trémouille went to ſalute the king after the buſineſs was completed, ſome time paſſed before Charles could recollect him, his face was ſo much burned.

Meanwhile, the confederate army, under the conduct of Franceſco da Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, had aſſembled in the plain beneath, to the number of five-and-thirty thouſand men. Had their only object been to cut off the king's retreat to his own dominions, they would certainly have entrenched themſelves in the narrow paſſes of the Appenines, whence it would have been impoſſible to diſlodge them: but their ſuperiority over the French army, which conſiſted of between ſeven and eight thouſand men, haraſſed by a long and toilſome march, and deſtitute of proviſions and of money, led the confederates to conceive more lofty deſigns:—they propoſed to take the king priſoner, ſo completely to ſurround the French, that not a man might eſcape, and to ſtrike ſuch a terror into the nation, that they ſhould loſe all deſire of re-viſiting Italy. Their firſt deſign had been to fix their camp at Fornuovo, a village ſituate at the foot of the Appenines: but conſidering that the place would be too confined for an army ſo numerous, compoſed almoſt wholly of cavalry, to act in; afraid too, that if the king ſhould perceive them from the ſummit of the mountain, he might be tempted to return to Piſa, and ſome other towns in Tuſcany, where he had left garriſons; they abandoned this poſt, and pitched their camp near the abbey of Ghiaruola, three miles from Fornuovo, in a ſpacious plain, interſected by the river Taro, which, ruſhing down the mountains, empties itſelf into the Po. The poſition of their camp was ſuch, that the French could not purſue their march without being expoſed to the fire of their artillery, nor attack it without croſſing the Taro, the banks of which being ſteep, and full of willows, would have thrown their ſquadrons into diſorder. The plain was ſo ſpacious, that the whole army could, with eaſe, be drawn up in order of battle; they had laid in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions to ſupply them for ſeveral months; and, in ſhort, all their meaſures appeared to be ſo well planned, that had the courage of the Italian troops

troops proved equal to the ſkill and prudence of the generals, death or captivity muſt have been the inevitable fate of the French.

The Mareſchal de Gié, who commanded the van of the French, had croſſed the Appenines ſeveral days before the reſt of the army, in order to ſecure the defiles. On his arrival at the village of Fornuovo, he perceived the enemy's camp, which covered a vaſt extent of ground; and after he had detached a party to reconnoitre it, he ſent a herald to the general to demand a free paſſage for his troops, who only wiſhed to return in a peaceable manner to France, and who would pay for all the proviſions they wanted. The arrival of this herald threw the whole camp of the confederates into confuſion; they had hitherto perſuaded themſelves, that the report of their preparations, and the ſuperiority of their forces, would deter the king from attempting to croſs the Appenines. While he remained at Piſa, they believed that he would diſtribute the greater part of his troops in the different towns in Tuſcany, and would embark with the reſt at Leghorn, in order to return to France by ſea, in which caſe there was a fleet ſtationed to intercept him; when they received intelligence that he was marching towards the Appenines, they imagined that as ſoon as he reached the foot of the mountain, he would abandon his artillery and baggage, and endeavour to reach Monferrat by private roads, rather as a fugitive than a king: but when they found that a part of the army had already eſtabliſhed their quarters at Fornuovo, the conſternation became general: the reſiſtleſs impetuoſity of the French troops, the ſteady firmneſs of the Swiſs battalions, the dreadful fire of the artillery, all tended to ſtrike a panic into the Italians; but nothing tended to diſcourage them more than the reſolution of a ſmall body of determined men, who came to meet them from the farther extremity of Italy, and who ſeemed to take a pleaſure in braving dangers and death. Even the leaders themſelves were not exempt from the terror which pervaded the troops: when they came to deliberate on the anſwer to be given to the herald, the two *Provvéditori*, whom the ſenate of Venice had appointed to aſſiſt the marquis of Mantua with their advice, were of opinion, that ſince the French only aſked permiſſion to retire, in a peaceable manner, to their own country, they ought to be allowed a free paſſage. The count of Gaiazzo, general of the troops of Ludovico, and Franciſco Bernardino Viſconte, councillor to the duke of Milan, though aware of the danger to which their maſter would be expoſed by the entrance of the French into the Milaneſe, did not dare to oppoſe the ſentiments of the Provvéditori. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, whoſe maſter ran no riſk, and the marquis of Mantua, who was eager to ſignalize his generalſhip by ſome act of eclat, were the only perſons who exclaimed againſt this propoſal. They ſtrongly inſiſted, that the confederates would be holden up as objects of ridicule to all Europe, if they ſhould ſuffer a handful of French to inſult them with impunity in their very camp: they expatiated on the danger to which the Italians would be expoſed, if, neglecting the preſent favourable opportunity, they ſhould permit the enemy to advance to their own frontiers, where they would not fail to reinforce their army, and return to the attack. After much diſcuſſion, it was at length agreed to inform

inform the Venetian ſenate of the demand of the French, and to wait for their orders; but as it could not be expected they would arrive in time, the herald was diſmiſſed without an anſwer, and ſome companies of *ſtradiotti* were ſent to ſcour the country, and to drive in the enemy's out-poſts. Theſe ſtradiotti were a kind of light-horſe, compoſed entirely of Greeks, levied by the Venetians in the Peloponneſus, in Italy, and Epirus, and by them ſucceſsfully employed in their wars with the Turks: Comines tells us, they were very hardy, and that both men and horſes were accuſtomed to ſleep in the open air throughout the year. They had a barbarous mode of making war, by cutting off the heads of their enemies, which they faſtened to the pommel of their ſaddle, and carried to the Venetian Provvéditori, who gave them a ducat for every head.

If, inſtead of loſing time in attacking the out-poſts of the French, the confederates had immediately inveſted the village of Fornuovo, the van of the army muſt inevitably have fallen into their hands, and the French would have given up all thoughts of forcing a paſſage. The mareſchal de Gié was fully aware of the danger of his ſituation; and after having, in vain, urged the king to haſten his march, he evacuated the village, and retired nearer to the mountains. The confederates then deliberated on the propriety of attacking him in his new poſt; but the extreme caution of the Provvéditori, the fear that the king might arrive in the heat of the action, and that they might be obliged to engage in diſorder, and on diſadvantageous ground; together with the certainty that the French could not eſcape, without paſſing under the cannon of the camp, and through a plain in which they might be eaſily ſurrounded, determined them to remain within their lines. Thus the king was enabled to join the mareſchal, and the whole army encamped at the village of Fornuovo. The ſight of the enemy's camp now alarmed the French as much as the arrival of the mareſchal had before alarmed the confederates. Charles himſelf, who had hitherto expreſſed his fear that the enemy would avoid him, and who, indeed, might eaſily have eſcaped them, if he had not loitered away, without the ſmalleſt occaſion, fourteen or fifteen days at Sienna and Piſa, began to be ſenſible of the extent of the danger in which he had imprudently involved himſelf. Comines having told him that, before he left Venice, he had agreed with the Provvéditori, that, in caſe the two armies ſhould meet, the generals ſhould aſſemble, in order to prevent, by an accommodation, the effuſion of blood, the king now ordered him to open a negociation with them. Comines, accordingly, wrote to them, reminding them of their agreement, and deſiring an interview at a place equi-diſtant from either camp. The Provvéditori replied, that the French, by committing hoſtilities in the Milaneſe, had ſufficiently releaſed them from their engagement, but that, nevertheleſs, they were willing to liſten to any propoſals they might wiſh to make. This vague reply did not ſatisfy the king, who was afraid that his troops would ſoon be reduced to extremities, for want of proviſion; and that the Italians, aware of this circumſtance, only ſought to ſecure him by ſtudied delays; wherefore he called a council of war, at which it was determined, that the army ſhould march the next morning; that, on their arrival at the plain where the enemy were encamped,

camped, they ſhould fire a few pieces of cannon, and if the confederates did not leave their lines to attack them, they ſhould purſue their road.

Accordingly, on the ſixth of July, (1495) the king, clad in complete armour, drew up his troops in order of battle[40]. The van was compoſed of the flower of the army, and conſiſted of three hundred French lances, one hundred Italian lances, three thouſand Swiſs or Gaſcons, and three hundred archers of the king's guard. It was commanded by the mareſchal de Gié, who had under him Gianiacopo da Triulzi, a Milaneſe nobleman, Engilbert of Cleves, Lornai, and Anthony de Beſſei, bailiff of Dijon. The centre was entruſted to the conduct of the lord of Trémouille; and there the king fought in perſon, accompanied by his nine *preux*—viz. Mathew, baſtard of Bourbon; Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni; Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guiſe; Hallewin, lord of Piennes; Bonneval; d'Archiac; Galiot de Genouillac; Fraxinelles; and Baraſe: the rear was commanded by the viſcount of Narbonne, of the houſe of Foix. The centre and the rear being too weak to ſupport, ſeparately, any formidable attack, marched ſo near each other as to be ready to afford reciprocal aſſiſtance. As no regular troops could be ſpared to guard the baggage, this care was entruſted to the workmen and followers of the army, who armed themſelves with axes and long ſwords, and compoſed a body of about two thouſand men. When the troops began to march, the king ſent for Comines, and ordered him to renew the negociation: "Sire," ſaid Comines; "I will do it "moſt willingly, but I never ſaw too ſuch large companies ſo near to each other, who "parted without coming to blows." A herald was accordingly ſent to the Provvéditori, and Comines repaired, not without great danger, to the place appointed for the conference. The confederates were already drawn up within their lines, in order of battle, and had diſpatched ſome companies of Stradiotti, to haraſs the French army. While the Provvéditori were conſidering what anſwer they ſhould give Comines, the French fired upon the Stradiotti, who had advanced too near their ranks; upon which the French herald was immediately diſmiſſed, accompanied by another from the Marquis of Mantua, who informed the king that a conference would be opened, provided he would ceaſe to fire. This was a ſtratagem adopted by the confederates merely for the purpoſe of reconnoitring the French, that they might know where to direct their principal attack; and might likewiſe diſcover where the king himſelf was ſtationed, and what diſtinctive marks he bore, by which he might be known in the heat of action. The French, not ſuſpecting this treachery, admitted the herald into the ranks, and did not diſcover their error till they obſerved that he examined the king's perſon with peculiar attention. To avert the ill effects of this imprudence, the nine *preux* put on armour exactly ſimilar to that which the king wore. As ſoon as the enemy had obtained all the information they deſired, they left their camp, and advanced with confidence towards the French; their troops were ſo-

[40] Comines—Guicciardini—Corio—Giovio—Benedetti—Bembo—Brantome.

diſpoſed, that if they ſucceeded in breaking the firſt ranks, it would be impoſſible for a man to eſcape them. The marquis of Mantua, commander in chief, who was aſſiſted by his uncle, Rodolfo Gonzaga, detached a company of Stradiotti, ſupported by a body of croſs-bowmen, and a company of men at arms, to attack the baggage, and take poſſeſſion of the village of Fornuovo. The marquis himſelf, with ſix hundred men at arms, and their archers, five thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred ſtradiotti, croſſed the Taro behind the army, with the view to attack the rear, and then fall upon the centre. He left a conſiderable body of troops on the oppoſite banks of the river, under the command of Antonio la Montefeltro, natural ſon to the duke d'Urbino, who had orders to croſs the ſtream, and take the enemy in flank, as ſoon as he ſhould receive a courier from Rodolfo Gonzaga. At the ſame time, the count of Gaiazzo, general of the Milaneſe forces, croſſed the Taro in front of the French army, with four thouſand men at arms, and two thouſand infantry, leaving, on the oppoſite ſide, Annibale di Bentivoalio, with two hundred men at arms, who were to join him as ſoon as they ſhould ſee him engaged with the van of the French, commanded by the mareſchal de Gié. Two companies of men at arms, and one thouſand foot, were left to guard the camp, under the conduct of the Venetian Provvéditori.

The marquis of Mantua diſplayed great courage in his attack on the rear of the French; which was no ſooner engaged than the baſtard of Bourbon galloped to the centre, and called to the king to advance. Charles accordingly haſtened to his aſſiſtance with the centre-diviſion: the firſt ſhock was dreadful: in an inſtant the ground was covered with broken lances, and knights unhorſed. Charles fought in the foremoſt ranks with ſuch little precaution, that the enemy ſeized his horſe's bridle, and the baſtard of Bourbon was made priſoner at his ſide. In the heat of the action, the French perceived that body of ſtradiotti which had been ſent to pillage the baggage, and ſeize the village of Fornuovo, returning to camp with their booty; and fifteen hundred of their comrades, whom the Marquis of Mantua had taken with him to attack the enemy with their ſabres, as ſoon as their ranks ſhould be broken by the men at arms, allured by the proſpect of plunder, haſtened to join them. Another accident, equally fortunate for the French, alſo occurred; Rodolfo Gonzaga, who was to have ſent orders to Montefeltro to advance with his corps-de-reſerve, was thrown from his horſe, and cruſhed to death. The Italian men at arms who accompanied the marquis, after they had broken their lances, and defended themſelves for a ſhort time with their ſabres, finding themſelves unſupported, fled with precipitation, and were purſued by the French, who put all they could overtake to the ſword. The king ought either to have reſtrained the ardour of his troops, or elſe to have followed them; but neglecting to adopt either of theſe precautions, he was left on the field of battle, accompanied only by his valet-de-chambre, where he remained about a quarter of an hour at a conſiderable diſtance from the van of his army. While his troops were intent on purſuing the fugitives, he had nearly been taken by a company of Italian men at arms, who, having been routed at the beginning of the action, had retreated to the banks of the river,

river, whence, ſeeing the field clear, they now ventured to return. Charles defended himſelf, for a long time, with extreme valour, but he muſt inevitably have fallen into the power of the enemy, but for the timely return of a part of his troops.

While the rear was engaged, the count di Gaiazzo attacked the van, but leſs from the hope of defeating it than with the view to prevent it from affording any aſſiſtance to the centre, againſt which the principal attack was to be directed. His men at arms, unable to withſtand the impetuous courage of the French, and alarmed at the loſs of Giovanni Piccinino and Galeazzo da Coreggio, two of their moſt celebrated captains, took to flight; and if the mareſchal de Gié had purſued them, the victory would have been complete; but perceiving a corps-de-reſerve on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ignorant as yet of what had paſſed in the centre and rear, he prudently checked the zeal of his troops, and remained where he was.

The action did not laſt more than an hour. The confederates loſt three thouſand five hundred men, among whom were many perſons of diſtinction, while the loſs of the French did not amount to two hundred, and the baſtard of Bourbon, and Julian de Bourgneuf, captain of the king's guards, were the only officers miſſing. The precaution taken by the Venetian Provveditori to ſecure their camp, ſaved the reſt of the confederates, who, after they had been defeated, fled thither for refuge; but ſtill the conſternation was ſo general, that no body would have ſtaid there, but for the exhortations of the count di Pitigliano, who repreſented to the officers and men, that the king of France had neither the ability nor the inclination to attack a camp ſtrongly entrenched, and defended by an army twice or thrice as numerous as his own; that having riſked a battle merely to open a paſſage for himſelf, he would be perfectly contented at being allowed to purſue his road. The count even propoſed to renew the attack, but not a man ſeconded the motion.

In the king's camp, or rather, on the field of battle, a council was called, to decide what was beſt to be done in the preſent conjuncture. Gianiacopo da Triulzi, who, though a Milaneſe, was ſincerely attached to the French; Franceſco Secco, and Camillo Vitelli, the Florentine generals, maintained the propriety of profiting by the conſternation of the enemy, to attack their camp, which they would not dare to defend. But the perſonal hatred which they bore to the duke of Milan, rendered them ſuſpected; beſides, the French, contented with the glory they had already acquired, were only eager to return, with all poſſible expedition, to their own country.

The day after the battle, an attempt was made by Comines to renew the negociation with the Venetian Provveditori; but as he had no propoſal to offer, and they ſtill refuſed to make any overtures, they parted, after concluding a truce till next day, when Comines promiſed to renew the conference. Charles, however, afraid that the enemy might be tempted to avail themſelves of the ſcarcity of proviſions, which prevailed in his camp, to

prevent his departure, thought it prudent to decamp in the night. The confederates were not apprized of his departure till the next day at noon; and when they attempted to purſue him, they found the river Taro ſo ſwelled with the rain which had fallen the two preceding days, that it was not poſſible to ford it in any part: late in the afternoon, indeed, the count di Gaiazzo contrived to croſs it with two hundred lances, not with any intent of impeding the progreſs of the French, but merely with a view to arrive at Piacenza before them, as he knew that Triulzi had friends in that city, who, he thought, might be induced to open the gates to the enemy. In the courſe of the evening the reſt of the confederates followed the count, but without any deſign of coming to action. Fortune, however, furniſhed them with a fine opportunity of revenge, if they had had but courage to ſeize it: the king, after croſſing the river Trebia, left, on the oppoſite ſide, two hundred lances, a part of the Swiſs, and all his artillery; as the river was ſhallow, it was not ſuppoſed there could be any danger in thus dividing the army for the greater convenience of lodging. But the ſame accident which had ſwollen the waters of the Taro, occaſioned a flood at the Trebia; and, had the enemy appeared, one part of the army muſt have ſeen the other part maſſacred in their preſence without the ability to aſſiſt them. They fortunately eſcaped for the fright, and after a toilſome march of five days, entered the Tortoneſe, when the enemy left them, and went to join the army which was employed in the ſiege of Novara. Triulzi, ſtimulated by his hatred to Ludovico, propoſed in the French council, to proclaim Franceſco Sforza, (ſon to John Galeazzo Sforza) duke of Milan; affirming, that as ſoon as the news of his acceſſion ſhould be known, all the towns in the duchy would revolt againſt the uſurper, and open their gates to the French: but Charles, either from his unwillingneſs to do any thing that would be prejudicial to the claims of the duke of Orleans, or from his eagerneſs to leave Italy as ſoon as poſſible, rejected the propoſal.

The army was to paſs under the walls of Tortona, the governor whereof was Guaſpari da San Severino, ſurnamed *il Fracaſſa*, who, being informed of the king's approach, and dreading, probably, that he meant to inveſt the city, went to meet him, accompanied only by two gentlemen, and expreſſing his concern at his inability to receive him in the town, cauſed all kinds of proviſions to be brought to his camp. The army croſſed Montferrat, and, after ſuſtaining incredible fatigue, reached, in ſafety, the town of Aſt, where they found the body of troops which had been ſent againſt Genoa, and ſome freſh reinforcements from France, under the command of the prince of Orange.

The French, without excepting even the principal officers, were ſo impatient to return to their native country, that they did not ſcruple to propoſe leaving the duke of Orleans to his fate, which they ſaid he had deſerved by his diſobedience to the king's orders[41]. Of

[41] Corio.—Belcarius.—Comines.

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ſeven thouſand men, whom he had taken with him to Novara, two thouſand had periſhed with hunger, and the reſt were reduced to the laſt extremity. The prince himſelf, though greatly weakened by a ſlow fever, had invariably rejected the advice of thoſe who wiſhed to perſuade him to provide for his own ſafety by ſecretly quitting the town, being reſolved never to part from ſo many brave men, who had ſacrificed themſelves for him. The deplorable ſituation to which they were reduced, made the king determine, at all events, to march to their relief. It was a dangerous enterprize; for the army which beſieged Novara conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, among whom were a thouſand German men at arms, who had been accuſtomed to fight againſt the French in the Netherlands, and ten thouſand *Lanſquenets*, the beſt infantry in Europe, after the Swiſs. This formidable army had been juſt reinforced by the confederates, who, after the loſs they had ſuſtained at the battle of Fornuovo, were twice as ſtrong as the French. It was neceſſary, therefore, to wait for a reinforcement, before any attempt could be made with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Charles accordingly ſent the bailiff of Dijon to the Swiſs, while he advanced with his troops to Trino, as well for the greater convenience of ſending convoys to Novara, as for the purpoſe of viſiting a beautiful young woman, named Anna Solara, at whoſe father's houſe he had lodged on his road to Naples; and whoſe affections he had then found means to engage.

During his ſtay at Trino, an officer arrived from the pope, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to leave Italy in ten days; and to withdraw, within a given term, which he ſpecified, all the troops which he had left in the kingdom of Naples,; or elſe to repair to Rome in perſon, in order to give an account of his conduct. "I am much ſur-"prized," replied the king, "that the holy father, not having condeſcended to wait for "me at Rome, when I went thither for the purpoſe of devoutly kiſſing his feet, ſhould "now expreſs ſuch impatience to ſee me there! You will tell him, that I think of open-"ing myſelf a paſſage to him once more, and that I moſt urgently entreat him to have "the complaiſance to wait for me this time, that I may not perform the journey for no-"thing." The officer, who had been extremely averſe from taking charge of ſuch a commiſſion, was very happy to find that the king made it a ſubject for laughter. The pope's deſire, however, to witneſs the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French troops, was ſoon accompliſhed. Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, aſſiſted by the Spaniſh troops, under the command of Gonſalvo Ernandez, ſurnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The French, indeed, under the conduct of the conſtable d'Aubigny, gained an uſeleſs victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the count of Montpenſier, ſurrendered Naples after an obſtinate defence; and Capua, Averſa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance.

Charles received this intelligence at Trino, and though to relieve the duke of Orleans, was the firſt object to be accompliſhed, ſtill he did not neglect to take ſome ſteps for the recovery

recovery of Naples: unable at this period, to ſpare any troops for that purpoſe, he concluded a treaty with the republic of Florence, which, had it been duly obſerved, might have been productive of the greateſt advantage. The Florentine miniſters had perſiſted in following the king, notwithſtanding the mortifications to which they were continually expoſed; Charles, however, now determined to give them full ſatisfaction, and a treaty was concluded on the following terms:

"I. All the towns and fortreſſes in Tuſcany, in which the French have left garriſons, "ſhall be faithfully reſtored to the republic of Florence, except the towns of Serezana "and Piétra-Santa, which formerly belonged to the Genoeſe, to whom they ſhall be ceded "at the expiration of two years, provided the republic of Genoa ſhall ſubmit to the de- "termination of the French; in which caſe the king ſhall make the Florentines amends "for the loſs of thoſe two places.

"II. The Florentines ſhall immediately advance the king the thirty thouſand ducats, "which remain to be paid of the ſum promiſed by the treaty of Florence; but on con- "dition that the king ſhall, on his part, give them a part of his jewels, as a pledge for the "repayment of this ſum, in caſe any impediment ſhould occur to the reſtoration of their "places.

"III. Immediately after the reſtoration of their towns and fortreſſes, the Florentines "ſhall lend the king, on the ſecurity of four of the principal receivers of his revenue, the "ſum of ſeventy thouſand ducats, to be appropriated to the pay and ſubſiſtance of the "troops which the king has left in the kingdom of Naples.

"IV. They ſhall ſend to the aſſiſtance of thoſe troops, two hundred and fifty lances, to "be maintained at their own expence, and to ſerve in the kingdom of Naples till the end "of the month of October.

"V Laſtly, they ſhall pardon the inhabitants of Piſa for their paſt conduct, ſhall treat "them with mildneſs in future, leaving them at liberty to carry on trade, and to exerciſe "all profeſſions whatever."

The thirty thouſand ducats were paid, and immediately ſent to the bailiff of Dijon, who was employed in levying troops in Switzerland. The king, on his part, diſpatched the moſt poſitive orders to the governors, whom he had left in the different towns in Tuſcany, to reſtore thoſe towns, without delay, to the commiſſioners appointed by the republic to take poſſeſſion of them. Theſe firſt orders never reached the place of their deſtination: the Florentine ambaſſador to whom they were entruſted, thought he might croſs the duchy of Milan in ſafety, as the republic were not at war with Ludovico; but that uſurper, in violation of the law of nations, ſtopped him, ſeized his papers, and informed the inhabitants

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of Piſa of the danger to which they were about to be expoſed, unleſs they would conſent to receive aſſiſtance from him. The Florentines were reduced to the neceſſity of applying for freſh orders, which were ſent, but badly executed. The count of Ligni ſecretly adviſed the governors to find ſome pretext for evading them, promiſing to juſtify their conduct to the king. Saillant was the only officer who refuſed to be concerned in this infamous manœuvre; he reſtored the port and citadel of Leghorn, where he commanded, to the Florentine commiſſioners. Entragues, after many evaſions, and after extorting from the commiſſioners a conſiderable ſum of money, ſold the citadel of Piſa to the Piſans themſelves for twenty thouſand ducats; twelve thouſand of which he kept for his own uſe, and the reſt he diſtributed among his troops. Librefatta, Serezana, and Piétra-Santa, were likewiſe ſold to the Genoeſe, and the republic of Lucca. Charles, apprized of theſe infamous proceedings, ordered, as a mark of his diſpleaſure, the count of Ligni's bed to be removed from his chamber, and he paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon Entragues. His reſentment, however, ſoon ſubſided; unable to ſupport the abſence of his favourite, he recalled him in a ſhort time, and the firſt uſe which Ligni made of the influence he had recovered over his maſter, was to procure a pardon for Entragues, and all his accomplices. The unhappy Florentines, who were deſpoiled of their towns, and the thouſands of brave men who had been left in the kingdom of Naples, were the only people who ſuffered for the king's weakneſs.

From Trino the army advanced to Vercelli, a town which had long been annexed to the duchy of Milan; Philip Maria Viſconte had ceded it to the duke of Savoy, in order to detach him from a powerful league which had been formed againſt him; but he had expreſsly ſtipulated that it ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in all the wars which ſhould be undertaken againſt the duchy of Milan. Ludovico, at the commencement of the preſent war, had exacted a renewal of the ſame promiſe from the ducheſs of Savoy; but that princeſs, who was ſincerely attached to the French, could not withſtand the ſolicitations of the king. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the town, he eſtabliſhed poſts within a mile of Novara. He had not been long there, before a few companies of Swiſs arrived with intelligence, that a large army of their countrymen might be expected in a ſhort time. Had they all arrived, at that moment, a battle would have enſued, although moſt of the members of the council were extremely anxious that every thing might be ſettled by means of negociation. The confederates were equally diſpoſed to the adoption of pacific meaſures, and the only difficulty was to decide who ſhould make the firſt propoſal. The king, hitherto victorious, and commanding his army in perſon, deemed it derogatory to his dignity to ſue for an accommodation; while the confederates, who acted in the name of the pope and of the emperor, and who, moreover, were afraid, by betraying their inquietude, of rendering the French more difficult in their terms, wiſhed not to treat till famine and deſpair had delivered the firſt prince of the blood into their hands. Chance, however, reſolved the difficulty. After the death of the marchioneſs of Montferrat, ſome diſputes aroſe relative

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to the guardianſhip of her ſon, who was then a minor; and the ſtates of the country, dreading the conſequences of this diviſion, obliged the competitors to chuſe the king for their umpire. Charles being unable to take the commiſſion upon himſelf, ſent Comines to provide for the ſafety of the young prince, and to promote the eſtabliſhment of concord.

This able miniſter, finding at the court of Montferrat a gentleman in the ſervice of the marquis of Mantua, entered into converſation with him, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the infatuation of his maſter, in not perceiving that by contributing to the elevation of the Venetians, he was promoting his own ruin. As he found from the gentleman's anſwer, that the marquis himſelf was aware of this circumſtance, and that notwithſtanding his title of Generaliſſimo, he would willingly accede to any propoſals for an accommodation; Comines took upon himſelf to write to the Venetian Provvéditori, offering to renew the conferences which had been opened on the banks of the Taro. His propoſal was accepted, and a place appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; but the perſon employed, by theſe artful politicians, who were ſincerely deſirous of peace, to make the firſt overtures, was the moſt improper man for the purpoſe they could poſſibly have choſen: this was the count Albertino Boſchetto, a ſubject and intimate friend of the duke of Ferrara, who, having been deſpoiled of a part of his dominions, by the Venetians, was anxious to promote their humiliation, as the only means of repairing the loſſes he had ſuſtained.

Albertino, after he had delivered his commiſſion at a public audience, had a private interview with the king, in which he exhorted him not to grant any of the articles he had been ſent to demand; declaring, that the confederates trembled in their camp, and that, on the firſt motion of the French army to attack them, they would fly with precipitation. Triulzi, from his hatred to Ludovico, and ſeveral of the French courtiers, from attachment to the duke of Orleans, ſupported this opinion; but Comines, la Trémouille, and the prince of Orange, oppoſed it with ſuch warmth, that the king determined to ſend ſafe-conducts for the plenipotentiaries, who, on the part of the confederates, were the marquis of Mantua, Bernardo Contarini, and Franceſco Bernardino Viſconte: and, on the part of the French, the prince of Orange, mareſchal de Gié, the lord of Piennes, and Philip de Comines. The fear that the Swiſs might arrive, and induce the king to change his mind, engaged the plenipotentiaries to accelerate their proceedings. In the very firſt conference, a truce for ten days was agreed on, and permiſſion given to the duke of Orleans to leave Novara, but wholly unaccompanied, and on condition that if no treaty ſhould be concluded, he ſhould return in the ſame manner [42]. As the duke was to paſs through the camp of the confederates, the marquis of Mantua offered himſelf as a hoſtage for his ſafety, and accordingly repaired to the French camp. The principal difficulty conſiſted

[42] Comines—Giovio—Benedetti—Corio—Guicciardini.

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in perſuading the garriſon of Novara to conſent to this arrangement; reduced to the moſt wretched ſituation, and expoſed to all the horrors of famine, they were afraid, that after the departure of the firſt prince of the blood, they ſhould be totally neglected and forgotten. In vain did the duke promiſe, either to effect their relief in the courſe of three days, or return to ſhare in their fate; they would not conſent to his departure, until mareſchal de Gié ſent his nephew, the marquis of Rochefort, as a hoſtage for his return. Three days after, it was agreed that the French ſhould march out of the place with their arms and baggage; that the defence of the town ſhould be left to the citizens; and that only thirty French troops ſhould remain in the citadel, which they were to hold in the name of the duke of Orleans. The wretched remains of the garriſon of Novara, exhauſted with ſickneſs, famine, and fatigue, accordingly retired from the ſcene of their miſery, and joined their countrymen.

During theſe tranſactions the Swiſs arrived, under the conduct of the bailiff of Dijon, but, inſtead of eight or ten thouſand men which the king expected, he was much ſurprized at finding, that he had now under his command, including the Swiſs whom he had brought back with him from Naples, and thoſe whom he had juſt received from Novara, no leſs than two-and-twenty thouſand troops of that nation. Their attachment to the French, and more than that, the hopes of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of Lombardy, had made them flock to the army in crouds; among them were many grey-headed warriours, who had ſignalized their courage in the wars againſt Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, and who ſtill appeared to be poſſeſſed of all the vigour of youth. This formidable army occaſioned no leſs alarm to thoſe whom they came to defend, than to the enemy they were deſtined to oppoſe. The king, and the chief nobility of France, were now left at the diſcretion of theſe mercenary troops; the only precaution that could be adopted was to ſtation them at different poſts, at a diſtance from each other, and the exertion of great prudence was requiſite to prevent them from perceiving the motive of ſuch precaution.

The duke of Orleans was the only perſon who exulted in the cauſe of this alarm; and his exultation proceeded from the conviction that the ducal crown of Milan could not eſcape him, if his attempts for defeating the negociations for peace ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs. He ſecured cardinal Briſſonet in his intereſt, by promiſing him an eſtabliſhment that ſhould produce ten thouſand ducats a year, for one of his ſons, as ſoon as he ſhould have completed the conqueſt of the duchy. The cardinal ſerved him with great zeal, but notwithſtanding the aſcendancy he had acquired over the mind of the king, he had the mortification to find that his influence was not unlimited. Charles, in conſideration of the danger to which the duke of Orleans was expoſed, had had the generoſity to forget the juſt grounds for complaint which the duke had afforded him; but he had no inclination to expoſe his life, and the ſafety of his army, in purſuit of a conqueſt of which that prince would reap all the advantages, and which might, perhaps,

only ſerve to render him more untractable. The duke, perceiving that he could not ſucceed by this means, had recourſe to the Swiſs, whom he exhorted to inſiſt on coming to action, aſſuring them that the king would not dare to reject their demand. This ſeditious meaſure came to the knowledge of the prince of Orange, who, foreſeeing the fatal conſequences to which it might lead, thought it his duty to inform the king of it. A council was accordingly aſſembled, where diſputes ran ſo high, that the leaders of the different parties had nearly proceeded to blows. The duke of Orleans, enraged at the prince of Orange, forgot himſelf ſo far as publickly to give him the lie. Charles, however, interpoſed his authority, and put a ſtop to the quarrel; but his determination to ſacrifice the intereſts of the duke of Orleans to more important conſiderations, acquired additional ſtrength from this circumſtance. The negociations were carried on with great eagerneſs on both ſides. So long as the evacuation of Novara had been the only object of diſcuſſion, the duke of Milan had entruſted every thing to his miniſters; but as ſoon as the concluſion of a treaty of peace became the ſubject for debate, he attended the conferences in perſon, accompanied by his ducheſs, in whom he placed great confidence, and whoſe advice he followed on moſt occaſions.

With regard to the town of Novara, no difficulty occurred; the French agreed to give it up, but they demanded, in return, the abſolute ſovereignty of the city of Genoa, which had formerly belonged to France, and the government whereof Lewis the Eleventh had ceded to the dukes of Milan, on condition of paying homage to the crown of France. It was maintained that Ludovico, by waging war againſt his lord paramount, had forfeited his fief; but that prince, who was endeavouring to extend his domains, and who had juſt ſent a body of auxiliaries to Piſa, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of that town under pretence of defending it, peremptorily refuſed to give up his claims to Genoa. He endeavoured to excuſe his late conduct, by the neceſſity to which he was reduced of ſecuring himſelf againſt the threats and intrigues of the duke of Orleans. Finding the French extremely impatient to return to their own country, this treacherous prince at length conſented to make all the *promiſes* required of him; and ſo far impoſed on the credulity of the plenipotentiaries, as to induce them to accept ſuch ſlender ſecurity. By the treaty of Vercelli, it was ſtipulated—

I. That the king ſhould reſtore the town of Novara to the duke of Milan, who ſhould grant a general pardon to all the partizans of the duke of Orleans.—II. That the duke, in order to indemnify the king for the expences of the war, ſhould forgive his majeſty the eighty thouſand ducats, which he had advanced him for the expedition to Naples; and ſhould, moreover, pay the duke of Orleans the ſum of fifty thouſand ducats.—III. That the government of Genoa ſhould remain as before in the hands of Ludovico, but on condition that he ſhould fulfil all the duties of a vaſſal; that he ſhould immediately equip, at his own expence, two large veſſels, to be ſent to the relief of the French, who ſtill remained

mained in the kingdom of Naples; that, in the courſe of the following year, he ſhould equip three more; that the port of Genoa ſhould always be open to all French veſſels which might repair thither for refreſhment, or for the purpoſe of buying proviſions; and that, on the contrary, it ſhould be ſhut againſt all the enemies of France: that the fort, which commanded the harbour, ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the duke of Ferrara, who ſhould keep in it, for the ſpace of two years, a garriſon compoſed of his own ſubjects, to be paid partly by his majeſty, and partly by the duke of Milan, and who ſhould ſwear to reſtore it to whichever of the contracting parties that ſhould have fulfilled, with the greateſt preciſion, the conditions of the treaty.—IV. That Ludovico ſhould bind himſelf by an oath to quit the confederacy of the Italian ſtates, in caſe it ſhould be found that that confederacy had been formed againſt the king; that he ſhould, in concert with France, declare war againſt the Venetians, in caſe they continued to aſſiſt Ferdinand the Second, and refuſed to reſtore to the king the places they had taken from him in Italy; that he ſhould allow a free paſſage, through his dominions, to the French troops who ſhould be ſent to Naples, provided that not more than four hundred lances, and four thouſand foot, ſhould be ſent at one time; unleſs the king himſelf ſhould lead them, in which caſe he ſhould not only have a free paſſage for any number of troops, but the duke of Milan ſhould be obliged to accompany him with all his forces.—V. That Ludovico ſhould reſtore the nine French gallies which had been taken in the laſt action off Rapallo; that he ſhould releaſe the lord of Miolans, and all the other priſoners, without exacting any ranſom; that he ſhould ſwear never to moleſt the Florentines whom the king took under his protection; that he ſhould recal, in a very ſhort time, all the troops he had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Piſa; that he ſhould reſtore all the poſſeſſions of Triulzi, and the other Milaneſe captains who were attached to the ſervice of France: and, laſtly, that he ſhould give four hoſtages—two Milaneſe and two Genoeſe—to be choſen by the king, for the performance of his promiſes.

This treaty was ſigned by the king and the duke of Milan, on the tenth of October, the very day on which the conditions were ſettled by the plenipotentiaries. The reaſon of this haſte ſoon appeared; for the Swiſs, enraged at being diſappointed in their hopes of plunder, and ſecretly inſtigated by the partizans of the duke of Orleans, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner; when ſome of the moſt violent among them propoſed to ſeize the king, and all the principal nobility, carry them to Switzerland, and keep them there till they ſhould conſent to procure their liberty by the payment of ſuch ranſoms as the Swiſs might think proper to exact. Others, rejecting this perfidious advice, propoſed only to inſiſt on receiving three months' pay, in conformity to a treaty by which Lewis the Eleventh had engaged to allow them ſo much whenever he ſhould require them to march out of the limits of their own country. They began by ſeizing the bailiff of Dijon and Lornai, and by entering, in great numbers, the town of Vercelli. The king, apprized of their conduct, fled with precipitation to Trino; but as he could not with the ſame facility take off his artillery and baggage, he was reduced to the neceſſity of com-

pounding with the Swiſs, and of giving them ſecurity for the payment of the ſum they demanded. Harmony was then re-eſtabliſhed, and all the treaties that ſubſiſted between the two powers were renewed; after which the king took the road to France.

This haſty departure contributed, more than all the errors which he had hitherto committed, to the loſs of his Italian conqueſts. If, inſtead of re-paſſing the Alps, at a time when there was no occaſion for it, Charles had directed his march to Genoa, he would have obliged Ludovico to deliver to him not only the hoſtages he had promiſed, but the nine French galleys which he detained, and the two large veſſels he had engaged to ſupply for the relief of the French in the kingdom of Naples. This fleet, on board of which it was intended to embark three thouſand Swiſs, with an ample ſupply of all kind of military ſtores, would have ſufficed to make Ferdinand raiſe the ſiege of the two caſtles at Naples, which were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the French; and on the preſervation whereof the fate of that kingdom, in a great meaſure, depended. Charles was fully aware of this, but giving way to a blind preſumption, he perſuaded himſelf that the mere terror of his name would keep all the Italian powers in awe, and that he might entruſt to his miniſters the care of enforcing a ſtrict obſervance of the late treaty. He ſoon, however, perceived his error. The only condition that Ludovico could be prevailed on to fulfil, was that by which he had engaged to admit a garriſon, belonging to the duke of Ferrara, into the citadel of Genoa; and he only conſented to this becauſe he was perſuaded that the duke of Ferrara, who was his father-in-law, would always be diſpoſed to favour him to the prejudice of a foreign power: he congratulated himſelf on having found out ſuch an eaſy mode of keeping a ſeditious town in awe; and of ſuſpending, for the ſpace of two years, all the projects which the French might have formed for getting poſſeſſion of it. With regard to the other articles, he procured from the Pope a formal prohibition to fulfil them, under pain of incurring the cenſures of the church. The Venetians carried their diſſimulation ſtill farther: although their ambaſſadors had concurred in the treaty, they required two months to conſider on the ſubject; and the king, on leaving Italy, ſent Comines, as his miniſter-plenipotentiary, to Venice. Soon after his arrival he had an audience of the ſenate, who told him, that as the republic had confined herſelf to ſending ſuccours to her allies, and had no kind of diſpute with the king, they could not perceive any occaſion there was for them to accede to the treaty. To ſoften this refuſal, the doge, adverting to the king's former project of a cruſade againſt the infidels, offered, in the name of the republic, to engage the king of Naples to do homage to the French monarch, to pay him a tribute of fifty thouſand ducats, and to leave him in poſſeſſion of the town of Tarento, and of two other maritime towns, in order to facilitate the communication between France and Greece; he promiſed that the Venetians would, themſelves, equip a hundred gallies, and compel all the other powers in Italy to furniſh their contingency. Comines was too prudent to place any reliance on theſe vain promiſes; he learnt that the Venetians were, at this very time, contracting freſh engagements with young Ferdinand; that they had agreed to ſupply him with twenty

twenty galleys to block up the caſtles of Naples, and to ſend an army to his aſſiſtance, at their own expence, under the command of the marquis of Mantua; in return for which, they were to be put in poſſeſſion of all the maritime towns ſituated on the gulph of Venice.

The extreme anxiety evinced by Charles to return to France, had chiefly proceeded from his earneſt deſire to ſend ſome effectual ſuccours to the kingdom of Naples. But the attention he was obliged to beſtow on the internal adminiſtration of France, and the difficulty of procuring money, after the numerous loans of the preceding year, had greatly retarded his intended preparations. He alſo loſt much time by a free indulgence in all the pleaſures of youth; and before he could take any ſteps for the recovery of his Italian conqueſts, it was neceſſary to protect the provinces of France from the depredations of the enemy.

A. D. 1496.] Ferdinand of Arragon, profiting by the abſence of the French troops, had aſſembled all his forces in the province of Rouſſillon. He firſt attempted to ſurprize the caſtle of Son, which commands an entrance into the kingdom of Navarre; and had he ſucceeded in this attempt, it is highly probable he would have immediately taken that kingdom from Catharine of Foix, and her huſband, John d'Albret [43]. Being compelled to deſiſt from his enterprize, he made an incurſion into Languedoc, and laid waſte the environs of Carcaſſonne and Narbonne. The duke of Bourbon, who, beſides his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was private governor of the province of Languedoc, ſent to its defence all the regular troops which he had at his diſpoſal, under the command of Guichard d'Albon, lord of Sainte-André, and la Roche-Aimon, his lieutenants, with orders to remain on the defenſive, and to ſtrengthen the fortifications of Narbonne, which he was fearful the Spaniards would attempt to ſecure. Alain d'Albret, father to the king of Navarre, was ordered to convoke the ban and arriere-ban of Gaſcony, and to cover that frontier: things were in this ſituation when the king returned from Italy. Saint-André having then received a conſiderable reinforcement, which made his army amount to eighteen thouſand men, advanced into Rouſſillon, took by aſſault, and reduced to aſhes, the town of Salces (which Ferdinand had converted into an arſenal) almoſt in ſight of the Spaniſh army, which, though more numerous than the French, did not dare to venture an action. Ferdinand, aſtoniſhed at the rapid progreſs of the French arms, and afraid of loſing the province of Rouſſillon, feigned an extreme anxiety for the concluſion of a peace, and ſent to demand a truce, that the plenipotentiaries might aſſemble for the purpoſe of bringing the treaty to a ſpeedy termination. Charles, who daily received bad accounts of his troops in Italy, willingly acceded to the propoſition.

[43] Comines.—Dom Vaiſſette.

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Since his return to France, the only forces he had been able to ſend to the relief of Naples were eight hundred lanſquenets, which had been levied in the dominions of the duke of Gueldres[44]. The veſſels appointed to convey them to the place of their deſtination had formed a junction with a French fleet that lay in the harbour of Leghorn; but before they arrived at Naples, they received intelligence that the caſtles had ſurrendered to Ferdinand. The fleet then proceeded to Gaietta, where three thouſand men diſembarked, with plenty of ammunition, and joined the count of Montpenſier, who now wanted nothing but money. This, however, he was unable to procure, and Ferdinand having received conſiderable reinforcements from the Venetians, followed him from place to place, and at length compelled him to capitulate at Atella, on condition that he ſupplied him with veſſels to tranſport his troops to France. A neglect, however, on the part of the governors of the different towns, to comply with the orders of Montpenſier, who had conſented to a total evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, furniſhed Ferdinand with a pretext for refuſing to fulfil, on his part, the conditions of the capitulation; the troops were, therefore, ſent to the ſmall iſland of Procida, where moſt of them died of a contagious diſorder, which put an end to the exiſtence of Montpenſier himſelf.

While theſe things were paſſing in the kingdom of Naples, Stephen de Veſc, who had, ſome time before, been diſpatched to France by Montpenſier, exhorted the king to ſend, without delay, a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to the aſſiſtance of that nobleman. Charles was anxious to comply with his requeſt; the council evinced a ſimilar diſpoſition; and even thoſe who had been moſt ſtrenuous in their oppoſition to the former expedition, were of opinion that a new armament ſhould be immediately equipped[45]. But though France did not want ſoldiers, ſhe had neither ſhips nor money. To obviate this laſt inconvenience, the king ſuſpended the payment of all penſions, and even the ſalaries of his officers, till after his return from Italy: he then had recourſe to the uſual expedients for raiſing money, by encreaſing the taxes, by opening loans, and by anticipations on the revenue; and laſtly he demanded from the principal towns the neceſſary contributions for the equipment of a fleet. After he had ſettled this buſineſs, he regulated the march of his troops. It was reſolved that Triulzi ſhould firſt croſs the Alps with eight hundred men at arms, and four thouſand Swiſs or Gaſcons, and that he ſhould wait, at the town of Aſt, for the reſt of the army: that the duke of Orleans ſhould command the main body, and that the king himſelf ſhould follow with the rear. But all theſe projects were ſoon fruſtrated.

The city of Paris had been rated at a hundred thouſand crowns. The municipal officers deſired, that if the tax took place, it ſhould be equally levied on every claſs of citizens;

44 Guiccardini.---Giannone.---Comines.---Belcarius. Fontanieu.---Hiſtoire de Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſette.

45 Comines.---Regiſtres du Parlement.---Manuſc. de

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and they entreated the parliament to ſend a certain number of deputies to the municipal aſſembly at the town-houſe. The court replied, that they ſhould not ſend any body, and only promiſed to aſſiſt the municipal officers with their advice, in caſe they came to conſult them; and the magiſtrates availed themſelves of this refuſal of the parliament to offer the king only fifty thouſand livres. Charles, who, in his preſent ſituation, could not conſent to ſo material a diminution, ſent Philip of Luxembourg, cardinal of Mons; the lord of Albret; admiral de Graville; and William of Poictiers, lord of Clérieux, to the parliament. Theſe miniſters declared to the court it was the king's pleaſure, that the members of the parliament ſhould, for this time only, contribute with the reſt of the citizens; but the parliament perſiſted in their oppoſition, and many other towns in the kingdom followed their example.

The duke of Orleans, who was to have commanded the main body of the army, being diſcontented with the laſt treaty with the duke of Milan, and knowing that France was ſtill negociating with the uſurper, exerted all his influence and credit to put a ſtop to the expedition. The dauphin, Charles Orlando, had died towards the end of the preceding year; and the queen, who was pregnant at the time, gave birth to another ſon, who lived but a few days. The king's health, too, being viſibly on the decline, the ſecret adviſers of the duke of Orleans perſuaded him by no means to abſent himſelf from the kingdom at ſuch a critical conjuncture. Thus, though he expreſſed his readineſs to obey the king's orders, he gave riſe to numerous difficulties, and betrayed a ſtrong repugnance to undertake the commiſſion with which he was charged. Charles perceived this, and recollecting, at the ſame time, that the duke of Orleans had not ſufficiently concealed his joy at the death of the two princes, and probably gueſſing the true motive of his averſion from the projected expedition, obliged him to withdraw from court, and retire to Blois [46].

The king himſelf, at the very moment when every body expected him to begin his march to Italy, ſuddenly took the road to Tours, in order to viſit, before his departure, the tombs of Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis. It was ſuſpected, however, that love rather than devotion was the object of this pilgrimage; and a report was propagated, that during his reſidence at Lyons, where he had paſſed a year on his return from Italy, having become deſperately enamoured of a young maid of quality, attached to the queen, he would not quit the kingdom without bidding her adieu. Be that as it may, Charles, after paſſing ſome days at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, repaired to Saint-Denis, and the Pariſians, expecting a viſit from him, prepared to receive him with the greateſt magnificence; but diſpleaſed with their late refuſal to ſupply him with money, he refuſed to honour the town with his preſence. He even intended to carry his vengeance ſtill

[46] Garnier, tom. xx, 493, 494.

farther:

farther: as he imputed to the parliament the reſiſtance he had experienced from the municipal officers, he formed a plan for inſtituting a new parliament at Poictiers, and to extend its juriſdiction over the provinces of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, La Marche, Aunis, and Angoumois. The Poictevins, apprized of his intentions, were extremely earneſt in their ſolicitations to the king to put them in execution; but Robert Briſſonet, the chancellor, who, through the credit of his brother, had ſucceeded the celebrated William de Rochefort, eluded their demand, and at length induced the king to give up the deſign.

The report of the preparations making by the French excited a general fermentation in Italy. The Venetians and the duke of Milan, who had joined in deceiving the king, began to harbour ſuſpicions of each other [47]. Theſe two powers had engaged to defend the town of Piſa againſt the Florentines; but, under the ſpecious pretext of affording protection to the inhabitants, each of them endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the place. The expected arrival of the French induced them to ſuſpend their mutual jealouſy, and an union, cemented by fear, rather tended to confirm than diminiſh their mutual hatred. Ludovico, whoſe territories were deſtined to become the theatre of war, repreſented to the Venetians that the preſence of the emperor would be abſolutely neceſſary, to ſave them from the fury of the French; and he offered to defray one half of his expences. The Venetians conſidered Maximilian as a dangerous protector, on account of the pretenſions of the empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria, to a part of their dominions; beſides, they had an extreme repugnance to pay an army whoſe operations were to be directed by the advice of the duke of Milan. Nevertheleſs, as they had every reaſon to dread that Ludovico, if driven to extremities, would open a negociation with the king of France, in which caſe they would be expoſed to bear the whole weight of that monarch's reſentment, they appointed ambaſſadors to accompany Ludovico's to the Imperial court, and promiſed the emperor ſixty thouſand ducats, for levying an army, and for ſupporting it during three months. Maximilian, after receiving a part of this money, evinced no diſpoſition to fulfil his engagements, and, in a ſhort time, demanded an addition of thirty thouſand ducats to the ſtipulated ſum. The Venetians, who had been led againſt their will, to contract the firſt engagement, openly rejected this new demand. Ludovico, however, undertook to pay the additional ſum himſelf, in the hope of facilitating, by that means, the acquiſition of the ſovereignty of Piſa.

The emperor, at length, made his appearance, but with an army that neither correſponded to his engagements, nor to his dignity. Perſuaded that he had only to iſſue his orders to enſure inſtant obedience from all the Italian ſtates, he ſummoned the duke of

47 Machiavel.---Giovio.---Comines.---Belcarius.

Savoy

Savoy, and the marquis of Montferrat to attend him, but though those princes held fiefs of the empire, they, nevertheless, refused to obey the citation: the duke of Ferrara, himself, though father-in-law to Ludovico, refused to hold any commerce with the emperor, under pretext, that being appointed a kind of umpire between the French and the Milanese, he ought not to take any step that might render him an object of suspicion to either party. Lastly, the Venetians, far from affording that assistance which he had expected to receive from them, endeavoured to frustrate all his undertakings: compelled to renounce the flattering hopes which he had built on a sandy foundation, Maximilian began to perceive that he was exposing himself to the ridicule and derision of the neighbouring powers. Ludovico proposed to him, as the last resource, to offer himself as an umpire between the Pisans and Florentines; he represented to him that the Venetians, having no claim to the city of Pisa, could not possibly refuse to surrender that place into his hands; and, that the Florentines, too weak to resist, of themselves, the forces of the empire, and those of the confederates, would be compelled to submit to his arbitration. Ludovico flattered himself, that if Pisa were once delivered to the emperor, he should find it an easy matter, either by money or intrigues, to obtain possession of it himself. The Venetians, aware of his designs, accepted the proffered mediation of Maximilian, but, at the same time, took care to preserve a superiority, in point of forces, in Pisa; and they hoped that, if the emperor should succeed in procuring, as he had promised, for the Pisans, the restitution of the port of Leghorn, both that place, and Pisa itself, would, after his departure, fall into their hands, and render their power as much respected on those coasts, as it already was on their own gulph. The Florentines proved less docile and tractable than Ludovico had expected to find them: convinced that the emperor was guided entirely by the advice of the confederates, whose grand object was to aggrandize themselves at their expence, they replied, that the project for restoring peace to Italy was truly worthy his imperial majesty; that they should always hold themselves bound to honour and to serve him; but that he had too much equity to require, that those who had been violently despoiled of their possessions, should, in direct contradiction to the laws of the empire, submit to have their rights called in question, before those possessions had been restored to them; that, after such restitution, the republic, who desired to live at peace with her neighbours, and who was sensible of the rectitude of his imperial majesty, would make no difficulty to submit to his arbitration. As the Florentines did not flatter themselves that this answer would disarm the emperor, they strengthened the fortifications of Leghorn, and applied to the French for assistance. The event proved the wisdom of their precautions: the emperor, repairing to Genoa, there embarked a part of his army on board a fleet that was destined to attack Leghorn by sea, while he himself, with the remainder of his troops, made an assault on the town by land. But the arrival of a little squadron of French ships, under the command of Hugh d'Amboise, baron d'Aubijoux, enabled the Florentines to repel his attacks. The emperor was compelled to raise the siege, and, filled with indignation against the Venetians,

tians, to whom he aſcribed the failure of his enterprize, he retired, with precipitation, into Germany, leaving a part of his troops with the duke of Milan.

Since the capitulation of Atella, and the death of Montpenſier, the French had been unable to reſiſt the ſucceſsful exertions of Ferdinand. The governors of the few places in the kingdom of Naples, which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the French, being deprived of all communication with each other, and ſurrounded on every ſide by a ſuperior force, only ſought, by reſiſtance, to retard their defeat for a few days, and to deſerve the ſterile honour of having been the laſt to ſurrender[48]. But before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himſelf expired, crowned with glory. The deſire of cementing his alliance with the court of Spain, had led him to contract a marriage with his aunt, Jane of Arragon, daughter to his grandfather, Ferdinand, by a ſiſter of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was ſucceeded in his dominions by his uncle, Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted ſucceſs, ſwept away the few remaining garriſons of France which had eſcaped the arms of Ferdinand.—Such was the termination of an enterprize which prudence diſavowed, which courage and fortune had rendered ſucceſsful, and which was finally marred by preſumption and neglect.

A. D. 1497.] So long as any of his ſubjects remained in the kingdom of Naples, Charles, by nature magnanimous, had thought his honour intereſted in their defence; though contradicted by his miniſters, and betrayed by thoſe in whom he had repoſed his confidence, he never ceaſed to form ſchemes for their relief, as far as his averſion from buſineſs, and diſpoſition to pleaſure, would allow him. Even after that conqueſt had eſcaped him, he formed a project for recovering it; but he deemed it neceſſary to adopt a different plan of operations from that which he had before purſued, and to begin by making himſelf maſter of ſuch places as might enable him to eſtabliſh a communication between Naples and France[49]. Having diſmiſſed a great part of the army he had aſſembled the preceding year, he ſent the remainder, conſiſting of eight hundred lances, three thouſand Swiſs, and the ſame number of Gaſcons, into Lombardy, under the command of Triulzi. His choice of a general, who was highly reſpected in the Milaneſe, and the excellence of his troops, made Ludovico tremble for his ſafety; and it is probable that this little army would have ſufficed to puniſh him for his paſt treachery, had Triulzi been at liberty to direct its operations as he pleaſed; but Charles, knowing that all the conqueſts he might make in the Milaneſe would prove advantageous to the duke of Orleans, whom he had juſt diſgraced, had rendered him, in a manner, ſubſervient to the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, and Batiſtino Fregoſo, who promiſed to introduce the French into the city of Genoa; the poſſeſſion of which, the king conſidered as an object of greater importance—with regard to his deſign upon Naples—than the reduction

[48] Belcarius.—Guicciardini. [49] Corio.—Giovio.—Comines.—Guicciardini.

of

of the whole duchy of Milan. Triulzi, therefore, was compelled to divide his army into three bodies: Fregoſo, at the head of the firſt, reduced the town of Novi, by which means the communication was ſtopped between Genoa and Milan: the cardinal, with the ſecond diviſion, took poſſeſſion of Ventimiglia; while Triulzi reduced the important fortreſs of Boſco, and kept all the forces of the duchy of Milan in awe. But this ſucceſsful beginning was productive of no good effects; each of the three diviſions, acting ſeparately, was too weak to attempt any enterprize of importance: the Genoeſe remained quiet: the German troops, in the ſervice of Ludovico, having advanced, with the view to inveſt Ventimiglia, the cardinal retired into the territories of the marquis of Montferrat. Fregoſo then joined Triulzi, who having received information, that the Venetians were marching to the relief of the Milaneſe, with a powerful army, under the command of the count di Petigliano, was reduced to the neceſſity of retiring into the diſtrict of Aſt.

During theſe tranſactions in Italy, Charles continued to negociate with the Spaniſh monarch, in order to detach him from the confederacy of the Italian ſtates. Ferdinand the Catholic now employed againſt France the ſame inſidious policy which Lewis the Eleventh had exerted againſt Don Juan of Arragon. Without making any direct oppoſition to the king's projects, he kept him in ſuſpence, and ſought to amuſe him till ſuch time as all his Italian conqueſts ſhould be taken from him. In a conference which Ferdinand had with William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, he propoſed a means of effecting a pacification between the two crowns; by joining their arms to reduce the kingdom of Naples, and then to divide the conqueſt between them; Ferdinand ſaid, that he would be contented with Calabria for his ſhare. This propoſal appeared too advantageous to be ſincere; and as the French court were of opinion, that the king of Spain had impoſed on the credulity of De Clérieux, they ſent Du Bouchage to diſcover his real intentions. Ferdinand, when preſſed for an explanation, by this new ambaſſador, did not deny that he had mentioned the ſubject, but, on reflection, he had found that the plan he propoſed would be attended with ſo many obſtacles, that it would not be prudent to attempt its execution. All that Du Bouchage could obtain from him, was a prolongation of the truce, which was to continue two months after either of the two powers ſhould declare to the other his intention of putting an end to it: in this truce were included the emperor, Maximilian; the young archduke, ſon-in-law to Ferdinand, to whom the emperor had juſt ceded the government of the Low-Countries; and the king of England, whoſe eldeſt ſon had juſt married one of Ferdinand's daughters.

Now that Charles had ſecured himſelf from the dread of interruption from the neighbouring powers, he again turned his thoughts to Italy. The ambition of the Venetians, and the rapid encreaſe of their power, had inſpired all the ſtates in their vicinity with alarm. The Florentines, deſpairing to regain poſſeſſion of Piſa, without the aſſiſtance of the French, were urgent in their ſolicitations to Charles to repaſs the Alps; and pro-

miſed to equip an army of eight hundred men at arms, and five thouſand infantry, which they deſired the conſtable, d'Aubigny, might be ſent to command [50]. The marquis of Mantua, who had commanded the Venetian forces, and rendered them ſuch eſſential ſervice in the conqueſt of Naples, diſguſted with their ingratitude, and trembling for the ſafety of his own territories, offered to ſupply the king with three hundred men at arms: the duke of Ferrara promiſed him five hundred men at arms, and two thouſand infantry; and ſeveral other petty princes engaged to join the confederacy. The pope himſelf—though little reliance could be placed on his word—affirmed, that he only waited for the king's arrival to declare in his favour. Thus, in Italy alone, a force might have been levied, at a trifling expence, to counterbalance that of the league; and if the French had appeared in Italy at this period, nothing could have impeded their progreſs. The king, flattered by theſe appearances, felt his firſt ardour revive; he openly confeſſed the faults he had committed in his laſt expedition; and he employed himſelf in the formation of new plans; but the depoſition of Ludovico ſhould have formed the baſis of all his projects, and he was unwilling to render ſuch an eſſential ſervice to the duke of Orleans: beſides, it was impoſſible to ſucceed without money, and the debts he had already contracted rendered it difficult to procure any. Cardinal Briſſonet, general of the finances, purpoſely enhanced theſe difficulties, in order to deter him from the enterprize. Charles, in this emergency, applied to the Florentines for a loan of one hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, and experienced a refuſal. This imprudent ſtep deſtroyed his credit in Italy; the duke of Ferrara, notwithſtanding his attachment to the French, was fearful of truſting to them for protection, and therefore delivered the citadel of Genoa to the duke of Milan; while the king, paſſing at once from the extreme of enthuſiaſm to perfect indifference, laid aſide all thoughts of Italy for the preſent, and applied himſelf entirely to the regulation of the internal government of the kingdom.

Charles the Seventh had, by an ordonnance, appointed cuſtomary laws in every province of France to be collected and arranged: Lewis the Eleventh renewed the injunction; but this ſalutary undertaking not having been executed by either of theſe monarchs, Charles the Eighth now determined to complete it; for which purpoſe, he iſſued orders to the different bailiwicks, to chooſe a certain number of perſons, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and abilities in the three orders of the ſtate, who were to extract, from memorials ſupplied by the mayors and aldermen of the different towns, the cuſtoms and privileges which prevailed in each diſtrict; he appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend this work, and when it was far advanced, he addreſſed letters-patent to Thibaut Baillet, preſident of the parliament of Paris, and ſome other magiſtrates, enjoining them to enforce the publication in every bailiwick and ſénéchauſſée, of the laws appointed to pre-

[50] Comines.—Guicciardini.—Belcarius.

vail

vail there; in caſe of diſpute, appeal was to be made to ſuch commiſſion, unleſs the object of diſpute was of ſuch importance as to render it difficult to be decided, in which caſe the parties were to be referred to the parliament. Charles the Eighth, however, had not time to finiſh this work, which, though continued by his ſucceſſors, was not entirely completed till the reign of Charles the Ninth.

The ſtates of Tours had entreated the king to enſure a fixed and permanent form to the great council, at which the chancellor had hitherto been accuſtomed to preſide, aſſiſted only by a few maſters of requeſts, bailiffs, ſeneſchals, and other officers of the crown, who happened to be at court. It often happened that there were not counſellors ſufficient to proceed to buſineſs; at other times the ſame cauſe was tried before different judges, and thoſe who heard only the latter part of it were called upon to decide, without being competent to the taſk. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and ſolicitations of the ſtates, this abuſe was ſuffered to ſubſiſt till the preſent period, when Charles attempted a remedy by the creation of ſeventeen counſellors, who, together with the chancellor and maſters of requeſts, compoſed the great council, and decided in all cauſes that were brought before that tribunal. Theſe counſellors had ſtated ſalaries aſſigned them, and were only obliged to reſide at court ſix months in the year.

A. D. 1498.] A total revolution appears to have taken place in the manners and diſpoſition of Charles; who, quitting thoſe ſcenes of diſſipation which he had long been accuſtomed to frequent, and foregoing his taſte for illicit enjoyments, now applied himſelf, excluſively, to the cares of government. He reſolved, in imitation of ſome of his anceſtors, to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects in perſon; and having received, from the chamber of accompts, the neceſſary informations with regard to the forms obſerved, on theſe occaſions, by his ſubjects, he granted audiences to every perſon requiring it, liſtened to all complaints, and gave immediate anſwers to all petitions that were preſented to him. By this means he diſcovered a variety of abuſes, and acts of oppreſſion, committed by his officers in the provinces; and the puniſhments he inflicted on the culprits tended greatly to the relief of the people.

The next object which attracted the attention of the king, was the extreme ignorance of the clergy, and the inattention of the biſhops to the duties of their office; more intent on obtaining a plurality of benefices than improving the morals of their flocks, or enforcing a propriety of conduct in the inferior eccleſiaſtics entruſted to their care, they ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes: hence the lower clergy had become indolent, and were infected with thoſe vices which indolence too often engenders, thereby rendering their profeſſion contemptible, and expoſing religion itſelf to the deriſion of the vulgar.—Anxious to reform this abuſe, the king conſulted the Pariſian doctors on the extent of his power, with regard to the alterations in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; but he did not live to execute either this ſalutary project, or the ſcheme he had formed for reducing the taxes

taxes—after the payment of his debts—to the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres, ſtipulated by the ſtates of Tours; which he meant to appropriate ſolely to the defence of the kingdom, reſerving only for his own uſe the revenues of the domain, and the produce of the Gabelles. The taxes, at this time, amounted to two millions, five hundred thouſand livres[51].

In the midſt of theſe occupations, the moſt glorious that can engage the attention of a monarch, an accident occurred which terminated the exiſtence of this youthful prince. During his ſtay in Italy, Charles had contracted a taſte for architecture; and, on his return, he gave orders for the conſtruction at Amboiſe, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice than any which had yet been ſeen in France. He meant to adorn this palace with a variety of coſtly furniture, ſtatues and pictures, which he had brought from Italy; and that the building might correſpond with the richneſs of the embelliſhments, he had had the precaution to attach to his ſervice the moſt ſkilful architects, and the moſt celebrated painters he could meet with on his expedition. From a gallery in this caſtle, he was engaged in obſerving a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; deſirous that the queen might partake of the amuſement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but, in paſſing through a door, he ſtruck his head with violence againſt the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate bad conſequence from the accident; but, after remaining ſome time in the gallery, as he was returning with the queen, he ſuddenly fell, ſenſeleſs, to the ground: the attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which ſtood in a corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly loſt it again; his expreſſions were ſolely thoſe of devotion; and, notwithſtanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the ſame night, on the ſeventeenth of April, 1498, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth of his age.

The amiable qualities of Charles had acquired him the ſurname of *The Affable* and *The Courteous*; and his loſs was deeply regretted by all ranks of people. His talents were not above mediocrity, and all his endowments were rather calculated to conciliate affection than to excite admiration. Of a raſh and enterpriſing ſpirit, his ability in the execution greatly exceeded his wiſdom in the formation of plans. His facility of diſpoſition frequently rendered him a dupe to his miniſters and favourites, whoſe dangerous influence was farther extended by his averſion from buſineſs: but towards the concluſion of his reign he remedied theſe defects, and deſerved and obtained the grateful eſteem of his ſubjects.

His funeral obſequies were performed with uncommon magnificence: two of his domeſtics are ſaid to have died of grief for the loſs of their beloved maſter; and Anne of

[51] Comines.—Belcarius.

Brittany,

Brittany, his widow, abandoned herſelf to all the diſtraction of ſorrow. During three days ſhe never undreſſed, but ſecluded herſelf in her chamber, overwhelmed with deſpair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and pertinaciouſly refuſing to accept the nouriſhment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

At the commencement of this reign, the roads and bridges were ſo bad in many parts of France, though contributions were levied on the paſſengers for keeping them in repair, that the ſtates of Tours complained that many men and beaſts of burden, had loſt their lives in attempting to paſs them; and that ſeveral villages were totally deſerted from the difficulty of approaching them.

Each deputy of the ſtates of Tours received a ſtated ſalary for his ſervices, equal to four livres, one ſol of the preſent money, per diem.

The venereal diſeaſe was introduced into France, during the reign of Charles, by the troops who had accompanied that monarch on his expedition to Naples. It is ſaid that the French ſoldiers had contracted that dreadful diſorder from the Neapolitans, and that on their return to France, they diffuſed it throughout Italy: certain it is, that it was called by the French, *The Neapolitan diſeaſe*, and by the Italians, *The French diſeaſe*[52]. The Neapolitans are ſuppoſed to have received it from Spain, where it had been imported by ſome of the ſailors who had attended Chriſtopher Columbus, in his expedition to the NEW WORLD.

[52] Guicciardini, tom. i. p. 210, 211.—Giovio.—Bembo.—Fracaſtoro.

LEWIS

LEWIS THE TWELFTH.

A. D. 1498.] IN Charles the Eighth ended the direct line of Valois; and the ſceptre paſſed to Lewis, duke of Orleans, his couſin, in the third or fourth degree, and grandſon to that duke of Orleans who was aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of John, duke of Burgundy. The new monarch was in his thirty-ſixth year, and had, conſequently, attained to a maturity of vigour both in body and mind: he had, moreover, received ſome ſalutary leſſons in the ſevere ſchool of adverſity; and his misfortunes, with the reflections they occaſioned, had produced a wholeſome change in his diſpoſition, by tempering the fire of youth, by teaching him to reſtrain the ſallies of paſſion, and to ſubmit the ſuggeſtions of enthuſiaſm to the dictates of reaſon.

Lewis the Twelfth was anointed at Rheims, on the twenty-ſeventh of May; on the firſt of July the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Saint-Denis; and on the following day he made his public entry into Paris. Immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, he rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboiſe, archbiſhop of Rouen, who had alike ſhared with him the ſmiles and the frowns of fortune, by raiſing him to the dignity of prime miniſter; and never did a favourite better deſerve the confidence of his ſovereign.

This prince had been compelled at an early age, and much againſt his will, to marry Jane, the youngeſt daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, a princeſs of an amiable diſpoſition, but deformed in her perſon: on the oath of the king of France that he had never conſummated the marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth was prevailed on to pronounce it null and unvalid; Jane ſubmitted with decent reſignation to a ſentence which deprived her of a crown, and only expreſſed her wiſh to be enabled to reward her domeſtics, and to relieve the

the poor. The king accordingly aſſigned her the revenues of the province of Berry for her ſupport, and retiring to a nunnery which ſhe founded at Bourges, the capital of that province, ſhe there took the veil, and cloſed a life of humble virtue.

A. D. 1499.] On the deceaſe of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany, after indulging for a time her unavailing ſorrows, had retired into her own hereditary dominions, and maintained the rights of an independent ſovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from diſpoſing of her hand, in caſe of his death without male iſſue, to the prejudice of the ſtate; but a ſtipulation, in which ſtate policy was oppoſed to natural rights, was deemed equivocal, and prudence warned Lewis to ſecure the important acquiſition of Brittany, by meaſures the moſt effectual. To the policy of the monarch were joined the inclinations of the man; when an exile in the court of duke Francis the Second, he was ſuppoſed to have regarded Anne with the fondeſt partiality; and it was equally believed that princeſs was only deterred by the perplexed ſtate of his and her own circumſtances, from preferring him to her other ſuitors.

The diſpleaſure Anne had entertained at the levity of the duke on the death of the dauphin, was baniſhed by the ſplendid proſpect which preſented itſelf, or ſwept away by the tide of returning affection. She refuſed, however, to accede to the propoſals of Lewis, till that monarch had conſented, that in caſe ſhe ſhould die without children, her duchy ſhould revert to the heirs of her houſe; and that her marriage ſhould be celebrated at the city of Nantz. The ceremony was accordingly performed in that city, on the eighteenth of January, 1499, whence the king conducted her to Paris, where ſhe was received amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The firſt acts of the adminiſtration of Lewis diſplayed the mild and magnanimous features of his character: he repealed ſeveral taxes moſt obnoxious to the people; and, when reminded by his courtiers that la Trémouille had made him priſoner at the battle of Saint-Aubin du Cormier, he returned the juſtly-celebrated anſwer—"It becomes not "a king of France to revenge the quarrels of the duke of Orleans." He alſo ſignalized his acceſſion by many ſalutary regulations, for the more ſpeedy and impartial diſtribution of juſtice. By the advice of George d'Amboiſe, now promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, whom he had entruſted with the government of Normandy, he reformed the *Exchequer* of that province, an irregular court preſided over by the ſeneſchal, and ſubject to many abuſes; and, by fixing the number of magiſtrates, and ſubjecting it to the ſame rules as the other ſovereign courts, he converted it into a parliament, whoſe ſeat was at Rouen.

The king now determined to enforce the claims of his houſe on the duchy of Milan; but, that his kingdom might not be expoſed to inſult in the abſence of his troops, he confirmed the treaties with all the neighbouring powers. Thoſe which had been concluded

with the republics of Venice and Florence were renewed; the pope was ſecured in the intereſt of France; the peace with England was confirmed; Ferdinand and Iſabella withdrew their troops from Italy, and reſigned all the places they had taken in Calabria to Frederic; the archduke Philip did homage to the king at Arras, acknowledged the ſuperiority of the parliament, and was reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his towns in Artois: his father, Maximilian, was more difficult to treat with. The king had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than the emperor, at the inſtigation of Ludovico Sforza, made an incurſion into Burgundy; but being repulſed by the count of Foix, he conſented to a truce for a few months. Ludovico, apprized of the preparations that were making by the court of France for the invaſion of the duchy, ſought to perſuade the ſtates of Italy to defend his cauſe; but the pope rejected his propoſals, and the Venetians replied, that they could have no faith in the promiſes of a man who was accuſtomed to betray his moſt faithful allies. The grand ſignior was the only potentate who would liſten to his complaints, and he promiſed to make a conſiderable diverſion in his favour.

The king, meanwhile, repaired to Lyons, in the month of July, whence he ſent his army into Italy, under the command of Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni, who had under him Triulzi and d'Aubigny: the Venetians, at the ſame time, made their troops advance to the banks of the Adda, and took poſſeſſion of all the territory which the king had ceded to them between the rivers Adda and Serio.

The French entered the Milaneſe, and reduced and ſacked, after a vigorous reſiſtance, the towns of Aleſſandria and Novara; Mortara and Pavia capitulated; Valenza was betrayed into the hands of the French, by the treachery of the governor, Donata Raffamino[1]; Tortona was reduced through the cowardice of Palivicini, who fled with his troops on the approach of the enemy. The inhabitants of Milan exhibited ſymptoms of revolt, and Ludovico, uncertain in whom he ſhould confide, and incapable of reſiſting the ſtorm, retired with his treaſures to Inſpruck, after providing the caſtle of Milan with every requiſite for a long and obſtinate defence, and entruſting the care of it to Bernardino da Corte, a man on whoſe fidelity he placed the firmeſt reliance. But he was deceived in his choice, and the governor, after a ſiege of twelve days, was induced, by a bribe, to ſurrender that fortreſs to the French; who, in leſs than a month, became maſters of the duchy.

Lewis, who had remained at Lyons, was no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of his troops, than he haſtened acroſs the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and, during the three months that he remained there, by the advice of

[1] Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iv. p. 367.

cardinal

cardinal d'Amboiſe, he employed himſelf in recalling thoſe that had been baniſhed by Sforzo, in remitting a fourth of the impoſts, in eſtabliſhing a court of juſtice, and in aſſiduous endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the inhabitants of Milan.

The government of Genoa, which had voluntarily ſubmitted to his power, was conferred by Lewis, on the lord of Raveſtain; the Miſaneſe was ſubjected to the authority of Triulzi, to whom, as well as to Ligni and d'Aubigny, conſiderable eſtates were aſſigned. But this alienation of the ducal domain diſpleaſed the people, while Triulzi, by his ſeverity and pride, diſguſted the nobles; a miſunderſtanding, alſo, prevailed between the generals and Ligni, and d'Aubigny refuſed obedience to the governor of the duchy.

A. D. 1500.] Ludovico, informed of the diſpoſition of the people, who now began to pity the prince they had ſo lately deteſted, ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to re-enter the Milaneſe. The gates of the different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the ſame facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies. The town of Como expelled the French, and obliged Ligni to leave the place. Milan revolted, and Triulzi, after placing a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, was compelled to retire. Tortona, Vigevene, and ſeveral other places, ſubmitted to the conqueror. The king, who had returned to France, to be preſent at the delivery of the queen, who had juſt given birth to a princeſs, received with grief the account of this revolution, which the enemies of the cardinal d'Amboiſe aſcribed to the imprudence of that prelate in procuring the appointment of Triulzi as governor of the Milaneſe; but the miniſter, heedleſs of their accuſations, applied himſelf to the recovery of the duchy. He took upon himſelf the command of the troops, and appointed la Trémouille his lieutenant-general.

Ludovico, meanwhile, having obtained poſſeſſion of Milan, left his brother, the cardinal Aſcanio, to conduct the ſiege of the citadel, and proceeded himſelf to inveſt Novara. That town ſoon ſurrendered, but the famous Bayard, who was then a very young man, threw himſelf into the citadel, and refuſed to be included in the capitulation: Ludovico, by perſiſting in his determination to reduce Bayard, gave time to the French army to form a junction with the troops in Italy. Cardinal d'Amboiſe prudently forbore to cenſure the conduct of Triulzi, and promoted a reconciliation between that nobleman and the French generals; after which, la Trémouille marched to Novara. where he ſucceeded in his attempt to ſeduce the Swiſs from the ſervice of Ludovico. The want of pay furniſhed theſe mercenary troops with a pretext for refuſing to fight; and the Germans, alarmed at their defection, fled with precipitation, ſo that the duke, betrayed on all ſides, was reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the Swiſs for permiſſion to diſguiſe himſelf as a private ſoldier, that he might eſcape in their ranks. The permiſſion was granted, but either through treachery or accident, Ludovico was diſcovered, and conducted to the king, who then reſided at Lyons. The temper of Lewis, naturally mild and humane, was ſteeled againſt Sforza by his repeated treachery and enormous crimes. He ſentenced him to a ri-

gorous confinement in the caſtle of Loches, where he remained till releaſed by death from a captivity of ten years, during which, according to Mezerai, he experienced the moſt ſevere and cruel treatment; though Seiſſel, a contemporary writer, affirms, in contradiction to all other hiſtorians, that the king treated him with great clemency.

Cardinal Aſcanio, informed of his brother's misfortune, left Milan, with an eſcort of ſix hundred horſe, in order to ſeek a refuge in Germany; but he was betrayed, by the treachery of Currado Lando[2], into the hands of the Venetians, who were induced, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by threats, to deliver him to the king. He was conveyed to France, and confined in the tower of Bourges, whence, at the ſolicitation of Maximilian, he was very ſoon releaſed.

The inhabitants of Milan being deprived, by the retreat of the cardinal Aſcanio, of all means of defence, and dreading the reſentment of the king, haſtened to carry the keys of their city to the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who entered the capital of the duchy on the ſeventeenth of April, 1500. He reproached the citizens with their late ſeditious conduct, put ſome of the leaders of the inſurrection to death, exacted from the city a contribution of two hundred thouſand crowns, and then pronounced a general amneſty in the king's name. The cardinal took every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt for the future ſecurity of the capital; he enacted new laws for the preſervation of order, and procured the appointment of governor for Chaumont d'Amboiſe, who proved himſelf worthy of that important poſt.

The other towns which had revolted, followed the example of the capital, and ſubmitted to a contribution proportionate to their faculties. The Swiſs returned to their own country, but, on their road, they took poſſeſſion of the ſmall town of Bellingzone, ſituated in the mountains; a poſt which gave them, at all times, an entrance into the Milaneſe. The French, at firſt, might have induced them with a little perſuaſion to reſign this poſt into their hands, but, as ſoon as they became ſenſible of its importance, they never could be perſuaded to relinquiſh it. The cardinal d'Amboiſe, after he had ſettled the affairs of the duchy, and ſupplied the Florentines with a body of troops for the recovery of Piſa, returned to France, in order to concert with the king the plan of operations for the projected conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1501.] Frederic, king of Naples, informed of the preparations of the French, applied for aſſiſtance to the Venetians, who renewed the propoſal which had been made to Charles the Eighth, for rendering the kingdom of Naples a fief of the crown of France, and for the ceſſion of the principality of Tarento to the French; but this propoſal, though

[2] Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 406.

acceded

acceded to by Frederic, was rejected with disdain by Lewis. Frederic then applied to Maximilian, who promised all he desired, and a treaty was accordingly signed between them; but the cardinal d'Amboise soon broke the alliance, and made the emperor consent to a prolongation of the truce with France.

Frederick next addressed himself to Ferdinand of Arragon, who engaged to afford him protection, but, by a signal instance of perfidy, that monarch treated at the same time with Lewis, and agreed to divide the kingdom he had promised to protect. The king of Spain, in order to palliate his treacherous conduct, preferred some obsolete claims to the dominions of Frederic, which that prince never expected he would seek to enforce, as he had never refused to assist his predecessors during the reign of Charles the Eighth. Frederic was destitute of those talents which are requisite to form, what is generally termed, *a great politician*, but he possessed the more enviable endowments which constitute an honest man, and his own candour would not permit him to suspect his kinsman of treachery. On the arrival of the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, with an army of ten thousand Spaniards, he entrusted him with the defence of Apulia and Calabria, which Gonsalvo assured him he would effectually secure from the invasion of the enemy. The French army, in the mean time. under the command of Nemours and d'Aubigny, had already entered the Florentine territories; and Frederic, having strengthened the fortifications of his frontier towns, hastened to their defence. At this period the Spaniards threw off the mask; the ambassadors of France and Spain procured from the Pope the investiture of their respective portions of the kingdom of Naples; the capital, and the northern parts of the kingdom, were assigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. It excited universal astonishment to see Lewis associate the king of Spain with him in this conquest; it was impossible that the division they had agreed upon could long subsist, and it was generally foreseen that one of these princes must finally be compelled to yield to the other. The union between them was the work of the cardinal, who was greatly blamed for it; the treaty, ill-planned and worse executed, proved highly prejudicial to the French.

Frederic, discouraged by this unexpected event, and surrounded by enemies on all sides, quitted the frontiers, and returned to Naples, in the determination to confine his efforts to the defence of that capital, of Capua and Aversa. Gonsalvo sent to demand the two queens-dowager of Naples to convey them to Spain; Prospero Colonna advised Frederic to reject the demand, to seize the gallies which had been sent to receive them, to collect his forces, and immediately march against the enemy. "If we conquer one of them," said he, "the other will soon be destroyed; if we are conquered, a monarch cannot die more glo-"riously than in defending his kingdom;" but his advice was not followed, and the two princesses were delivered to the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, continued their progress; they reduced, with facility, the towns of San Germano and Monte Fertino, though this last was in a situation to sustain a siege. Capua was taken by assault, and the inhabi-

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tants were expoſed to the fury of an enraged and licentious ſoldiery; the men were chiefly maſſacred, and the women became the victims of luſt and avarice; the altars were profaned, not even the chaſtity of the nuns was exempt from violation; many females of quality, it is ſaid, preferring death to diſhonour, threw themſelves into the river; while others, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to Rome, and there expoſed to ſale. Ceſar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, (ſon to the ſovereign pontiff) who accompanied the French army, entered a tower whither a conſiderable number of theſe unhappy victims had retired for ſecurity, and after examining them all with the eye of a ſenſualiſt, ſelected forty of the moſt beautiful for his own uſe[3]. Gaietta experienced the ſame fate as Capua; and though Frederic was at Naples himſelf, the citizens ſent a deputation to the French, and ſurrendered the capital. The king retired into the caſtle, but, deſtitute of all means of defence, and dreading to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he demanded a ſafe conduct into France, and threw himſelf on the well-known lenity of Lewis, from whoſe liberality he obtained an aſylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual penſion of thirty thouſand crowns.

The ſkill and valour of Gonſalvo, the Spaniſh general, had made an eaſy conqueſt of the two provinces aſſigned to his maſter. Monfredonia and Tarento alone ventured to oppoſe his victorious career. The former was reduced after a vigorous reſiſtance, and an honourable capitulation granted to the citizens; but the inhabitants of Tarento, confiding in the ſtrength of their fortifications, and ſtill farther animated by the preſence of Ferdinand, the heir of the crown, and eldeſt ſon of Frederic, evinced a determination to hold out to the laſt extremity. But the count of Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whoſe protection the youthful prince was entruſted, deſpairing of ſuccour, conſented to ſurrender Tarento, if they were not relieved within four months; but they demanded an oath that Ferdinand ſhould be left at perfect liberty. Gonſalvo, whoſe military fame is ſtained with the blackeſt treachery and baſeſt perjury, readily complied; he ſwore upon a conſecrated hoſt, and was admitted into Tarento; but the perfidious Spaniard did not ſcruple to detain the young prince as his priſoner; he was conveyed in that ſtate to the king of Arragon; and, though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of the court of Spain, till death extinguiſhed in him the Arragoneſe line of Neapolitan kings.

Maximilian, whoſe ſecond wife was niece to Ludovico Sforza, conceived a plan for reſtoring the duchy of Milan to her brother, Hermes Sforza, who had retired into Germany, and he endeavoured to perſuade the Venetians and Florentines to ſecond his project; but thoſe powers could place no reliance on the emperor's promiſes, and were, moreover, too much afraid of Lewis to enter into any league that was prejudicial to his intereſts. Maximilian, deſpairing of ſucceſs in the proſecution of his plan, was compelled to re-

[3] Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. v. p. 434, 435.

nounce

nounce it, and in the autumn of 1501 he had an interview, at Trent, with the cardinal d'Amboiſe, which, however, produced no event of importance. The emperor inſiſted on the releaſe of Ludovico, and the king would only conſent to ſet the cardinal Aſcanio at liberty, on condition that he ſhould retire to Rome. A treaty of marriage was ſet on foot between Charles, duke of Luxemburgh,—who afterwards ſucceeded to the empire under the appellation of Charles the Fifth—ſon to the archduke Philip, and grandſon to Maximilian; and the princeſs Claude, daughter to Lewis and Anne of Brittany: the parties were both infants, and Maximilian promiſed, if the marriage ſhould take place, to grant the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan to the king and his *female* heirs. The archduke and his wife, Joanna of Caſtile, went to France in the month of November, and were received with thoſe marks of diſtinction which were due to their rank. Philip took his ſeat in the parliament as a peer of France; ratified the articles of the projected marriage, (which, however, never took place); paſſed a fortnight at Blois, where the court then reſided; was eſcorted, with great pomp, to the frontiers; and received permiſſion from the king to adminiſter juſtice in all the towns through which he paſſed.

A. D. 1502.] Lewis and Ferdinand had acted with perfect cordiality in the reduction of Naples; but ſcarce had they completed that conqueſt before they turned their victorious arms againſt each other. The treaty of diviſion was couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, that both nations laid claim to a tract of country called Il Capatinato, which was ſeparated from Apulia by the river Lofanto: the French affirmed that it belonged to the province of Abruzzi; while the Spaniards maintained that it formed a part of Apulia. In conſequence of this difference, hoſtilities commenced between the two armies; the French ſeized on Tripalda; and Gonſalvo and d'Aubigny meeting, a conference enſued, in which a truce was agreed on that was ſoon broken.

The king, meanwhile, had repaired to Milan to provide for the ſafety of that duchy; on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt he made his public entry into Genoa, where he paſſed a week. He then took ſuch precautions as he thought neceſſary againſt the Swiſs, who, being maſters of Bellinzone, now threatened the Milaneſe; and after he had concluded a truce with Maximilian, no ſooner concluded than violated, made ſome vain efforts to ſecure the Venetians, who had evinced a diſpoſition to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and given orders to his officers to puſh the war with vigour in the kingdom of Naples, he left Italy and returned to Blois.

The progreſs of the French was ſo rapid that the Spaniards were ſoon expelled from almoſt every place in Apulia, Calabria and Il Capatinato, and Gonſalvo was reduced to retire to the city of Barletta; but as d'Aubigny neglected to puſh the ſiege with ſufficient vigour, the Venetians had time to ſupply him with ammunition and proviſion. The duke of Valentinois, who had conceived a diſguſt againſt Lewis, for having oppoſed his attempts to reduce the republic of Florence, ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards;

and

and the duke of Nemours having been imprudently led to a diviſion of his forces, the affairs of Lewis in the kingdom of Naples ſoon took a different turn.

The ſuccours ſupplied by the duke of Valentinois enabled the Spaniards to ſurprize the ſmall town of Callimera, but the booty they made there was taken from them by d'Aubigny. Meanwhile the blockade of Barletta was continued; the ſoldiers mutinied, particularly thoſe who had ſerved under Soto-Mayor, general of the cavalry, whom Bayard had ſlain in ſingle combat; and Gonſalvo's proviſions and money were exhauſted, fifteen thouſand ducats, which had been ſent for the pay of the troops, having been intercepted by Bayard. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, Gonſalvo contrived to ſubdue the mutinous ſpirit of his troops, by artfully employing them in expeditions where the advantage was on their ſide. At the ſame time he entered into a negociation with Maximilian, whom he urged to break the truce which he had recently concluded with France; and preſſed Ferdinand to ſupply him with adequate ſuccours. The archduke of Auſtria, and his wife, were then at the court of Spain, where Iſabella lay dangerouſly ill; her daughter, Joanna, wife to Philip, who was heireſs of the kingdom of Caſtile, having thought it neceſſary to exact an oath of allegiance from her future ſubjects, during the life, and with the approbation of her mother. Ferdinand, in whom the proſpect of ſoon loſing the crown of Caſtile created a diſlike to the preſumptive heir, hurried the archduke out of his dominions, and ſent him to France, to negociate a peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1503.] Philip, flattered by this mark of confidence, demanded a ſafe-conduct to repair to Lyons, where he was received with great cordiality by Lewis. Neither the king nor the archduke were aware that Ferdinand was deceiving them; and that his only object in propoſing a treaty was to gain time. They therefore proceeded to buſineſs, and the cardinal d'Amboiſe, and the biſhop of Albi, were appointed to confer with the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, whom Ferdinand had ſent to accompany and aſſiſt his ſon-in-law. After much delay, the treaty was ſigned, and the contract of marriage of the princeſs Claude, the king's daughter, with Charles, ſon to the archduke, was received; and the two monarchs agreed to cede to Charles their reſpective claims on the kingdom of Naples, inſtead of the duchy of Milan, which had been promiſed before. Meanwhile, it was agreed, that each of them ſhould keep what was then in his poſſeſſion, and that the places which had given riſe to the difference between them ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the archduke. The Spaniſh ambaſſador not only ſigned this treaty in his maſter's name, but ſubjected himſelf to the pain of excommunication, in caſe the peace ſhould be broken. It was, accordingly, proclaimed, on the ſecond of March, 1503, and intelligence of this event was immediately conveyed to Naples. But Gonſalvo, though he had received it officially, from the ambaſſadors, refuſed to give credit to it, until he ſhould receive poſitive orders on the ſubject from their catholic majeſties. He had juſt been joined by two thouſand Germans, whom Maximilian had ſent to his aſſiſtance; he was acquainted with the diſpoſition of the

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pope and of the Venetians; he knew that the French ſquadron, which had been equipped at Genoa, and deſtined for Naples, had received counter-orders, and that four thouſand French troops had been diſbanded for want of pay; and this combination of favourable circumſtances determined him to puſh on the war with vigour, certain that if he ſhould prove ſucceſsful, his maſter would not diſavow him. The queen of France, who was extremely anxious to promote the union of her daughter with the duke of Luxemburgh, expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at the treaty; but before the rejoicings, on account of the peace, were finiſhed, the king received intelligence that a Spaniſh fleet had ſailed for Naples, and that the Germans had embarked for Barletta. Lewis reproached the archduke with his perfidy, but that prince took ſuch pains to juſtify his conduct that the king was fully convinced of his innocence, and renewed his ſafe-conduct, by which Philip profited to return to his own dominions.

Gonſalvo ſoon threw off the maſk, and renewed hoſtilities: Peter of Navarre, a ſoldier of fortune, who had been raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-general in the Spaniſh army, was admitted into Rutaliano by the citizens, who were diſguſted with the inſolence of the French. The chevalier Préjan, who had ſailed from the port of Genoa, with four veſſels, fell in with the Spaniſh fleet, which compelled him to take refuge in the harbour of Otranto, where he burned his ſhips, and then haſtened to join the duke of Nemours. That prince finding his forces not ſufficient to enable him to keep the field, had ſent orders to d'Aubigny to join him; but d'Aubigny himſelf was in ſtill greater embarraſſment, being ſurrounded on all ſides by a ſuperior force; and he was at length compelled to engage the Spaniards on unequal terms near Seminara in Calabria. The French recollecting that on this very ſpot d'Aubigny had, eight years before, obtained a ſignal victory over Ferdinand, king of Naples, they were inſpired with a blind confidence that degenerated into preſumption; they fought without order or regularity, and though the Spaniards were, at firſt, unable to withſtand their impetuous attacks, they ſoon rallied, and by a ſteady exertion of diſcipline, obtained that advantage which their ſuperiority of numbers was calculated to enſure; the French were completely routed, and d'Aubigny, with difficulty, eſcaped the general maſſacre: he retired to Antigola, where he was inveſted by the enemy, and being deſtitute of proviſions, was, in a few days, obliged to ſurrender. The duke of Nemours took every precaution to prevent Gonſalvo, who was ſtill ſhut up in Barletta, from receiving information of the victory of Seminara; and the Spaniſh general, compelled at length to evacuate a town where he had ſuffered the extremes of peſtilence and famine, marched towards Cirignuola, and having choſen an advantageous poſt, fortified his camp, and ſought, by ſurrounding it with deep ditches, to ſecure it from inſult. He was purſued by the duke of Nemours, who was perſuaded by his officers, much againſt his inclination, to attack the Spaniſh camp late in the evening of the twenty-eighth of April, 1503. The French, though at firſt ſucceſsful, ſuſtained a total defeat, and the duke of Nemours fell in the ac-

tion[4]. D'Alegre, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in perſuading the duke to engage, and the prince of Salerno, diſplayed their valour in a moſt ſignal manner, and made aſtoniſhing efforts to rally their troops; but neither their example nor exhortations could prevail; all the artillery, proviſion and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy: d'Alegre, with the ſcattered remains of the army, retired to Gaeta.

In leſs than a fortnight after the battle of Cirignuola, Gonſalvo reduced the cities of Naples, Capua and Averſa, ſo that, in the whole kingdom, the French only retained a few places of little importance in Apulia and Abruzzi, with the town of Gaeta, where d'Alegre had aſſembled a body of four thouſand infantry and four hundred men at arms. Here he was beſieged by Gonſalvo, whom he twice repulſed, and drove back to his camp; and the arrival of freſh troops from France compelled the Spaniſh general to convert the ſiege into a blockade.

During theſe tranſactions pope Alexander the Sixth died by that poiſon which he had deſtined for another: his ſon, the duke of Valentinois, had partaken of the fatal doſe, but the ſtrength of his conſtitution ſubdued its malignant influence, and that prince, anxious to ſecure the protection of France, promiſed to promote the election of the cardinal d'Amboiſe to the papacy; independent of the cardinal's own deſire to obtain that dignity, the king himſelf was equally anxious to promote the elevation of his miniſter, from the conviction that it would be the only means of enſuring the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy.

The archduke Philip, enraged at the perfidy of his father-in-law, and jealous of his own reputation, had returned to France, and again put himſelf in the power of Lewis. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to Ferdinand, to remonſtrate on the indelible infamy which muſt for ever ſtain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonſalvo. But the king of Arragon, attentive only to the importance of his new acquiſition, was indifferent to reputation. With his uſual duplicity, he at one moment diſowned his ambaſſadors, at another his general; while he ſecretly ſent orders to puſh the war in Naples to the abſolute expulſion of the French.

Lewis, whoſe magnanimous mind was ſuperior to the dark artifices of his profligate rival, commanded the miniſters of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had ſeverely ſuffered from the treachery of Ferdinand, he ſcorned to avail himſelf of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he diſmiſſed the archduke with every mark of reſpect to purſue his route to Flanders, he addreſſed him at parting

[4] The duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cirignuola, was the laſt prince of the houſe of Armagnac, deſcended from Caribert, ſon to Clotaire the Second.—Garnier.

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in theſe memorable words: "If your father-in-law has been guilty of perfidy, I will "not reſemble him; and I am infinitely happier in the loſs of a kingdom, which I "know how to re-conquer, than to have ſtained my honour, which I could never "retrieve."

War was now declared againſt Spain, and the preparations of Lewis were proportioned to the injuries he had ſuſtained from the conduct of his unprincipled enemy; three armies were aſſembled to invade on every ſide the dominions of the king of Arragon. The firſt, commanded by la Trémouille, and to be compoſed of eighteen thouſand infantry, and two thouſand men at arms, was deſtined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the ſecond conſiſted of five thouſand Swiſs and French, and a thouſand men at arms, under the conduct of the lord of Albret, and the mareſchal de Giè, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontarabia. The third, ſtill more numerous, was entruſted to the mareſchal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Rouſſillon; at the ſame time a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to inſult the coaſts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at ſea between Spain and Naples.

The Italian expedition failed, partly from the infidelity of the Italian princes, who refuſed to ſupply their ſtipulated contingency of troops, and partly through the indiſpoſition of la Trémouille, which compelled him to ſtop at Sienna, when the command of the army devolved on the marquis of Mantua, whoſe talents and diſpoſition rendered him improper for the poſt he enjoyed. The operations were ſuſpended by the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who was at a loſs whether to make the troops proceed immediately to Naples, or to order them to march to Rome, whither he himſelf had repaired for the purpoſe of enſuring his election to the papacy. But the cardinal was diſappointed in his hopes; cardinal Picolomini was choſen by the conclave to fill the chair of St. Peter, and he accordingly aſſumed the appellation of Pius the Third; but after a ſhort reign of twenty-ſix days, he expired, and was ſucceeded by the cardinal San Pietro in Vinçola, a turbulent prieſt, who, though under infinite obligations to the French, proved their greateſt enemy.

When the French troops arrived in the kingdom of Naples, the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the roads were ſo bad, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the artillery could be tranſported from one place to another. Gonſalvo had expelled the French garriſon from the town of San Germano, which commanded the entrance into the kingdom, and after ſtrengthening the fortifications, had advanced, with his army, to the banks of the Garigliano. In order to paſs that river, the marquis of Mantua cauſed a bridge of boats to be prepared, and a fort to be conſtructed for its defence; as the workmen, employed in theſe operations, were only attended by a ſlight eſcort, the Spaniards reſolved to profit by the neglect, and a detachment of a hundred men at arms was ordered to ford the river, while another party was ſent to ſecure the bridge. The chevalier Bayard,

ever eager to fly where glory was to be acquired, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Cocles, who commanded the eſcort appointed to guard the workmen; by uncommon exertions of intrepid valour, he checked the progreſs of two hundred Spaniſh horſe that were preparing to paſs the bridge, and maintained the unequal conteſt till the arrival of ſuccours enabled him to put the enemy to flight, and to purſue them with conſiderable ſlaughter: the fugitives, however, being reinforced by a ſtrong detachment from the Spaniſh camp, Bayard was compelled to retreat, and his horſe, overcome with fatigue, fell with him into a ditch, where he was ſecured by the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, by whom this circumſtance was unperceived, had paſſed the bridge: Guiffray, a man at arms in Bayard's own company, was the firſt who miſſed his captain; alarmed at the loſs, the generous ſoldier harangued his comrades, and exhorted them to return to the charge; the acclamation of "*France! France! turn Spaniards, you ſhall not thus take off "the flower of chivalry!*" reſounded through the ranks; the attack was inſtantly renewed with redoubled vigour; Bayard, mounting the firſt horſe he could find, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, and, with his brave companions, regained the bridge. But theſe heroic atchievements, though productive of glory to thoſe who performed them, were attended with little advantage to the army; the Spaniards ſtill maintained their ſuperiority, and the marquis of Mantua, though ſtrenuouſly urged by the French officers, poſitively refuſed to paſs the river. Gonſalvo, though in preſence of the enemy, detached a part of his army to lay ſiege to Rocca Divandro, and the refuſal of the marquis of Mantua to relieve that place inſpired the troops with doubts of his fidelity. Aware of this diſpoſition, the marquis, under pretence of ſickneſs, gave up his command, and withdrew, with his company of men at arms; eight thouſand Italians, in the pay of France, ſoon followed his example; and, not long after, entered into the ſervice of Spain.

The French army being conſiderably weakened by the defection of the Italians, and left without a general, was thrown into the greateſt confuſion; as it was impoſſible to wait for the king's orders, the troops proceeded to appoint a leader, and their choice unanimouſly fell on the marquis of Saluzzo, who, though an Italian, had ſignalized, on various occaſions, his zeal and attachment to France. The marquis immediately forced the paſſage of the Garigliano, but the Spaniards had ſo poſted themſelves as to preclude the poſſibility of purſuing his march to Naples, wherefore he deemed it prudent to repaſs the river, and having ſecured the fort at the entrance of the bridge, as well as a ſtrong tower at the mouth of the Garigliano, he fixed his camp in a very advantageous ſituation, on the ſame ſpot where ſtood the ancient town of Minturnæ. He took every precaution which military ſkill and experience could ſuggeſt, and would certainly have been able to maintain his poſt, but for the infamous conduct of the treaſurers and commiſſaries of the army; the troops were neither ſupplied with money nor proviſions; the marquis reported this circumſtance to the king, who having been careful to provide againſt every inconvenience of the kind, determined to puniſh the criminal neglect of his

his officers with exemplary rigour, and he accordingly ſentenced John Heroef, the intendant of his finances, to loſe his head. Meanwhile the marquis had been obliged to divide his troops into different bodies to facilitate the means of ſubſiſtence, and this diviſion occaſioned, in the ſequel, the deſtruction of his whole army.

The prodigious efforts of France, during this campaign, proved every where unſucceſsful. The army deſtined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the diſſentions of its generals; the lord of d'Albret, either from a principle of revenge on account of the rivality which had formerly ſubſiſted between him and Lewis, or from his total ignorance of the art of war, led his troops, in oppoſition to the advice of the mareſchal de Gié, who commanded under him, into a ſterile part of the province of Biſcaye, where a want of proviſion ſoon led them to diſband: thoſe who were under the immediate command of d'Albret retired in ſafety, while the reſt periſhed, almoſt to a man, on their return to Guienne. The mareſchal de Rieux formed the ſiege of Salſes, but after the French had battered the town, during forty days, they were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, on the approach of Ferdinand himſelf, with an army of thirty thouſand men. The fleet alſo, after alarming the coaſts of Valentia and Catalonia, was overtaken by a ſtorm, and reduced to the neceſſity of returning to the port of Marſeilles.

In Italy, Gonſalvo had made a fruitleſs attempt to burn the bridge over the river Garigliano; being repulſed with loſs he retired to his camp, and the inclemency of the weather kept both armies in a ſtate of inactivity for near two months. During that time, Gonſalvo had received a reinforcement from Spain, and his army being farther ſtrengthened by the junction of the Orſini and their partizans, and by the ſecret protection of the Venetians, he ſoon found himſelf in a ſituation to renew his operations. The French, on the contrary, were diſperſed in ſearch of proviſions, and weakened by diſeaſe; and the Spaniards, reſolving to profit by this circumſtance, threw a bridge over the river, at ſome diſtance from the French camp, and taking the town of Fagio by ſurprize, maſſacred the garriſon. The marquis of Saluzzo was no ſooner apprized of this diſaſter, than he aſſembled his troops, and croſſed the river; but being purſued by the Spaniards, an action took place near the bridge of Mola, in which the French, after diſplaying great valour, were defeated. D'Alegre, with a part of the troops, retired to Gaeta; while Lewis d'Ars and Bayard ſhut themſelves up in Venoſa, with the reſolution to defend that place to the laſt extremity. Pietro di Medicis, who commanded the tower at the mouth of the Garigliano, embarked, on the approach of the enemy, with the artillery and a part of the baggage, in order to join the French fleet, but being overtaken by a ſtorm, he periſhed in the attempt.

A. D. 1504.] On the firſt day of the year 1504, Gaeta was inveſted by the Spaniards; and though the garriſon were provided with every neceſſary for a long defence, ſuch was the terror with which the recent ſucceſſes of the enemy had impreſſed the minds

minds of the French, that in a council of war, it was determined to capitulate, and d'Alegre was appointed to make the propoſal to Gonſalvo. That general chearfully accepted the terms, and a treaty was immediately ſigned, of which the ſurrender of Gaeta, and the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, conſtituted the principal articles: the French only obtained the liberty of retiring to France, either by land or ſea, and the releaſe of the priſoners; but Gonſalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, and ſhamefully detained in captivity all thoſe who were natives of Naples.

The chevalier Bayard, and Lewis d'Ars, received with indignation the meſſenger ſent by Gonſalvo to inform them of the treaty of Gaeta; they refuſed to ſign it, proteſting that they would rather loſe their lives in Italy, than ſuffer the Italians to believe that all Frenchmen were cowards. There were ſeveral ſmall towns dependent on Venoſa, all of which theſe gallant officers undertook to defend; they gave free permiſſion to their troops to depart if they choſe it, but not a man would forſake them. Bayard and d'Ars exchanged their jewels and plate for proviſion and ammunition; in vain did Gonſalvo offer to grant them any terms they might think proper to impoſe, they courageouſly rejected his offers and repelled his attacks. Europe ſaw with aſtoniſhment theſe two knights, with a handful of troops, ſucceſsfully defend themſelves againſt the whole force of Spain. A miſunderſtanding prevailed in the camp of Gonſalvo, from the preference given by that general to the family of the Orſini over that of Colonna; and Proſpero Colonna was induced to withdraw his troops, and to retire to Spain, where he excited ſuſpicions in the mind of Ferdinand, on the fidelity of Gonſalvo, whom he repreſented as a man elated with victory, aſpiring to independence, and anxious to keep for himſelf the conqueſts he had made for his maſter. Theſe inſinuations induced Ferdinand to revoke a part of thoſe powers with which he had entruſted Gonſalvo, who, in conſequence of this affront, neglected for ſome days the duties of his ſtation. Lewis d'Ars and Bayard, attentive to his motions, profited by the opportunity to make incurſions into the neighbouring country, where they acquired a conſiderable booty, which they conducted in ſafety to Venoſa. Ferdinand was deſtitute of money, his army in Italy was on the point of revolting, and he learned that Lewis was making great preparations in France; in this emergency, he propoſed a truce for a year, which was accepted by the king. But Lewis d'Ars and Bayard did not ſurrender the towns they occupied in Italy till the year following, when they received expreſs orders from Lewis to return to France, where they received thoſe honours and rewards to which their ſervices were ſo juſtly entitled.

The anxiety which Lewis had experienced from the ill-ſucceſs of his arms, and from the diſtreſs under which his ſubjects laboured from the united attacks of peſtilence and famine, brought on a fever, which raged with ſuch violence as to baffle the ſkill of his phyſicians, and to threaten his immediate diſſolution. Anne, daily apprehenſive of the death of her royal conſort, determined to provide for her own ſecurity, embarked her moſt precious

precious effects, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The veſſels which ſhe had laden were ſtopped by the forward and imprudent zeal of the mareſchal de Gié; an offence, which Anne could never forgive in a man who had been born her ſubject. She refuſed to liſten to the mareſchal's excuſes, and, on her huſband's recovery ſhe obtained an order for his trial by the parliament of Toulouſe. Every circumſtance of his life was inveſtigated, in order to find matter for an accuſation; and it having been proved that he had once received pay for fifteen *dead* men, ſuppoſed to be on duty in his caſtle of Fronſac, he was deprived of his places and penſions, prohibited from exerciſing the functions of a mareſchal for five years, and forbidden to approach within ten leagues of the court.

On the king's recovery, the negociations for peace were renewed; a treaty was concluded, by cardinal d'Amboiſe, with the emperor, who, in conſideration of being allowed to aſſert his claims to certain towns belonging to the republic of Venice, and on condition of receiving twelve hundred thouſand florins, to be paid by inſtalments, a pair of golden-ſpurs, every Chriſtmas-day, and a body of five hundred lances, whenever he ſhould chuſe to go to Rome, conſented to beſtow the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan on Lewis and his male *deſcendants*, or, in default of males, on his daughters. This treaty had been preceded by another with the archduke Philip, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs to Ferdinand, who was afraid of his ſon-in-law, and therefore endeavoured to create freſh diſturbances. He ſent ambaſſadors to France with propoſals that he never wiſhed to be accepted; offering to place the crown of Naples on the head of the prince of Tarento, ſon to Frederic, the depoſed monarch, on condition that he ſhould marry his niece. Frederic accepted the propoſal, but Lewis being informed of the circumſtance, ordered the Spaniſh ambaſſador to quit his dominions.

Frederic died ſoon after, as did alſo Iſabella of Caſtile, wife to Ferdinand of Arragon. The archduke Philip, in right of his wife Joanna, on the death of Iſabella, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the ſyſtem of European politics. Ferdinand the Catholic was again reduced to his original kingdom of Arragon, after having ineffectually exerted his uſual fineſſe in order to obtain the regency of Caſtile.

A. D. 1505.] Hitherto Lewis had conſidered the archduke as a vaſſal, and as a vaſſal whom he loved and eſteemed; but his late acquiſition rendered him a formidable neighbour. The county of Flanders, the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, the empire of the kingdom of Caſtile, were now likely to center in one prince, whoſe ſon, too, was to augment theſe extenſive poſſeſſions, by his marriage with the princeſs Claude, with the duchies of Brittany and Milan. This vaſt combination of power might, in the ſequel, prove deſtructive to France, and proper meaſures, therefore, were immediately, though ſecretly, taken to counteract its effects. The ambaſſadors ſent by the king of Arragon to notify the death of his wife to the French court, experienced a gracious

gracious reception; and as Ferdinand was ſtill young, Lewis engaged him to marry his niece Germana, daughter to the count of Foix; the king gave up his part of the kingdom of Naples, as a marriage-portion for the young princeſs, on condition that, if Ferdinand ſhould die before her, and without children, the whole of that kingdom ſhould revert to France; if, on the contrary, Ferdinand ſhould ſurvive his wife, and have no child, he was to keep poſſeſſion of Naples; the catholic king engaged to pay Lewis ſeven hundred thouſand crowns, in ten years, to reimburſe him for the expences of the war; and Lewis honourably ſtipulated, that the Neapolitan nobility, who had been impriſoned as his adherents, by Gonſalvo, ſhould be reſtored to their freedom, and to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and that the partizans of the houſe of Anjou ſhould be reimburſed for the loſſes they had incurred by their fidelity to that family; a condition which the ſituation of Ferdinand's affairs compelled him to accede to, and which the king of France took care that he ſhould punctually perform.

A. D. 1506.] The queen was extremely anxious that the projected alliance between her daughter Claude, and Charles of Luxemburgh, ſhould take place, but the nation entertained very different ſentiments, and were greatly alarmed at the proſpect of wars and diſſentions which, in their opinion, that alliance was calculated to produce. The ſtates of Tours, which aſſembled on the fourteenth of May, 1506, preſented a remonſtrance to the king on this ſubject; in which they expatiated on the inconveniencies which, they conceived, muſt reſult from the marriage of the princeſs with a foreign potentate, and beſought his majeſty to beſtow the hand of his daughter on Francis, duke of Valois, a prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir to the crown.

Lewis, aſtoniſhed at this propoſal, or, at leaſt, feigning to be ſo—for it is uncertain whether or not the plan originated with himſelf—promiſed to give his anſwer in a few days. After conferring with the princes of the blood, and finding that the ſentiments of the council coincided with thoſe of the ſtates, he chearfully aſſented to the propoſed alliance. The queen, however, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of her power; ſhe ſaw, with grief, that, by this marriage, Brittany muſt inevitably become a province of France; beſides, ſhe had another motive for her oppoſition, in her hatred to the counteſs of Angoulême, mother to Francis, an intriguing and ambitious princeſs; and had Anne ſurvived her huſband, it is probable, the marriage had never taken place. But however great the aſcendancy which ſhe had acquired over the mind of Lewis, ſhe could not, in this inſtance, prevail on him to change the reſolution he had taken to ſatisfy the ſtates. The chancellor, accordingly, informed that aſſembly of his majeſty's determination to comply with their wiſhes; the ceremony of betrothal was to be celebrated without delay; and the marriage to be conſummated as ſoon as the parties ſhould come of age; the princeſs was then in her eighth year, and the duke of Valois in his fourteenth. The king exacted from the ſtates a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that, in caſe he ſhould die without male heirs, they would enforce the conſummation of the marriage, and acknowledge the duke of Valois for their lawful ſovereign.

Lewis

Lewis ſent an ambaſſador to Valadolid to inform the king of Caſtile of this event, and of the reaſons which had induced him to violate the marriage-treaties which had been concluded between their children. Philip received the intelligence without betraying any ſymptoms of reſentment, and expreſſed an earneſt wiſh that this circumſtance might not be ſuffered to interrupt the harmony which ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Maximilian, however, ſhewed his diſcontent, by immediately calling on the king to fulfil, the terms of the laſt treaty, by ſupplying him with five hundred lances to eſcort him to Rome. His demand was complied with, but Lewis took care to prevent his journey, by exciting the apprehenſions of the pope and the Venetians, who refuſed him a paſſage through their dominions, unleſs he choſe to come with no other attendants than his uſual retinue. Meanwhile, a diſpute having occurred between the king of Caſtile and the duke of Gueldres, the latter applied for aſſiſtance to Lewis, his kinſman and ally, who immediately ſent him four hundred lances, under the command of Robert de la Marche. Philip, complained, and not without reaſon, of this proceeding, as an infraction of the treaty; he proteſted it was his wiſh to live at peace with the king, but threatened, at the ſame time, to defend himſelf with vigour if he perceived any intention of attacking him. Lewis, on his part, declared that he would not be the firſt to break treaties, but complained of the ſecret practices of Maximilian in Italy, and with the Swiſs. Theſe mutual remonſtrances did not prevent the continuation of hoſtilities in the duchy of Gueldres. Henry, king of England, as an ally both of Philip and of Lewis, employed his mediation on this occaſion, and ſent an ambaſſador to France, who repreſented to the king, that as the duke of Gueldres had been the aggreſſor, to afford him aſſiſtance was to violate the treaties which ſubſiſted between him and the king of Caſtile; that if he continued to ſend troops into the duchy of Gueldres, and ſhould be led to invade the county of Flanders, the king of England would be obliged to aſſiſt his ally the king of Caſtile; but if, on the contrary, Lewis would recal his forces, Henry would perſuade Philip to accommodate matters with the duke of Gueldres. Lewis conſented to the propoſal; but the death of the king of Caſtile, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of September, 1506, changed the face of affairs. This prince, who loſt his life by drinking cold water when he was hot, left two ſons, Charles and Ferdinand; and, by his will, he appointed Lewis to be guardian to Charles, who was the eldeſt. Lewis accepted the office, and undertook to protect thoſe ſame dominions which, had Philip lived, he would, moſt probably, have very ſoon attacked: he recalled his troops from Gueldres, and engaged the duke to ſign a truce.

A. D. 1507.] The attention of Lewis was now called to the affairs of Italy, where he was ſo impolitic as to enforce the pretenſions of the pope to the ſovereignty of Bologna. He had ſoon, however, occaſion to repent this condeſcenſion, for Julius the Sixth, who ſince his acceſſion to the papal throne had diſplayed a diſpoſition better ſuited to the camp than the conclave, forgetful of the protection he had received, exerted his

genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nouriſhing the diſcontents of the Genoeſe. Theſe at laſt broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a ſilk-dyer, their doge. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian, and were openly reinforced by the troops of Piſa.

Lewis, ſenſible how much his reputation depended on immediately cruſhing the inſurgents, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, and marched towards Genoa, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the queen, who exerted all her influence to prevent him from engaging in an expedition, the conſequences whereof ſhe dreaded. Lewis, however, forced the paſſes which the rebels had occupied, and, in perſon, ſtormed their entrenchments. The Genoeſe, diſconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to diſarm his reſentment by ſubmiſſion. On the twenty-ninth of April, 1507, the king, clad in complete armour, and with a ſtern countenance, entered Genoa: but his natural clemency prevailed; and, after puniſhing Paul Nuova, the popular doge, and Juſtiani, another incendiary, with death, he contented himſelf with depriving the citizens of their privileges, and with impoſing on the city a fine of three hundred thouſand ducats.

Before Lewis returned to France, he had an interview at Savona, in the territories of Genoa, with Ferdinand of Arragon, who was in Italy when he received the news of the death of his ſon-in-law Philip. The fears of Ferdinand, leſt the king of France ſhould oppoſe his deſigns on the regency of Caſtile, were his concealed motives to this interview. The two monarchs again renewed their alliance, and ſwore to the ſtrict obſervance of the articles of peace; but Ferdinand, who acknowledged no principle but his own private intereſts, infringed and violated every condition on his return into Spain.

A. D. 1508.] The formidable preparations made by the king for the conqueſt of Genoa, had ſpread an alarm over a great part of Europe; his intention, it was generally believed, was to ſubdue Italy, to recover the kingdom of Naples, to aſſemble a council, depoſe the pope, and procure the election of the cardinal d'Amboiſe to the chair of Saint Peter; in conſequence of this ſuppoſed deſign, Julius endeavoured to form a confederacy againſt Lewis. Maximilian was the firſt to promote this plan; he aſſembled a diet at Conſtance, where he expatiated, with great energy, on the boundleſs ambition of the king of France, which urged him to the violation of all treaties; he repreſented to the princes of the Empire, that it was their intereſt to oppoſe the conqueſt of Italy by Lewis, which would deprive the Empire of its rights to that country; and his eloquence prevailed ſo far as to extort from the princes a promiſe to ſupply their quota of troops, for oppoſing this imaginary expedition. By the time Maximilian had aſſembled his army and entered Italy, the king of France had completed the reduction of Genoa, and diſmiſſed his troops.

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The Germans, finding no enemy to encounter, refuſed to proceed; and the apprehenſions of Julius with regard to the French being diſpelled, he now began to read the deſigns of the emperor, and accordingly engaged the Venetians and the Swiſs to refuſe his troops a paſſage through their territories. The emperor advanced as far as Trent, with five or ſix thouſand men, who were defeated by the Venetian general, Alviano. The Venetians, however, notwithſtanding this victory, applied for aſſiſtance to the king, who ſent them a body of troops, under the command of Triulzi; that general again defeated the Germans, who perſuaded the Venetians to ſign a truce for a year, without conſulting the king, and without including the duke of Gueldres, as they had promiſed. It was by ſuch miſtaken policy that the Venetians afforded ſubjects for complaint to all the different powers, and engaged them to enter into that famous league, which was formed the following year, and which had their deſtruction for its object.

The king was the more irritated at the excluſion of the duke of Gueldres from the treaty, as the territories of that prince were in a ſtate of revolt, and the rebels were aſſiſted by the Imperialiſts; while the forces which Lewis had ſent to the relief of the duchy, under the orders of the count of Rethel, were too inconſiderable to reduce the rebels to obedience, and were, moreover, deſtitute of money.

Maximilian was glad to bring his affairs in Italy to a concluſion, in order to attend to the ſtate of his grandſon's dominions in Flanders; he made every effort to procure from the Flemings the appointment of guardian to Charles, but, averſe from his power, they refuſed to admit his pretenſions, and, in compliance with the will of their late ſovereign, placed themſelves under the protection of Lewis, whom they deſired to chooſe a governor for their youthful prince[5]. Lewis, accordingly, appointed Philip de Croy, lord of Chievres, to that important office; and Maximilian, perceiving the inability of reſiſtance, and pleaſed, moreover, with the king's choice, withdrew his claims, and made a ſimilar attempt on the kingdom of Caſtile, where he was oppoſed by the king of Arragon. Theſe two princes afterward choſe Lewis as an arbiter between them; who decided that Ferdinand ſhould keep the regency of Caſtile as long as he ſhould remain without children, on condition that he ſhould pay the emperor fifty thouſand ducats out of the revenue of that kingdom, and a ſimilar ſum for the ſupport of young Charles. This agreement took place in 1509. Maximilian, determined to have ſome influence on the affairs

[5] This opinion has been adopted by all the French hiſtorians, from Varillas to Garnier; but the Spaniſh, German, and Flemiſh writers, concur in contradicting their aſſertions; and maintain, that Lewis had loſt the confidence of Philip, by conſenting to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand. Hewterus, a Flemiſh hiſtorian, of great authority, aſſerts, that when Philip ſet out for Spain, he had himſelf entruſted Chievres both with the care of his ſon's education, and with the government of his dominions in the Low Countries; and that nobleman continued to diſcharge both the offices which Philip had committed to him, until the arrival of the princeſs Margaret in the Netherlands.——See *Robertſon's Reign of Charles V.* vol. ii. p. 30, Note 5.

of Flanders, perſuaded his daughter Margaret—now a widow—to repair thither, in the hope that the Flemings would entruſt her with the adminiſtration: nor was he diſappointed in his hopes; that event took place, and de Chievres only retained the title of governor to Charles. It does not appear that Lewis made any oppoſition to this change, with which, indeed, he had every reaſon to be ſatisfied; for Margaret, a princeſs of uncommon merit, was ſtudious to enſure the continuance of peace in the dominions of her nephew, and to promote a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of France; ſhe at length concluded, with the cardinal d'Amboiſe, in the names of Maximilian and Lewis, the famous league of Cambray, formed againſt the Venetians, but the intereſts of the different powers who engaged in it were ſo different, as to promiſe but little ſolidity to the compact.

To humble the republic of Venice, and to divide its territories, was the avowed object of all the princes who united in this confederacy. The civil conſtitution of Venice, eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis, had ſuffered no conſiderable alteration for ſeveral centuries; during which the ſenate conducted its affairs by maxims of policy, no leſs prudent than vigorous, and adhered to theſe with an uniform ſpirit of conſiſtency, which gave that commonwealth great advantage over other ſtates, whoſe views and meaſures changed as often as the form of their government, or the perſons who adminiſtered it. By theſe uninterrupted exertions of wiſdom and valour, the Venetians enlarged the dominions of their commonwealth, until it became the moſt conſiderable power in Italy; while their extenſive commerce, the uſeful and curious manufactures which they carried on, together with their monopoly of the precious commodities of the Eaſt, rendered Venice the moſt opulent ſtate in Europe.

Their power was the object of terror to their Italian neighbours: their wealth was viewed with envy by the greateſt monarchs, who could not vie with their private citizens, in the magnificence of their buildings, or in ſplendour and elegance of living[6]. Julius the Second, whoſe ambition was ſuperior, and whoſe abilities were equal to thoſe of any pontiff who ever ſat on the papal throne, formed the idea of this league againſt the Venetians, and endeavoured by working on the avarice, ambition, fears, and reſentment of other princes, to perſuade them to join in it. By this means he ſucceeded in forming one of the moſt extenſive confederacies againſt thoſe haughty republicans, that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almoſt all the princes of Italy acceded; the leaſt conſiderable of them hoping for ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of a ſtate, which they already

[6] Heliani oratio apud Goldaſtum in polit. Imperial. p. 980.

deemed

deemed to be devoted to deſtruction. The Venetians might have diverted this ſtorm, or have broken its force; but, with a preſumptuous raſhneſs, to which there is nothing ſimilar in the courſe of their hiſtory, they waited its approach[7]. The object of Maximilian in joining this confederacy, was to recover the ſovereignty of ſeveral territories, in poſſeſſion of the Venetians, particularly of Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Lignano, to which he preferred ſome obſolete claims. Julius, whoſe mind never retained the ſenſe of an obligation, though indebted to the republic for the dignity he enjoyed, aimed at the poſſeſſion of Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and ſome other towns in Romagna; and at the recovery of the biſhopric of Vicenza, which the Venetians with-held from him. The king of Arragon likewiſe ſacrificed his gratitude to his intereſt, for though his general, Gonſalvo, had received aſſiſtance from the Venetians in the recovery of Naples, the acquiſition of the forts of Otranto, Brindiſi, Trano, Monopoli and Pulignano, which they poſſeſſed in that kingdom, was a temptation too powerful for ſuch a prince as Ferdinand to withſtand. In Lewis the gratification of a juſt reſentment coinciding with intereſt, he wiſhed to gain poſſeſſion of thoſe places in the Milaneſe, which he had ceded to the republic at the conqueſt of that duchy.

A. D. 1509.] Julius was the firſt to repent of this new alliance, and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were reſtored to the church, to deſert the cauſe he had embarked in; but Venice, confident of her ſtrength, rejected his propoſals; and the pontiff, enraged at their obſtinacy, iſſued a ſentence of excommunication againſt the proud republicans, who prepared to meet, with firmneſs, the danger that threatened them. They raiſed an army of ſix thouſand lances, four thouſand light horſe, and three-and-thirty thouſand foot; theſe troops, who were chiefly mercenaries, were put under the command of the count of Pitigliano and Alviano. Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, noble Venetians, and men of eſtabliſhed reputation, were appointed *Provvéditori*[8] to the army. When they had thus provided for their defence, they exerted all the arts of policy to promote a diſſolution of the confederacy, but in vain; their offers were rejected by the different powers, and their deſtruction ſeemed inevitable—even the elements appeared to conſpire againſt them—A veſſel, ſent with money for the troops in garriſon, at Ravenna, was loſt in a ſtorm; the caſtle of Breno, in which the archives of the republic, and other papers of the higheſt import, was depoſited, were deſtroyed by lightning; the arſenal of Venice took fire, and, with all it contained, was reduced to aſhes. But the greateſt misfortune which the republic experienced at this period, was the diviſion that took place between their generals. Pitigliano inſiſted on the propriety of abandoning the towns on the Adda, and of encamping in the country that lies between the rivers Oglio and Serio.

[7] Robertſon.

[8] The Provvéditori of the Venetians, like the field-deputies of the Dutch republic in latter times, obſerved all the motions of the general, and checked and controuled him in all his operations.

Alviano,

Alviano, on the contrary, propoſed to paſs the Adda, and, by invading the Milaneſe, make that duchy the ſeat of war. Both theſe projects, however, were rejected by the ſenate, who ordered their generals to prevent the French from paſſing the Adda, and to avoid a general action, unleſs they could engage with an apparent certainty of ſucceſs. Theſe orders, however, it was found impoſſible to execute.

The French army was divided into different bodies, which invaded the territories of the republic in five different parts. The garriſon of Leco extended their depredations to the gates of Bergamo; thoſe of Lodi and Piacenza invaded the Cremoneſe on either ſide; the marquis of Mantua reduced the town of Caſale Maggioné; while Chaumont paſſed the Adda, and inveſted Trévi. The garriſon of Trévi made a vigorous ſally, but they were ſucceſsfully repulſed by the French, who purſued them ſo cloſely, that they entered the town with them. Moroſin, the governor, was taken priſoner, together with the garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred light horſe, and twelve hundred infantry. Chaumont, after he had exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and appointed Fontrailles to command in the place, repaſſed the Adda, and haſtened to join the king, who had, by this time, reached Milan. The Venetians ordered their generals to profit by the abſence of Chaumont, to recover the town of Trévi. Pitigliano and Alviano did not approve of this plan, and propoſed another, which, in the opinion of moſt men, was much more advantageous; but the ſenate, unuſed to contradiction, enforced their orders, and Trévi was accordingly beſieged at the beginning of May, 1509.

Fontrailles, who had only fifty men at arms, and one thouſand Gaſcons, under his command, plainly perceived that it would be impoſſible for him long to reſiſt the attacks of the Venetian army. He immediately apprized the king of his ſituation, obſerving that the walls of the town were in ſuch a bad ſtate, that the enemy's artillery muſt ſpeedily deſtroy them; aſſuring him, however, that he would not fail to hold out to the laſt extremity. The council, who had been aſſembled on the reception of this news, were divided in their ſentiments: Triulzi maintained that it was too late to think of marching to the relief of Fontrailles; that all the Venetian forces being united on the banks of the Adda, would prevent the troops from paſſing that river, and that the attempt would only occaſion a great loſs of time, that might be uſefully devoted to other purpoſes: but Chabarone de la Paliſſe was of a different opinion, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of ſetting out immediately for Trévi; this advice coinciding with the ſentiments of Lewis, the army was put in motion without farther delay: it conſiſted of ſix thouſand Swiſs, twelve thouſand French and Italian infantry, and two thouſand Gendarmes. Lewis reached the banks of the Adda on the ninth of May[9], at the very mo-

[9] Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. 8. p. 199.

ment

ment that Fontrailles, after defending the town of Trévi as long as poſſible, ſurrendered it to the enemy. Lewis, though apprized of this diſaſter, purſued his deſign, and marched along the banks of the river till he came oppoſite to Caſciano, where he paſſed the Adda, with his whole army, without receiving the ſmalleſt moleſtation from the Venetians, who were employed in plundering the town of Trévi, and refuſed to obey the commands of their officers[10]. The ground about Caſciano is elevated ſo as to command the river, and is, by its numerous interſections, peculiarly adapted for the encampment of a ſmall army; on the ſide of that part of the country which is called the *Ghiara d'Adda* it is protected by a canal twenty feet wide and ſix in depth, which runs entirely round it. Triulzi was fully perſuaded that the Venetians, who were encamped about five miles from Caſciano, had ſecured this important poſt; but when he found it vacant he could not refrain from exclaiming, with a degree of candour worthy a hero, that had his advice been followed, the French would have been loſt; and he added—"*Now, moſt Chriſtian King, the day is your own.*" This exclamation, from the mouth of an experienced general, encreaſed the confidence of the troops, who were farther encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, proceeding, according to ſome, from the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiers[11], and, according to others, from the diviſion which prevailed between the generals[12].

Lewis finding it impoſſible to force the Venetian camp, moved towards Rivolta, which lay to the left of the enemy, to try whether the deſire of ſaving that place would not induce them to come forth, and riſk an action. Rivolta, however, was taken by aſſault in ſight of the Venetian army; and the king having paſſed a night in the town, marched the next morning, with his whole army, with the view to ſecure either Vailà or Pandino, by which means he would be enabled to cut off the communication with Cremona or Crema, whence the Venetians drew their proviſions. There were two roads to theſe places; that which the king took was the longeſt, and lay along the ſide of the Adda; the other was much ſhorter, and ran in a ſtraight line, and this induced the Venetians to quit their poſt, in the hope of arriving at Vailà before the French. They formed their army in two diviſions, the ſtrongeſt of which was entruſted to Alviano, and the other to Pitigliano. The latter marched firſt, and had nearly reached Vailà, when the former was overtaken, and attacked by the van of the French army, under Chaumont and Triulzi. Alviano immediately ſent a meſſenger to Pitigliano, to apprize him of the circumſtance, and poſted his infantry in ſome neighbouring vineyards, where he converted the vine-props into paliſades; he erected ſome batteries with great expedition, and drew up his cavalry in a plain behind the ground occupied by the infantry. Chaumont was repulſed with loſs in his firſt attack; the Swiſs, whoſe heavy-armed infantry could not make their way through the rows of long pikes that were ſtuck in the ground,

[10] Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. viii. p. 199. [11] Idem, ibid. [12] Mocenigo.

met

met with no better ſucceſs; and the van was in danger of ſuſtaining a defeat, when the king came to their aſſiſtance with the reſt of the army. Some of his officers, it is ſaid, endeavoured to deter him from purſuing his march, by obſerving that the Venetians were already in poſſeſſion of Vailà; but Lewis replied, "We ſhall then have the addi-"tional trouble of diſlodging them," and preſſed onward. He rallied the Swiſs, made the Gaſcons advance, and ſupported them with the troops from Trévi, who were anxious to revenge the affront they had recently ſuſtained. Animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, and the exhortations and example of the gallant veteran La Trémouille, the troops deſpiſed all danger, and ruſhing forward with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, bore down all before them. Lewis expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight, and vied with his men in exertions of perſonal valour. The Venetians, after an obſtinate conteſt, yielded up the palm of victory, and left eight thouſand of their beſt troops on the field of battle: their cavalry fled without ſtriking a blow; their principal officers were taken priſoners, and among them was Alviano, who had been wounded in the action, in which he had diſplayed the courage of a ſoldier, and the ſkill of a commander. This battle was fought at Vailà in Ghigradadda, on the fourteenth of May, 1509[13]. The king cauſed a church to be built on the ſpot, which he called *Notre Dame de la Victoire*, and which is ſtill ſtanding. The loſs of the French was inconſiderable; Pitigliano attempted to march to the aſſiſtance of his colleague, but his troops refuſed to follow him; moſt of them diſbanded, and with the few that remained he took poſſeſſion of Vailà.

The king, after paſſing two days on the field of battle, prepared to profit by his victory: he formed the ſiege of Carravagio, which the inhabitants compelled the garriſon to ſurrender; and Bergamo and Breſcia opened their gates at his approach. Peſchiéra being taken by aſſault, the garriſon were put to the ſword, and a noble Venetian and his ſon[14] were hanged on the ramparts by the king's command: this act of cruelty is aſcribed by the French writers to the deſire of revenging the infidelity of the Venetians, who broke the capitulation at Trévi; and by the Italians, to the wiſh to intimidate the other towns, and ſo deter them from reſiſting the French. Crema and Cremona made no oppoſition; and, in leſs than a fortnight, the king had conquered all the places for which he had ſtipulated by the treaty of Cambrai. The pope, meanwhile, had aſſembled an army of thirteen thouſand men, which he entruſted to the care of the duke of Ferrara; the victory gained by Lewis at Vailà, greatly facilitated the duke's operations, who immediately after obtained poſſeſſion of all the places in Romagna except the caſtle of Ravenna.

From the height of preſumption the Venetians now ſunk to the depth of deſpair; they no longer ſought to reſiſt the confederates, but endeavoured to ſoothe by ſubmiſſion where they could not repel by arms; all the places claimed by the Spaniards and the em-

[13] Mocenigo—Equicola—Bembo—Giuſtiniano—Guicciardini. [14] Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. viii. p. 207.

peror

peror were ſurrendered without heſitation or delay, and theſe haughty republicans having in vain endeavoured to appeaſe, by ſervile ſolicitations, the reſentment of Julius, Maximilian and Ferdinand, retired to their capital to wait the fatal blow which was to extinguiſh their power. But the emperor neglected to avail himſelf of this favourable opportunity; he had diſſipated, in vain expences, the money that was deſtined to raiſe an army, and was compelled to wait at Inſpruck for freſh ſupplies; the troops he ſent into Italy were inadequate to any enterprize of importance; and he advanced, himſelf, no farther than Trent. The cardinal d'Amboiſe there paid him a viſit, and appointed an interview between Maximilian and Lewis; a day was fixed for the purpoſe, and the king made the moſt ſplendid preparations for receiving his imperial gueſt; but the emperor wanting money to appear in a ſtile ſuitable to his rank, declined the interview. During his reſidence at Trent, however, he granted to Lewis, agreeably to the engagement he had contracted by the treaty of Cambrai, the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan, for him and his heirs, male or female, and in default of heirs, to the count of Angoulême and his ſucceſſors.

The king having ſecured his conqueſts, and concluded a new treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with the pope, returned to France, leaving the chief command of his forces to Chaumont. The cardinal d'Amboiſe had adviſed Lewis to remain longer in Italy, from the dread that the number of nobility who muſt neceſſarily accompany him would greatly diminiſh the army, and encourage the Venetians to profit by his abſence. This proved to be the caſe; their courage revived, and they made ſome ſpirited attempts to recover their loſt territories. Padua again fell into their hands; and although the emperor, with an immenſe army, entered Italy, for the purpoſe of retaking it, they baffled all his efforts, and compelled him to retire with diſgrace. They alſo made an attempt on Verona, but the timely arrival of Chabannes and Bayard, who had been detached by Chaumont, with a body of French troops, ſaved the town, and obliged the Venetians to retreat to Vicenza, which they evacuated on the approach of the French.

A. D. 1510.] During the winter the king made the moſt formidable preparations for opening the enſuing campaign with vigour and effect; but he could not perſuade his allies to make equal exertions. As he was preparing to paſs into Italy he had the misfortune to loſe his friend and favourite, the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who expired on the twenty-fifth of February, 1510, univerſally regretted by the nation. The virtue and diſintereſted ſpirit of this ſtateſman, have been juſtly celebrated by contemporary hiſtorians. Though his power was almoſt unlimited, he was never known to abuſe it; and he fulfilled all the duties of his elevated ſtation, both in church and ſtate, with unwearied diligence and exemplary zeal. Though legate to the pope, and prime miniſter of France, he poſſeſſed but one benefice, the archbiſhoprick of Rouen; and he diſplayed as much vigilance and attention in the government of his dioceſe as if he had not other affairs on his hands. His memory is ſtill holden in

veneration at Rouen, to the cathedral of which city he gave the famous bell which bears his name[15].

Julius, notwithſtanding his late treaty with the king, had lent a favourable ear to the overtures made him by the Venetians, and had promiſed to take off the cenſures which he had pronounced againſt them. Lewis and Maximilian oppoſed this indulgence, as an infraction of the treaty of Cambrai; but the pope, ſecretly encouraged by Ferdinand, diſregarded their complaints, and having obtained from the Venetians ſome advantageous conceſſions, political and commercial, he granted them, in full conſiſtory (on the twenty-fifth of February) the promiſed abſolution.

This was the firſt ſtep towards the execution of that plan which the enterpriſing ſpirit of Julius had formed for the total expulſion of every foreign potentate from Italy. He now exerted his ſkill and addreſs in perſuading the Swiſs to renounce their alliance with France, and even to declare war againſt that power. On the expiration of the treaty between France and the Swiſs, the latter aſſembled at Baden, and made a demand of twenty thouſand livres, in addition to their former penſion, from the perſuaſion that the French could not do without them. Lewis thought the demand extremely unreaſonable, as he had already augmented their penſion from twenty to ſixty thouſand livres, and the private penſions he paid amounted to nearly as much as the ſubſidy itſelf, the whole formed a conſiderable ſum. The matter, however, was ſubmitted to the council, who being of the ſame opinion with the king, the demand of the Swiſs was rejected with contempt, their alliance renounced, and ſome obſervations were made on their conduct, which offended them highly, and led them to ſeek for revenge. Lewis accepted the offer of the Griſons, who agreed to ſerve him at a more moderate price; and the Swiſs immediately formed an alliance with the pope.

Julius, encouraged by this acceſſion of ſtrength, now ventured to declare war againſt the duke of Ferrara, whom the king had taken under his immediate protection: Chaumont was ſent to his aſſiſtance, and both he and the duke were excommunicated by the vindictive pontiff. The papal army was commanded by the duke di Urbino, nephew to the pope, and the cardinal of Pavia. The duke reduced ſeveral places of little importance, made a fruitleſs attempt on Lunigiana, and retired in diſorder on the news that the French had joined the duke of Ferrara; Julius, however, ſoon repaired this diſgrace by the reduction of Modena. The duke, intimidated by the loſs of that city, retired to his capital, which he reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. His ally, the king of France, to whom he applied for aſſiſtance, was now engaged in repelling an attack of the Swiſs, who, in the

[15] This bell, known by the name of *George d'Amboiſe*, was founded in 1501. It meaſures thirty feet in circumference, and ten in diameter: the clapper weighs ſeven hundred and ten pounds; and the bell itſelf, forty thouſand.

month

month of September, had made an irruption into the duchy of Milan. They had already taken Como, and Lewis was fearful that they would ſoon penetrate farther into the Milaneſe; but he was releaſed from his apprehenſions at a time when he had leaſt reaſon to expect it. The Swiſs ſoldiers having applied to their officers to advance them ſome pay, experienced a refuſal, which enraged them ſo much that they immediately mutinied, and returned to Bellinzone. At the ſame time the Venetian general had laid ſiege to Verona, of which la Paliſſe was governor, who, in a ſally planned with judgment, and executed with vigour, defeated the enemy, and compelled them to retire with conſiderable loſs. They were equally unſucceſsful in two different attempts which they made upon Genoa, in concert with the pope; their fleet was defeated by the French, and afterwards diſperſed in a ſtorm. The republic, diſheartened by ſuch repeated loſſes, ſolicited Julius to give peace to Italy; but ſuch a propoſal by no means coincided with the ambitious plans of that turbulent pontiff.

The king, who had with difficulty prevailed on himſelf to bear arms againſt the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and who was inceſſantly tormented by the complaints and ſcruples of the queen, convoked, at Tours, in the month of September, 1510, an aſſembly of the Gallican church, to which he explained the motives of his conduct; and deſired to know, whether he could in conſcience wage war againſt the pope. The aſſembly replied, that his motives were juſt, and thoſe of his adverſary unjuſt, and that it was his duty not only to act on the defenſive, but to carry the war into the enemy's country. After this deciſion, the king forbade his ſubjects to hold any commerce with the court of Rome.

Chaumont had an opportunity of finiſhing the war by a ſingle blow, ſince the pope and the whole conclave had repaired to Bologna, which he might eaſily have reduced. The Bentivoglios, who were attached to France, urged him to profit by the opportunity, and inveſt a place, the reduction of which would be greatly facilitated by the ſecret correſpondence they maintained with ſome of the principal inhabitants: but Chaumont, who had already loſt time in a fruitleſs attempt on Modena, and in throwing ſuccours into Verona, which was on the point of revolting, ſuffered himſelf to be detained, at the diſtance of three leagues from Bologna, by Pic de la Mirandola, who was ſent by the pope to open a negociation with the French. Pic was himſelf deceived by the treacherous pontiff, whom he believed to be really deſirous of peace; Chaumont was of the ſame opinion, and he accordingly dictated terms which Julius feigned to accept; but while the French were thus employed in ſettling the plan of an accommodation, the Spaniards and Venetians ſent a ſtrong body of forces into Bologna, and Chaumont was obliged to retire, oppreſſed with ſhame at having been the dupe of an unprincipled prieſt. Julius now laid ſiege to Mirandola; and the progreſs of his forces not equalling his expectation, the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt appeared in the trenches, clad in complete armour, exhorting his troops to the attack; and, on the ſurrender of the city, cauſed himſelf to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.

A. D. 1511.] Ferdinand of Arragon had, at laſt, thrown off the maſk, in conſequence of having received from the pope the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples, on condition that he ſhould every year preſent a white palfrey to the ſovereign pontiff, and ſupply him with a body of three hundred lances whenever he ſhould be engaged in a war. Ferdinand, not content with entering into a league with Julius againſt France, endeavoured to make the emperor follow his example; but failing in this point, he offered himſelf as mediator between the pope and the confederates. Some fruitleſs negociations were the conſequence of this offer, which only ſerved to ſhew the averſion of the pontiff from all pacific meaſures. After attempting, in vain, to corrupt the ambaſſadors of Lewis and Maximilian, and to promote diſſentions in Genoa and Florence, he intrigued with the court of England, which was now ruled by Henry the Eighth, to whom Margaret of Auſtria—apprized of the pope's machinations—wrote on the occaſion, to deter him from engaging in ſchemes that were hoſtile to the intereſts of his kingdom. Julius created eight new cardinals, in order to oppoſe a part of the Holy College who had declared for France, and retiring to Milan, had juſt ſummoned, with the approbation of the emperor and the king, a general council to meet at Piſa, on the firſt of September.

Chaumont dying ſoon after the reduction of Mirandola, the command of the French forces devolved on the mareſchal Triulzi, who opened the campaign by the ſiege of Concordia, which he took, and then marched againſt Bologna. On the approach of the French the pope retired to Ravenna, and the inhabitants of Bologna, attached to their old maſters, the Bentivoglios, compelled the garriſon to lay down their arms, and received the French into the city; the rear of the papal army was attacked by the French, who took all their artillery and baggage; the Venetians alſo ſuſtained a defeat, and had Triulzi purſued his advantage, he might have ſecured the pope in Ravenna, and put an end to the war; but Lewis, actuated by the ſame ridiculous ſcruples as his wife, had given the moſt poſitive orders not to puſh matters to extremities. This ill-timed moderation revived the arrogance and vindictive ſpirit of the Roman pontiff, who now repaired to Rome, where he had the mortification to find himſelf cited to attend the council of Piſa, under the ſimple denomination of cardinal San Pietro di Vincola. Julius was at firſt intimidated by theſe proceedings, and opened a negociation with Lewis; but he ſoon changed his mind, and having determined to oppoſe council to council, ſummoned another to meet at Rome on the nineteenth of April, 1512, excommunicated the ſix cardinals who had convoked the council of Piſa, and expelled them from the ſacred college. The council of Piſa, which did not meet till the twentieth of October, produced nothing of importance; no biſhops, either from Germany or the Netherlands, attended. The Piſans, alarmed at the interdict impoſed on their city by the pope, compelled the fathers of the council to tranſfer it to Milan; whence an invaſion of the Swiſs obliged them to remove to Lyons. Julius was tried and depoſed by this council, but no one was appointed to ſucceed him in the Papal throne; in revenge, that pontiff laid the whole kingdom of France, and the city of Lyons in particular, under an interdict.

Gaſton

Gaſton de Foix, nephew to the king, who had lately been created duke of Nemours, was now appointed governor of the Milaneſe; and though Lewis was blamed for entruſting ſo important a command to ſo young a man, who had ſcarcely attained his twenty-third year, yet the ſubſequent conduct of the duke fully juſtified the choice of his ſovereign. Chabannes, lord of la Paliſſe, was, at the ſame time, ſent into Italy, with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops, and with orders to be guided in his operations by the commands of Maximilian. The emperor, whoſe army was not yet prepared to take the field, ordered la Paliſſe to diſlodge the Venetians from a ſtrong poſt which they occupied not far from Vicenza; having performed this taſk, and taken the Venetian general priſoner, he reduced Suana, at the beginning of Auguſt; then purſuing his march to Padua, he undertook to turn the ſtream which ſupplied that city with water, but as he was preparing to put this plan in execution, he received orders from the emperor to enter the province of Friuli, where, in a ſhort time, he diſpoſſeſſed the Venetians of almoſt every town and fortreſs in that country, and theſe republicans once more retired to their capital, having loſt all their places on the continent, except Padua and Trevigi.

During the victorious progreſs of la Paliſſe, the Swiſs had entered the Milaneſe, which was almoſt deſtitute of troops: Gaſton, the governor of the duchy, retired before the invaders, to the ſuburbs of Milan, where he was inveſted by the Swiſs, who expected to receive ſuccours from the pope and the Venetians; but being diſappointed in their expectations, and Gaſton's army daily receiving ſome acceſſion of ſtrength, they retired, with precipitation, into their own country; while Gaſton profited by their abſence to put the duchy in a proper ſtate of defence.

On the twentieth of October, 1511, according to Mezerai[16], Julius concluded a league with the Venetians, and the king of Arragon, againſt France; the avowed object of which was, to reſtore harmony to the church, to annihilate the council of Piſa, to recover the territories of the church, and to expel from Italy all who ſhould oppoſe ſuch ſalutary meaſures. It was agreed that Ferdinand ſhould ſupply twelve hundred lances, one thouſand light-horſe, and ten thouſand infantry; the Venetians, eight hundred lances, one thouſand light-horſe, and eight thouſand foot; and the pope, four hundred men at arms, five hundred light-horſe, and ſix thouſand infantry: Julius and the Venetians engaged to advance twenty thouſand ducats for the ſupport of the Spaniſh troops; the fleet was to conſiſt of twelve Spaniſh and fourteen Venetian gallies. Don Ramondo di Cardona, viceroy of Naples, was appointed to command the army of this league, which was dignified with the appellation of *Holy*. Some efforts were made to induce Henry the Eighth and Maximilian

[16] Hiſtoire de France, tom. vii. p. 201. But Guicciardini ſays it was ſigned at Rome on the fourth of October, and publiſhed at Venice on the twentieth. Tom. ii. lib. X. p. 402, note *a*.

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to join the confederacy; but thoſe monarchs rejected, for the preſent, the ſolicitations of the pope, though they already evinced a diſpoſition hoſtile to Lewis.

A. D. 1512.] The army of the Holy League entered Romagna in the month of November, and after reducing all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, beyond the Po, laid ſiege to Baſtia. The governor ſignalized his courage in defence of the town, but he was unfortunately killed in the breach with a great part of his garriſon; and the Spaniards, in revenge for the loſs they had ſuſtained in the attack, put the reſt to the ſword, together with numbers of the inhabitants. The duke of Ferrara did not give them time to repair the fortification, but attacking the Spaniards on every ſide, he obtained a complete victory, and recovered Baſtia the ſame day on which it was taken. This check, however, did not prevent the Spaniards from laying ſiege to Bologna, to the aſſiſtance of which Gaſton had already detached two thouſand Germans and two hundred Gendarmes, under the command of Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, a young warrior of twenty; Yves d'Alegre, and ſome other experienced captains; but this ſuccour was inſufficient for the defence of the city, which muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if a difference of opinion among the Spaniſh generals had not occaſioned a conſiderable loſs of time. Peter Navarre, the ſecond in command, promiſed to take the town by ſpringing a mine; and while he was making the neceſſary preparations, the beſieged received a freſh reinforcement, and adopted a reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; the failure of the mine only tended to encreaſe the courage of the garriſon. Gaſton profited by theſe delays, and collecting his troops, marched to Bologna, and entered the city, under cover of a prodigious fall of ſnow, unperceived by the aſſailants, who inſtantly retired from before the place.

The Venetians, meanwhile, had obtained poſſeſſion of Breſcia, through the treachery of count Lewis Avogaro, who reſided in that city. Gaſton no ſooner received the news of this event than he determined to recover the place; he accordingly left a garriſon in Bologna, ſent ſuccours to Ferrara, and, after marching forty leagues in the depth of winter, arrived, in the night of the fourteenth of February, before the town of Breſcia Bayard and Teligni, who had preceded the army, attacked and defeated a body of Venetians, and made a great number of priſoners; an abbey, near one of the gates of the city, was inveſted by d'Alegre, who forced an entrance, and put the troops ſtationed to defend it to the ſword.

The day after his arrival, Gaſton, and his army, entered the citadel, which ſtill held out for the French. A council of war being called, a general aſſault was determined on; Gonet, governor of the citadel, marched at the head of the Gaſcons; and Bayard followed on foot, with his men at arms. The conteſt was long and bloody; but the ſuperior courage and diſcipline of the French at length prevailed, and the Venetians were every where routed: d'Alegre being ſtationed at the gate of Saint John, the only gate that was open,

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to intercept them in their flight, a dreadful carnage enſued; Mezerai [17] ſays they loſt eight thouſand men; other writers have encreaſed this number to twelve thouſand, but Guicciardini [18], who lived at the time, reduces their loſs to eight hundred; according to his account, indeed, all the Venetian forces then in Breſcia did not amount to twelve thouſand men. The town was pillaged and ſacked; one houſe only eſcaped, through the generoſity of Bayard, who had been conveyed thither, after receiving a dangerous wound, and who repaid the hoſpitality of its inhabitants, by the preſervation of their lives and property. Federigo Contareno, the Venetian provvéditore, was killed; Andrew Gritti, and Antonio Giuſtiniano, two of their generals, with ſeveral other noblemen, were taken priſoners. The count d'Avogaro and his ſon, who had betrayed the town into the hands of the Venetians, were beheaded. The pillage of Breſcia, then the moſt opulent city in Lombardy, proved the ruin of the army: the troops, enriched with the booty they had acquired, deſerted in crowds, and none but raw recruits remained, whoſe zeal was inſufficient to ſupply their want of expérience.

At this period, Gaſton received orders from the king to hazard a deciſive action, ſince the ſituation of his affairs rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. The emperor's conduct gave reaſon to apprehend that he would ſoon be induced to yield to the ſolicitations of the ſovereign pontiff; the king of England evinced a ſimilar diſpoſition; all hopes of an accommodation with the Swiſs were at an end; and the Florentines themſelves ſeemed inclined to favour the pope, who had lately revoked the ſentence of excommunication he had paſſed on them, and had returned them thanks for having compelled the fathers of the council to quit Piſa, and retire to Milan.

In conſequence of theſe orders, Gaſton entered Romagna with an army compoſed of eighteen thouſand foot, beſides a numerous cavalry, but as Ferdinand had expreſsly ordered his generals to avoid an action, he had conſiderable difficulty in effecting his purpoſe. He took, in ſight of the Spaniſh army, the towns of Caſtel di Solarolo, Cotignolo and Grannarolo; and, at length, laid ſiege to Ravenna. The Spaniards had pledged themſelves to Mark Anthony Colonna, who commanded the town, to march to his relief in caſe the French ſhould attack him; they accordingly advanced to within two miles of Ravenna, where they fixed their camp; ſtill, however, reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid an action. Gaſton, having in vain endeavoured to allure them into the plain, at length came to a reſolution of attacking their camp. On the eleventh of April, the French army paſſed the river Ronco; the van, commanded by the duke of Ferrara, was compoſed of the German infantry, and ſeven hundred Gendarmes; in the center were ſtationed all the French infantry, with five thouſand Italians; the rear conſiſted of ſix hundred lances,

[17] Tom. vii. p. 201. [18] Tom. ii. lib. x. p. 445.

and

and was led by la Paliſſe, and cardinal San Severino; Yves d'Alegre commanded the corps-de-reſerve, which was compoſed of four hundred lances. Gaſton ſtationed himſelf in no particular place, that he might be at liberty to repair wherever his preſence might be required. The enemy, meanwhile, had ſtrongly fortified their camp, and appeared determined not to leave it, though the French artillery made conſiderable havock among their troops. But Fabricio Colonna, enraged at ſeeing his cavalry deſtroyed without fighting, diſobeyed the orders of the viceroy, and advanced towards the French; the Spaniards being obliged to follow them, the action became general. Equal ſkill and courage were long diſplayed on either ſide: Colonna, who had pierced the ranks of the French, was attacked in his turn, and with ſuch reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that he was compelled to leave the field; and the viceroy, Cordonna, ſoon became the companion of his flight. Navarre, who commanded the infantry, ſtill kept his ground: twelve hundred of his men defeated a detachment of Gaſcons, and endeavoured to throw themſelves into Ravenna; but being attacked by a body of cavalry, under the baſtard du Fay, they were compelled to give up this attempt, and join their leader, who defended himſelf, with extraordinary courage and preſence of mind, againſt the attacks of the whole French army: at length the Germans, animated by the ſpirit of revenge for the loſs of their leader, ruſhed on the enemy with incredible fury; one of them, a man of uncommon ſtrength, cut his way through their ranks, and opened, at the expence of his life, a road for his comrades: the opportunity was eagerly ſeized, and ſucceſsfully improved: Navarre being wounded in ſeveral places, was taken priſoner, and his troops, preſſed on all ſides, were ſoon diſperſed with great ſlaughter. The victory was complete, and among the priſoners, who were numerous, was the cardinal de Medicis, the pope's legate.

In this celebrated battle, Gaſton diſplayed the qualities of a conſummate and experienced leader: hitherto he had eſcaped unhurt, but perceiving a body of Spaniards, who were retiring in good order, he imprudently ruſhed forward to attack them, accompanied only by about twenty gentlemen. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected; his couſin, Lautrec, was wounded at his ſide; Gaſton's horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf, after having fought with the moſt heroic courage, fell, pierced with fourteen wounds. In vain did Lautrec exclaim—"'Tis Gaſton, 'tis the brother of your queen, do "not kill him."—The Spaniards, deaf to his cries, and bent on revenge, vented their cowardly rage on the unarmed and defenceleſs hero.

Never was any commander more deeply regretted; and never was any one more deſerving of regret: the mental endowments of Gaſton correſponded to his perſonal accompliſhments; and had his courage been tempered by prudence, he would have been as much admired as a general as he was eſteemed as a man. His body was carried to his tent by his gentlemen, amidſt the lamentations of the army, whoſe grief for the loſs of their leader greatly exceeded their joy for the victory they had gained. This laſt imprudent attack proved fatal to Yves d'Alegre, his ſon, the lord of Molard, and ſeveral other noblemen, who

who loſt their lives in defending their commander. The French called on la Paliſſe to place himſelf at their head, and conjured him to lead them, without delay to the attack of Ravenna. That city was taken by aſſault, while the generals were engaged in a parley, through the fault of Jacquin Caumont, a German captain, whom la Paliſſe cauſed to be immediately hanged; but he was unable to reſtrain the ſoldiers, who, under pretence of revenging the death of Gaſton, committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. Calonna ſurrendered the citadel, and Vitelli, having withdrawn the garriſon from Città de Caſtello, that town opened its gates to the French.

The Romans now trembled within their walls; the treacherous pontiff deemed his depoſition inevitable; and had la Paliſſe continued his victorious progreſs, the total reduction of Italy might have been effected with eaſe; but he did not dare to proceed until he had received orders from the king. Lewis, unable to profit by the ſplendid victory he had obtained, was ſoon obliged to recal his forces from Italy to the defence of his own dominions. The troops, on their return to the Milaneſe, paid the laſt duties to the duke of Nemours, whoſe body was depoſited in the metropolitan church of Milan, where the marks of his victory ſerved as trophies for his tomb; but theſe honourable embelliſhments were ſoon removed by the Spaniards, whoſe malignant revenge led them to deſtroy the tomb itſelf; thus diſturbing the aſhes of a hero, who, when alive, had made the boldeſt of them tremble.

Meanwhile, the cardinals, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the French, and ſhocked, we muſt hope, at the vaſt effuſion of blood occaſioned by theſe deſtructive wars, on their knees conjured the pope to give peace to Europe: but the profligate pontiff delighted in blood, and cared not how many of his fellow-creatures were ſacrificed to the gratification of his own boundleſs ambition. He feigned, however, a compliance with their wiſhes, and once more impoſed on the candour and conſideration of Lewis, by talking of a peace which he had reſolved not to conclude. The cardinal de Medicis, though a priſoner, confirmed him in this reſolution: having found means to ingratiate himſelf with the cardinals of the council of Piſa, he obtained permiſſion to ſend a meſſenger to Rome, under pretext of arranging ſome domeſtic concerns, but in fact, to inform the pontiff of the ſituation to which the French were reduced. It was ſuch, that their army appeared rather to have ſuffered a defeat, than to have obtained a victory; it was conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion; all diſcipline was deſtroyed; and la Paliſſe enjoyed the title of general, without any portion of a general's authority. To complete their misfortunes, the king's commiſſary, to whom the taſk of recruiting the army was entruſted, diſmiſſed, from a ſpirit of economy, all the recruits he had raiſed; and Maximilian, in conſequence of a truce which he had concluded with the Venetians, ſent orders to the Germans to quit the French camp without delay.

Thus la Paliſſe was left alone to oppoſe the Swiſs, who had ruſhed, like a torrent, into the Milaneſe. In vain did he write to the General of Normandy (that was the title which the king's commiſſary bore) to levy freſh recruits; his letter, in which he expatiated on the dreadful ſituation to which he was reduced, fell into the hands of the Swiſs, whoſe courage it ſerved to inflame. They immediately joined the Venetians, the Griſons having granted them a free paſſage through their territories, under a pretence of being compelled thereto by ancient treaties. They experienced no greater difficulty in croſſing the territories belonging to the emperor. The Italian princes, who had been ſhaken by the battle of Ravenna, obſerving the wretched ſituation of the French, either renewed their treaties with the pope, or remained in a ſtate of inactivity. The object of the confederates was to recover from Lewis the duchy of Milan, which la Paliſſe was wholly unable to defend. Maximilian wiſhed to ſecure it for his grandſon, Ferdinand, who had been brought up in Spain; and the king of Arragon wanted it for himſelf; but the Swiſs, the pope, and all the Italian princes, who equally feared both thoſe powers, and were deſirous of giving the duchy to a prince who was dependent on themſelves, deſtined it for Maximilian Sforza, ſon to Ludovico, a young prince whoſe talents and merit but ill-accorded with the graces of his perſon. Ludovico himſelf had juſt expired at the caſtle of Loches, at the very time, as ſome hiſtorians have aſſerted, that the king, wiſhing to oppoſe him to the enemies of France, had come to a reſolution to replace the ducal crown upon his head.

Young Sforza, conducted by the Swiſs and the confederates, was received, amidſt the acclamations of the people, in all the towns in the Milaneſe, which la Paliſſe was obliged to abandon; while the rear of the French army was cut to pieces at the paſſage of Teſino. The revolution ſoon became general: Milan, Lodi, and ſeveral other towns, preſerved themſelves from pillage by the payment of conſiderable ſums, which were given to the Swiſs. Bologna implored the clemency of Julius, who was, with difficulty, prevailed on to pardon the inhabitants; it is even pretended, that but for his death, which fortunately occurred ſoon after, that beautiful city would have been conſigned to deſtruction. Florence again ſubmitted to the authority of the Medici. The French had evacuated the duchy of Milan, excepting ſome few places, which ſoon ſurrendered. Genoa once more revolted, revived the ancient form of government, and raiſed James Fregoſo to the dignity of doge. Maximilian Sforza was acknowledged as duke of Milan, and the Swiſs ſtill continued to ravage that beautiful country. The cardinal de Medicis eſcaped from the French, and repaired to Rome; while the cardinals of the council of Piſa, who had retired to Lyons, were condemned by the council of Lateran, opened by the pope on the ſixteenth of November, when the interdict which had been impoſed on the kingdom of France was renewed: Julius even wiſhed to transfer the title of Moſt Chriſtian King from Lewis to Henry the Eighth, that is, from one of the moſt virtuous to one of the moſt vicious monarchs that ever exiſted. The emperor Maximilian, ſtrange as it may appear, actually aſpired to the triple crown. There is a letter of his to his daughter Margaret,

Margaret, ſtill extant, dated the twenty-eighth of September, 1512; in which he tells her, that—"He is endeavouring to get himſelf appointed co-adjutor to Julius, in order "that he may afterward become pope; and that it will be a glorious thing for her, after "having honoured him as a father and as emperor, to honour him as pope, and as a "ſaint."—Julius, doubtleſs, profited by this ſtrange idea, to bind the emperor to his intereſt.

Lewis, meanwhile, after ſeeing all his Italian conqueſts wreſted from him, found his kingdom threatened by an invaſion of the Engliſh. Henry the Eighth had ſent a herald to Paris, to exhort the king not to wage impious war againſt the ſovereign pontiff; and when he returned without ſucceſs, another was ſent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of the Engliſh crown, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy: this meſſage was underſtood to be a declaration of war, and Lewis accordingly prepared for the conſequences. Henry was adviſed, by Ferdinand the Catholic, not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himſelf ſhould not have it in his power to aſſiſt him, but exhorted him rather to ſend forces to Fontarabia, whence he could eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined, the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. Ferdinand promiſed to aſſiſt this conqueſt by the junction of a Spaniſh army; and ſo forward did he ſeem to promote the intereſts of his ſon-in-law, that he even ſent veſſels to England, in order to tranſport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpoſe. The marquis of Dorſet commanded this armament, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, moſtly infantry.

But the ſecret purpoſe of Ferdinand, in this affectation of concern for the intereſts of the Engliſh monarch, was to ſecure for himſelf the kingdom of Navarre, the conqueſt whereof he had long meditated; and as John d'Albret, the ſovereign, was connected by friendſhip and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity ſeemed favourable to the king of Arragon, while the Engliſh forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Piſa lay under the ſentence of excommunication, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of theſe dominions. No ſooner, therefore, was Dorſet landed in Guipuſcoa, than the Spaniſh monarch declared his readineſs to join him with his forces, to make, with united arms, an invaſion of France, and to form the ſiege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne[19]: but he remarked to the Engliſh general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in cloſe alliance with France, could eaſily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide againſt ſo dangerous an event, he required that John d'Albret ſhould ſtipulate a neutrality in the preſent war; and when

[19] Herbert.—Hollingſhed, p. 813.—Hume.

that prince expreſſed his willingneſs to enter into any engagement for that purpoſe, he alſo required, that ſecurity ſhould be given for the ſtrict obſervance of it. D'Albret having likewiſe agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he ſhould deliver into his hands ſix of the moſt conſiderable places of his dominions, together with his eldeſt ſon, as a hoſtage. Theſe were not terms to be propoſed to a ſovereign; and as the monarch expected a refuſal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invaſion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the ſmaller towns, and being ready to form the ſiege of Pampeluna, the capital, he ſummoned the marquis of Dorſet to join him with the Engliſh army, and concert together all their operations.

Dorſet began to ſuſpect the inſidious deſigns of Ferdinand, and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, he refuſed to take any part in the enterprize, and therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But ſo ſubtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the Engliſh army lay in that ſituation, it was almoſt equally ſerviceable to his purpoſe, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to ſuccour the kingdom of Navarre; ſo that Alva, having full leiſure to conduct the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of Pampeluna, and obliged John to ſeek for ſhelter in France, whither his conſort, queen Catherine, had retired before him. That ſpirited princeſs, mortified at the loſs of her crown, could not refrain from exclaiming to her huſband—"*Had I been John, and you* "*Catherine, we ſhould never have loſt our kingdom.*"

The Spaniſh general applied again to Dorſet, and propoſed to conduct, with united counſels, the operations of the *Holy League* againſt Lewis; but Dorſet, by this time convinced of Ferdinand's perfidy, inſiſted on being ſupplied with veſſels to return to England; and though, previous to his embarkation, an order came from Henry, for him to remain in Spain, the ſoldiers were ſo diſcontented with the treatment they had experienced, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to ſet ſail for England.

The Engliſh acquired little honour from this ill-conducted enterprize, and an action at ſea, which occurred ſoon after, produced nothing more deciſive. An Engliſh fleet of forty-five ſail, under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, was ſent to inſult the coaſts of Brittany; after they had committed ſome depredations, they were met and attacked by a French fleet of thirty-nine ſail, under the conduct of Primauget. Primauget's ſhip took fire, and that officer, finding his deſtruction inevitable, bore down upon the veſſel of the Engliſh admiral, and, grappling with her, reſolved to make her ſhare his fate. Both fleets ſtood ſome time in ſuſpence, as ſpectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men ſaw with horror the flames which conſumed both veſſels, and heard the cries of fury and deſpair, which came from the miſerable combatants. At laſt the French ſhip blew

blew up, and, at the ſame time, deſtroyed the Engliſh [20]. The reſt of the French fleet made their eſcape into different harbours.

Lewis, meanwhile, anxious to enforce the reſtoration of John d'Albret, ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of the duke of Valois. John accompanied the duke, and, at his approach, many of the towns voluntarily roſe in his favour, while ſome others were reduced by arms. But when the French formed the ſiege of Pampeluna, they were oppoſed by the whole force of Spain; and being deſtitute of proviſion, and moreover unable to cope with ſuch a powerful army, they raiſed the ſiege and returned to France: their retreat was followed by the total ſubjection of Navarre to the power of Spain. During theſe tranſactions, the king and the duke of Ferrara had opened, by means of a monk, a private negociation with the prince of Tarento, who was ſtill a priſoner at the Spaniſh court, for the purpoſe of placing him on the throne of his father; and his partizans only waited for his arrival at Naples to declare openly in his favour: Cupolo, a Neapolitan nobleman, had repaired to Spain, in order to accompany him on his voyage, and every thing being prepared for their departure, they were on the point of ſetting out, when the plot was detected; in conſequence of which Cupolo loſt his life, and the young prince was committed to cloſe cuſtody, in the fortreſs of Xativa.

Ferdinand, anxious to ſecure his new conqueſt, and intereſted in preventing a farther extenſion of the Papal or Venetian power in Italy, conſented to a truce with France for one year.

A. D. 1513.] Lewis was, by this time, fully convinced of the conſequence of detaching the Swiſs from their alliance with the pope; la Trémouille, therefore, for whom they had always evinced a marked predilection, was ſent to Switzerland, in the capacity of ambaſſador extraordinary; but they refuſed to hold any commerce with him. Triulzi, who held a conſiderable rank among this mercenary people, alſo exerted his influence in favour of France; but he met with no better ſucceſs, and la Trémouille was obliged to return without fulfilling the object of his embaſſy. At the ſame time the king received propoſals for an accommodation from Maximilian and from the Venetians; between which he was at a loſs to chuſe, for by declaring himſelf the ally of one, he would neceſſarily be conſidered as an enemy by the other; ſince their intereſts were totally oppoſite, the emperor wiſhing to eſtabliſh his power in Italy, and the Venetians being anxious to promote his expulſion from that country. The pope, who had been reduced to the ſame alternative, had abandoned the Venetians in favour of Maximilian, who had conſented to renounce the council of Piſa, and to acknowledge that of Lateran. The emperor propoſed to ſign a treaty with Lewis, on condition that the princeſs Renée, the

[20] Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.—Stowe, p. 490.—Languet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273.

king's

king's youngeſt daughter, ſhould marry one of his grandſons, and be immediately ſent to the Imperial court; but the tender years and delicate conſtitution of that princeſs exciting apprehenſions for her life, in caſe ſhe were married too ſoon, the queen oppoſed her departure, and Maximilian immediately put a ſtop to all farther negociation.

The Venetians ſtill continued to ſolicit the friendſhip of a prince, who having proved his ability to deſtroy, might, they conceived, be able to reſtore them to their priſtine ſplendour, or, at leaſt, to preſerve them from the dangerous encroachments of their powerful neighbours. The matter was debated in council, and more inconveniences than advantages were deemed likely to ſpring from the projected alliance; but the influence of Triulzi, who was extremely anxious to promote it, prevailed; and Andrew Gritti, then a priſoner to Lewis, being releaſed, received ample powers from the republic of Venice, and appeared as their ambaſſador at the court of France. Julius did not live to be informed of this treaty, which was concluded but a few days before his death: he died as he had lived, a ſtranger to the principles of chriſtianity; inſtead of expreſſing his remorſe for the numerous ſins of his life, his laſt moments were only embittered by regret at not having lived to fulfil his projects of ambition, and to complete his ſchemes of vengeance. What Guicciardini has ſaid of the cardinal San Severino may, with greater juſtice, be applied to Julius—"He was more diſpoſed to martial atchievements and "to feats of arms, than to acts of devotion and pious meditations."—As a man, he was treacherous, faithleſs, and vindictive; as a miniſter of religion his conduct was ſtill more deteſtable; and his memory muſt ever be holden in abhorrence by all who are not inclined to think that ſplendid talents afford an adequate compenſatiou for the abſence of every virtue.

Julius died on the twenty-firſt of February, 1513, and on the eleventh of March following the cardinal de Medicis—who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna—was appointed to ſucceed him in the Papal throne. The new pontiff, who aſſumed the appellation of Leo the Tenth, proſecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predeceſſor. The death of Julius produced but little alteration in the affairs of Italy; the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of Parma and Piacenza, which were evacuated by the troops of the church, and the people ſwore allegiance to the duke of Milan. The duke of Ferrara recovered ſome places which had been taken from him by the pope, but the Spaniards recovered the cities of Modena and Reggio, which formed a part of his territories.

The king of England had obtained a ſupply from the parliament for the proſecution of the war with France, and the moſt formidable preparations were now making for that purpoſe. The dread of an invaſion deterred Lewis from paſſing into Italy as he had intended, and la Trémouille was appointed commander of the troops deſtined for that expedition, who were to be joined by the Venetians. On the appointed day, the army of the

the republic took the field under the conduct of Alviano, who had been releaſed by the French. La Trémouille, on his arrival in Italy, recovered in one-and-twenty days, the whole duchy of Milan, except the towns of Como and Novara. Sforza had retired to Novara, where he was inveſted by the French; but on the news that ten thouſand Swiſs, followed by a ſecond army of five thouſand, were advancing to the relief of the place, which it was found impoſſible to take by aſſault; the breach not being yet practicable, la Trémouille determined to ſuſpend the operations of the ſiege, and march to attack the Swiſs before their two armies ſhould have effected a junction. Triulzi received orders to proceed, without ſtopping, as far as Trecario; but under pretence that his troops were fatigued, he pitched his camp on the road in a marſhy place, where the different corps of of the army were ſo divided that it was impoſſible for them, in caſe of attack, to afford timely aſſiſtance to each other. La Trémouille, on his arrival with the rear of the army, immediately reproached Triulzi with the fault he had committed, which he would fain have repaired by continuing his march, but it was too late, and he was compelled to paſs the night on the ſpot. The next morning (June the ſixth) before day-break he was attacked by the Swiſs, whoſe forces were ſuperior to his own, as a part of his troops were ſtill in Savoy: la Trémouille drew up his army in order of battle, while his artillery made conſiderable havock among the enemy; but, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the French and Lanſquenets were routed, and ſeven thouſand of them left dead on the field. La Trémouille, who was wounded in the action, effected his retreat with the remainder of his troops to Vercelli, whence he proceeded to Suſa. The French loſt on this occaſion ſeven-and-twenty pieces of cannon.

The Milaneſe now again ſubmitted to the domination of Sforza, and the Swiſs exacted heavy contributions from all the towns which had opened their gates to the French. Genoa, which had likewiſe been reduced by la Trémouille, was retaken by the Spaniards, who reſtored Octavian Fregoſo to the dignity of Doge. The Venetian general, Alviano, who had entered the duchy of Milan, retired with precipitation, reduced Lignano, and made an ineffectual attempt on Verona. Leo having joined the Spaniards, their united forces committed dreadful depredations on the Venetian territories, which induced Alviano to riſk an action near Vicenza, in which he ſuſtained a total defeat.

Lewis was wholly unable to afford his allies that effectual relief which their diſtreſſed ſituation ſeemed to require; his own dominions were threatened with attacks on every ſide, and his troops barely ſufficient to defend his kingdom againſt the numerous enemies with which it was ſurrounded. Picardy and Burgundy were expoſed to imminent danger, but the miſconduct of the Engliſh ſaved the one, and the prudence of la Trémouille preſerved the other.

Five-and-twenty thouſand Swiſs made an irruption into Franche-Comté, where they were joined by a body of Imperialiſts, and after laying waſte the country, they

they laid ſiege to Dijon. That place was not in a ſtate of defence; yet la Trémouille, who was governor of Burgundy, threw himſelf into it, with the reſolution to hold out to the laſt extremity; and when the town ſhould be no longer tenable, to repair to ſome other, ſo as to prevent the enemy from penetrating to the capital. The magiſtrates and people of Dijon where in the greateſt conſternation; the Gendarmes had entered the city, and were diſtributed in different parts, with orders to encourage the citizens; the infantry were poſted on the ramparts, the cannon pointed, and the gates blocked up except two—that which led to Paris, left open for the convenience of receiving ſuccours, and facilitating a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity; and that which faced the enemy's camp. The governor ſent an officer to the king to demand ſuccours, while Mouſſi had orders—which he could not execute—to open a negociation with the Swiſs. The people, in alarm, followed the magiſtrates to the palace, whither la Trémouille had ſummoned them to attend: he there reproached them with their want of ſpirit: "If we "cannot conquer"—ſaid he—"we can at leaſt hold out till the arrival of ſuccours, "which are not far off. Obſerve our preparations; look on that formidable train of ar- "tillery; the very ſight of it has already ſtricken the Swiſs with terror; what, then, "will be the caſe, when it ſhall begin to play upon them?" But the eloquence of la Trémouille was inſufficient to revive the drooping ſpirits of the inhabitants; *that* the arrival of ſuccours could alone effect, and the king was unable to ſend any: he apprized la Trémouille of his inability, and told him, that being attacked on all ſides, he was under the neceſſity of entruſting ſolely to his prudence for the defence of Burgundy. The letter which conveyed theſe diſmal tidings was kept ſecret by la Trémouille, who immediately took his reſolution, and repaired to the enemy's camp, where, without betraying any ſymptoms of fear, or aſſuming a miſplaced confidence, he offered them peace. "*On two* "*conditions*"—replied the Swiſs—*we will accept it*;—*Money for ourſelves, and Burgundy* "*for the emperor.*" This propoſal was rejected with diſdain by la Trémouille, who harangued the Swiſs with ſo much energy, that thoſe who had at firſt been moſt violent againſt him, now liſtened to him with patience; meanwhile his ſecret partiſans exerted their influence; and the Swiſs, by degrees, began to relax: he ſeized, with judicious eagerneſs, the favourable moment, and inſtantaneouſly concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to pay them ſix hundred thouſand crowns, part of which was immediately advanced; and for the payment of the remainder he gave them his nephew and ſome other perſons as hoſtages: he aſſured the Swiſs that the king ſhould be reconciled to them, ſhould renounce the council of Piſa, and cede to them ſeveral places in the Milaneſe. The inhabitants of Dijon were tranſported with joy at the news of this treaty: they chearfully contributed to ſupply a part of the promiſed ſum, and the Swiſs immediately returned to their own country. In ſigning the treaty la Trémouille had rendered a ſignal ſervice to the ſtate; but the king, not having authoriſed him to take ſuch a ſtep, thought himſelf juſtified in refuſing to ratify the terms. The Swiſs threatened to revenge themſelves on the hoſtages they had received, but were at length prevailed on, by the payment of a conſiderable ſum, by way of ranſom, to reſtore them.

While

While the Swiſs were in Burgundy, Henry, king of England, had landed at Calais, with an army of fifty thouſand men: he was ſoon after joined by Maximilian, with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new-levied forces. Obſerving the diſpoſition of the Engliſh monarch to be more bent on glory than on intereſt, the emperor enliſted himſelf in his ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his ſubjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary ſpectacle of an emperor of Germany ſerving under a king of England, he was treated with the higheſt reſpect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the Engliſh army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the Engliſh camp, the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert, who had landed firſt with the vanguard of the army, had formed the ſiege of Teroüane, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy. Teligny and Crequi, who commanded in the town, made a ſtout reſiſtance, but at the expiration of a month, finding themſelves without proviſions, they apprized the king of their ſituation, who ſent orders to de Piennes, governor of the province, to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this ſmall force he made an unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp, and, ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the foſſée of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. They immmediately returned on a gallop, and were ſo fortunate as again to break through the Engliſh, and to ſuffer little or no loſs in this dangerous attempt. But the French cavalry, who had advanced to ſupport this detachment, in caſe of neceſſity, having thrown aſide their helmets and cuiraſſes, on account of the extreme heat, and moving careleſsly on without order or regularity, were ſuddenly attacked by the Engliſh, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, when ſo far from defending themſelves with their uſual courage, they immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. The duke of Longueville, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, and ſeveral other officers, were taken priſoners: Bayard was among the number, but the manner in which he was taken deſerves to be noticed. Being abandoned by his men, and left almoſt alone, he perceived an Engliſh man at arms, who tired with purſuing the fugitives, was reſting himſelf at the foot of a tree; Bayard rode up to him, and putting his ſword to his breaſt, told him to ſurrender himſelf or he was a dead man. The ſoldier, who was unarmed complied with the demand, when Bayard, reſigning his own ſword to him, ſaid "And I, too, am your priſoner, on "condition that you will reſtore me my ſword, in caſe we are attacked on the road." Bayard was then conducted to the enemy's camp, where he was received with great diſtinction by the emperor and the king of England. Henry would fain have engaged him to enter his ſervice, but Bayard, faithful to his ſovereign, rejected his ſolicitations. A few days after the battle, Bayard expreſſed a wiſh to return to the French camp, pretending that he was no priſoner; the matter was referred to the emperor, who declared

him free to return, but exacted a promiſe that Bayard ſhould not bear arms againſt him for ſix weeks.

Meanwhile the defeat or rather rout, of the French troops in the late action, which is ſometimes called the battle of Guinegatte, from the place where it was fought, but more commonly *The Battle of Spurs*, becauſe the French, on that day, made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords, had occaſioned the greateſt conſternation in the capital, whither it was expected the Engliſh would immediately march, ſince there was nothing on the road to impede the progreſs of their troops. But Lewis heard, with great pleaſure, that inſtead of puſhing their victory, they had returned to the ſiege of Teroüane. The governors were obliged, ſoon after, to ſurrender, and Henry found his acquiſition of ſo little moment, though gained at the expence of ſome blood, and much valuable time, that he immediately demoliſhed the fortifications, in direct violation of the terms of capitulation [21].

The Engliſh were again at liberty to avail themſelves of the favourable opportunity their arms had procured for effectually cruſhing the power of France. But the meaſures of Henry ſhewed equal ignorance in the art of war with that which the Swiſs had recently betrayed in negociation. Maximilian, deſirous of freeing his grandſon from a troubleſome neighbour, adviſed the king of England to lay ſiege to Tournay; and Henry, not conſidering that ſuch an acquiſition would nowiſe advance his conqueſts in France, was ſo imprudent as to follow this intereſted council. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garriſon, the burghers, againſt the remonſtrance of their ſovereign, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themſelves, to make a vigorous defence againſt the enemy [22]. They found themſelves, however, inadequate to the taſk, and, after a few days ſiege, the place was ſurrendered to the Engliſh [23]. The biſhop of Tournay was lately dead, and as a new biſhop was already elected by the chapter, but not inſtalled in his office, the king of England beſtowed the adminiſtration of the ſee on his favourite, the celebrated cardinal Wolſey. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiſs from Burgundy, and obſerving the ſeaſon to be far advanced, Henry thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

Lewis was thus unexpectedly delivered from a danger as formidable as any that had ever threatened the French monarchy; he was however, tired of the war; and the queen inceſſantly repeating to him that he could never expect to ſee it brought to a concluſion ſo long as he continued at variance with the ſovereign pontiff, Lewis, at length, yielded to her importunate ſolicitations, and ſuffered her to make overtures to Leo, which were

[21] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 214. [22] Memoires de Mareſchal de Fleuranges. [23] Mezerai, ubi ſupra.

favourably

favourably received by that pontiff, who did not wiſh to promote the ruin of France, but only to prevent her monarch from obtaining the duchy of Milan. An accommodation was accordingly effected between Lewis and the pope, the former having previouſly renounced the council of Piſa, and acknowledged that of Lateran, in conſequence whereof the king and kingdom were abſolved from all the cenſures which had been pronounced againſt them.

A. D. 1514.] The queen did not live to reap the fruits of this accommodation, which ſhe regarded as her own work; ſhe expired at Blois, on the ninth of February, 1514, regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom ſhe was tenderly beloved. The averſion of Anne from the counteſs of Angoulême, had made her conceive a diſlike to the young duke of Valois, the conſummation of whoſe marriage with her daughter Claude had, on that account, been hitherto prevented; but ſoon after her death, on the fourteenth of May, 1514, the nupitals were celebrated at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

The Swiſs, enraged with the king for his refuſal to ratify the treaty they had concluded with la Trémouille, now meditated a freſh invaſion of Burgundy, and were buſily employed in raiſing troops for that purpoſe; but the pope, fearful that Lewis might be unable to ſuſtain a ſecond campaign againſt ſuch a powerful confederacy, undertook to appeaſe the Swiſs, and an accommodation might have been effected, had Lewis poſſeſſed leſs candour and ſincerity; but it was a peculiar misfortune attending this prince, that his virtues generally proved prejudicial to his intereſts. The pope required, as a previous condition, the abſolute renunciation of the duchy of Milan; but Lewis aſſured him it was impoſſible to comply with his demand, ſince that duchy had been united to the domain of the crown. In vain did his miniſters endeavour to perſuade him that the very reaſon he had urged as an objection, ought to operate with him as the ſtrongſt inducement, ſince the renunciation required, being contrary to the laws of the realm, could not poſſibly be deemed binding, and he would, therefore, be juſtified in enforcing his claims on the firſt favourable opportunity. This equivocation had no effect on the generous monarch, who peremptorily refuſed to ſwear to the execution of a treaty which he had no intention of fulfilling: his noble candour put a ſtop to the negociation, and once more rendered the pope his enemy.

The truce with Spain, however, was prolonged for a year, and the emperor, hoping to obtain the princeſs Renée for his grandſon Charles, and by that means to ſecure the duchy of Milan, became leſs attached to the intereſts of England. Henry received with indignation the intelligence of the perfidy of his allies: the archduke Charles had, during the life-time of Henry the Seventh, been affianced to Mary, younger ſiſter to the preſent king of England; and as the prince now approached the age of puberty, that monarch had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable ſet-

tlement of a ſiſter for whom he entertained a tender affection. The treachery of Maximilian, therefore, enraged him to the higheſt degree; and as his reſentment againſt Ferdinand was equally ſtrong, the duke of Longueville, who was ſtill detained a priſoner in England, was encouraged to avail himſelf of his favourable diſpoſition, and to propoſe a peace, which he knew to be paſſionately deſired by his maſter. This nobleman repreſented to Henry, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, an opportunity was thereby afforded for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would ſerve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that ſhe had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a ſtrong deſire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage ſeemed more ſuitable to him than that with the princeſs of England, whoſe youth and beauty afforded the moſt flattering hopes in that particular: that though the marriage of a princeſs of ſixteen with a king of fifty-three might ſeem unſuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a ſufficient compenſation for this inequality: and that Henry, in looſening his connections with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a cloſe affinity with Lewis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably been guided by the principles of honour and probity [24].

As Henry ſeemed to liſten with pleaſure to theſe inſinuations, Longueville informed his maſter of the probability, which he diſcovered, of bringing the matter to a happy concluſion; Lewis, who ſtill grieved for the loſs of Anne, his late queen, had no inclination to marry again; but the account he received of the charms of Mary, joined to his deſire of promoting the happineſs of his people, by the reſtoration of peace, were motives too ſtrong to be reſiſted, and he accordingly gave Longueville full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Henry ſhould receive payment of ſix hundred thouſand crowns [25], as well for arrears of the penſion promiſed by the treaties of Péquigny and Eſtampes, as to reimburſe him for the expences of the war; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the laſt, who was heireſs of Brittany. The two princes alſo agreed on the ſuccours with which they ſhould mutually ſupply each other, in caſe either of them were attacked by an enemy [26]. In conſequence of this treaty, Mary was ſent over to France with a ſplendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated on the tenth of October, 1514.

A. D. 1515.] This marriage diffuſed an univerſal joy throughout the kingdom, and the court became a ſcene of feſtivity and pleaſure. Lewis was enchanted with the beau-

[24] Hume. [25] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 218. [26] Du Tillet.

ty,

ty, grace, and numerous accompliſhments of his youthful conſort, for whoſe gratification he totally changed his manner of living; but, unfortunately, his exceſs of affection proved prejudicial to his health; by ſtimulating a diſpoſition naturally amorous, it led him to indulge too freely in thoſe enjoyments which are ill-ſuited to the autumn of life. He had been frequently heard to repeat, that—"Love is the king of young, but the tyrant of "old men;" and he was condemned to experience the truth of that maxim. His conſtitution, already ſhaken, received an additional ſhock, from a fit of the gout and a ſlow fever; yet ſtill he continued his preparations for an invaſion of Italy; the troops had already advanced to the frontiers, and only waited the return of ſpring to paſs the mountains. The Venetians, having rejected the ſolicitations of the pope, to conclude a treaty with the emperor, had conſiderably augmented their forces, and were reſolved to ſecond the operations of Lewis. On the other hand, the Swiſs had undertaken to guard the Alps, and threatened to exterminate the French. But the execution of theſe projects were, for a time, ſuſpended, by the death of the beſt of kings, who, in addition to his other diſorders, was ſeized with a dyſentery, at the palace of the Tournelles, in Paris, which brought him to the grave, on the firſt of January, 1515, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The ſuperior integrity of Lewis, in an age when moſt of the European princes were actuated by a ſpirit of perfidy, and made intereſt the grand object of their purſuits, and the ſole rule of their conduct, merits the higheſt commendations which the pen of the hiſtorian can beſtow. A profeſſed enemy to falſhood and equivocation, he puniſhed with ſeverity every deviation from truth. Frank, open, candid, affable, and gay, he conciliated the affections of all who knew him, while his attention to the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects, procured him the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. As a politician, indeed, his abilities may be called in queſtion; though the failure of his ſchemes may, in general, be aſcribed to the excellence of his principles; and the monarch who becomes a dupe to his virtues cannot fail to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, while the prince who is indebted for his ſucceſs to his vices, muſt be holden in perpetual abhorrence. His inconſiderate expeditions to Italy are certainly obnoxious to cenſure, for though his claims to the duchy of Milan were incontrovertible, the conqueſt of Naples was rather influenced by ambition than juſtice, and occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of blood. But how far this one error ſhould be allowed to counterbalance the numerous virtues of Lewis, we muſt leave to the reader to decide.

Lewis the Twelfth had, by his conſort, Anne of Brittany, widow to Charles the Eighth, two ſons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters, Claude married to Francis the Firſt, and Renée, who eſpouſed the duke of Ferrara.

Francis had been greatly ſtricken with the charms of the Engliſh princeſs Mary, wife to Lewis; and, even during his predeceſſor's life-time, had paid her ſuch aſſiduous court,

as made ſome of his friends apprehend that he had a deſign upon her perſon. On the death of Lewis, his attention was redoubled; but being warned, that, by yielding to this propenſity, he might probably provide a maſter for himſelf, he ſuffered the fear of loſing a crown to ſubdue his riſing paſſion; and he even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye, during the firſt months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, at the court of France, the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and the moſt expert in all the faſhionable exerciſes of the age. He was the Engliſh monarch's principal favourite, and Henry had even once intended to give him his ſiſter in marriage, and had encouraged a mutual paſſion between the youthful pair. The queen now aſked Suffolk whether he had the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? and ſhe told him that her brother would more eaſily be induced to forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk had too much ſpirit to decline ſuch an inviting offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleaſed with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any advantageous alliance by means of his ſiſter, interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him; and his interpoſition being ſeconded by the Engliſh miniſter Wolſey, Suffolk and his conſort obtained permiſſion to return to England.

FRANCIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 1515.] WITH Lewis the Twelfth expired the elder branch of the houſe of Orleans, and the ſceptre of France was tranferred to that of Angoulême. Francis the Firſt ſucceeded his great-uncle Lewis, without oppoſition or difficulty: the order of ſucceſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed; and this was the third time, ſince the acceſſion of the monarchs of the Capetian race, that the crown, in default of heirs male, had paſſed to a collateral branch. The coronation of Francis was performed at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of January, amidſt the acclamations of a people, whoſe affections his external endowments, and popular manners, were well calculated to acquire. But the adulation he received had a fatal effect on his conduct, by inflating his pride, and flattering his ambition. The firſt act of authority he performed, proved the ſtrength of his filial affection—the county of Angoulême was, in favour of his mother, converted into a duchy; the patent of the creation is dated the fourth of February, 1515.

The office of grand-maſter of the king's houſhold was taken from la Paliſſe—who was promoted to the dignity of a mareſchal of France—and conferred on Gonffier Boiſi, governor to Francis; and this nobleman, in conjunction with Florimond Robertet, was entruſted with the chief management of affairs. Hitherto there had only been three mareſchals of France, but Francis created a fourth, and afterward a fifth: the officers who were now honoured with this diſtinction were Triulzi, Lautrec, d'Aubigny and la Paliſſe. The office of conſtable had lain dormant, ever ſince the execution of the count of Saint Pol; the jealous policy of Lewis the Eleventh had led that monarch to avoid the beſtowal of unneceſſary power on any of his ſubjects, and his ſon Charles, as well as Lewis the Twelfth, had, in this inſtance, followed his example. Francis, on the contrary,

trary, haſtened to revive it, and the duke of Bourbon was, accordingly, promoted to the dignity of Conſtable. The ſeals were taken from Pouchet, biſhop of Paris, and entruſted to Anthony Duprat, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, a man, whoſe vices and perſecuting ſpirit involved his country in confuſion and diſgrace.

After regulating the internal adminiſtration of his kingdom, Francis turned his attention to foreign affairs. His firſt care was to renew the treaty of peace which his predeceſſor had concluded with Henry the Eighth. He received homage from the count of Naſſau, in the name of his maſter, the archduke Charles, for the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois; and he concluded a treaty with that prince, the terms of which it is needleſs to ſpecify, as the treaty itſelf was annulled by another which was ſigned between Charles and Francis, the following year.

During theſe tranſactions an attempt was made to procure a renewal and prolongation of the truce with Spain, but this Ferdinand refuſed, unleſs Italy and the Milaneſe were included in the treaty; and Francis having rejected with diſdain a propoſal which tended to thwart his favourite project, the king of Arragon entered into a league with the emperor Sforza and the Swiſs, for the defence of the Milaneſe: the Swiſs engaged to make an irruption into Burgundy, and to ſpread terror and devaſtation throughout that fertile province. The pope, at firſt, heſitated to join this formidable confederacy, but was at length, in the month of July, induced to accede to it. The Venetians, whoſe ſafety, in a great meaſure, depended on the protection of France, renewed with Francis the treaty they had ſigned with his predeceſſor. The king, meanwhile, continued to make the moſt formidable preparations, amuſed the pope by negociations, which Leo thought neceſſary for the concealment of his deſigns, ſecured the Genoeſe in his intereſt, and engaged Octavian Fregoſa to quit the title of doge for that of governor for the king. Every thing being ready for his expedition, the king left Lyons on the fifteenth of Auguſt, after he had appointed his mother, Louiſa of Savoy, regent of the kingdom during his abſence. The character of this princeſs had a conſiderable influence on the various tranſactions which occurred during the reign of her ſon. In perſon eminently beautiful, the hand of time had ſcarcely been able to diminiſh the ſplendour of her charms; while the gifts of nature had been carefully improved and embelliſhed by the acquiſitions of art. Born with ſtrong talents, and a mind active, courageous, penetrating, and deciſive, ſhe aimed at the acquiſition of power, and braved, unappalled, the moſt furious ſtorms of adverſity. But, unhappily for the nation, her virtues were greatly over-balanced by her vices: her paſſions were ſtrong and impetuous, and to their gratification ſhe ſacrificed all that a woman ſhould hold dear in life: vain, avaricious, intriguing, and jealous, implacable in her reſentments, impatient of controul, and inſatiate in her avarice, ſhe thwarted the beſt-concerted projects of her ſon, and occaſioned the greateſt diſtreſs to the nation.

In

In order to ſupply the neceſſary funds for his Italian expedition, Francis had recourſe to meaſures the moſt arbitrary and impolitic. It was on this occaſion that the offices of the crown were firſt expoſed to ſale, at the inſtigation of the chancellor Duprat [1]; a dangerous innovation, which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the parliament, who refuſed to regiſter it without the uſual clauſe, in all caſes where their own judgment was compelled to yield to the plenitude of the regal power, that it was entered in the regiſters, *by the expreſs command of the king* [2].

The army deſtined for this enterprize was formidable from its numbers, and ſplendid from the rank of its officers and commanders. Beſides a great number of nobility, the king was attended by ſeven princes of the blood-royal. In vain did the kings of England and Spain endeavour, by threats and remonſtrances, to deter Francis from the execution of a project, which appeared to be attended with difficulties inſurmountable. The Swiſs, after laying waſte the duchy of Savoy, had ſecured all the paſſages of the Alps, to force which it would have been neceſſary to ſuſtain an action at every defile, in which twenty men might impede the progreſs of an whole army. Triulzi received information, from a peaſant, who inhabited the mountains, of a ſecret path, which was left unguarded, becauſe believed to be impracticable; and having previouſly explored it, it was reſolved to purſue it. It was neceſſary to blow up ſeveral points of rocks which intercepted the paſſage of the troops; and Peter Navarre, who had entered the French ſervice, becauſe the king of Spain had refuſed to pay his ranſom when taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna, rendered eſſential ſervice to Francis on this occaſion: both the army and the artillery reached the oppoſite ſide of the Alps in ſafety, and unperceived by the Swiſs,

[1] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 237.

[2] When the practice of *verifying* and *regiſtering* the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris became common, the parliament contended that this was neceſſary in order to give them legal authority. It was eſtabliſhed as a fundamental maxim in French juriſprudence, that no law could be publiſhed in any other manner; that, without this formality, no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to conſider it as an edict or ordonnance, until it was verified in the ſupreme court, after free deliberation. (*Roche-flavin des Parlemens de France*, quarto, p. 192.)—The parliament, as we have already ſhewn, had, with great fortitude and integrity, oppoſed the will of their ſovereigns, and, notwithſtanding their repeated peremptory requiſitions and commands, had refuſed to verify and publiſh ſuch edicts as it conceived to be oppreſſive to the people, or ſubverſive of the conſtitution of the kingdom; and many ſimilar inſtances of a ſpirited oppoſition to arbitrary meaſures, will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory. But the power of the parliament to maintain and defend this privilege, bore no proportion to its importance, or the courage with which the members aſſerted it. When any monarch was determined that an edict ſhould be carried into execution, and found the parliament inflexibly reſolved not to verify or publiſh it, he could eaſily ſupply this defect by the plenitude of his regal power. Then, according to another maxim of French law, the king himſelf being preſent, neither the parliament, nor any magiſtrate whatever, could exerciſe any authority, or perform any function. Adeniente Principe, ceſſat magiſtratus. *Roche-flavin, ibid.* p. 928, 929. Encyclopedie, tom. ix. Art. *Lit de Juſtice*, p. 581.—Thus by an exertion of prerogative, which, though violent, ſeems to be conſtitutional, and is juſtified by innumerable precedents, all the efforts of parliament to limit and controul the king's legiſlative authority, were rendered ineffectual. *Robertſon.*

whoſe attention was called to another quarter, by ſome troops of horſe, ſtationed purpoſely to amuſe them, on mount Cenis. The French deſcended the Alps into the marquiſate of Saluzzo, and Bayard ſurprized Proſper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of the approach of the French, was negligently encamped, with a thouſand cavalry, at Villa-France, near the ſource of the Po[3]. But two men of the whole detachment eſcaped: the reſt were all killed or taken, and the booty is repreſented as immenſe.

This ſucceſsful beginning inſpired the French troops with additional courage; while the allies remained in a ſtate of ſuſpence, and diviſions and miſtruſt began to prevail among them. The viceroy of Naples had intercepted a letter from the pope to the king of France, on the ſubject of a negociation; and the inactivity of Lorenzo de Medecis confirmed the ſuſpicions of the Spaniſh general. The Swiſs were the only enemies who were actuated by hoſtile zeal and violent reſentment; enraged at their failure in preventing the French from paſſing the Alps, they had retired into the duchy of Milan, with the reſolution to defend it to the laſt extremity. The king, meanwhile, had joined his army in the plains of Quieras; and the town of Novara immediately ſurrendered to his arms. The Swiſs continued to retreat before him, as if anxious to avoid a battle; owing to a diſpute with the cardinal of Sion, who had arreſted one of their chiefs, named Albert. The cardinal was obliged to releaſe Albert, who took the road to Berne with a part of his companions, while the reſt of their troops lent a favourable ear to a propoſal made by the duke of Savoy, in the king's name, to advance them ſeven hundred thouſand crowns, and to give Maximilian Sforza an eſtabliſhment in France. The treaty appeared to be on the point of concluſion, when the arrival of ten thouſand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, made the Swiſs change their mind. Inſpired by his eloquence, and inflamed by a kind of military enthuſiaſm, they furiouſly marched forwards to attack the lines of the French, who were encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan.

Hiſtory ſcarce affords any example of a battle diſputed with greater obſtinacy than that of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon, of the thirteenth of September, and laſted more than three hours after the night cloſed; when laſſitude and darkneſs ſeparated the combatants, without abating their animoſity. The king, who paſſed the night completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was ſurprized to find himſelf, at dawn of day, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge with renovated vigour. The black bands, ſo called from the colour of their ſtandards, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, in the abſence of his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, who had given way the day before, now retrieved their honour, by the moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful exertions. The

[3] Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xii. p. 151.

Swiſs,

Swiſs, repulſed on every ſide, and perceiving Alviano approaching with a choſen body of Venetian cavalry, returned to Milan, without being purſued by the French. Diſcouraged at the loſs they had ſuſtained, and unable to procure any money from Sforza, who had none to give them, they left him fifteen hundred of their men to defend the caſtle of Milan, and haſtened back to their own country. Francis remained maſter of the field, which was ſtrewed with the bodies of ten thouſand Swiſs, and from three to four thouſand of the French, among whom were many of the nobility: of this number were Francis de Bourbon, duke of Chatelleraud, brother to the conſtable; the prince of Talmont, only ſon to la Trémouille; Buſſy d'Amboiſe, nephew to the cardinal; the count of Sancerre; Imbercourt, and ſeveral other noblemen of diſtinction. The duke of Guiſe was thrown from his horſe, and was indebted for his life to the courage and fidelity of his eſquire, who ſacrificed his own to the preſervation of his maſter's. Francis himſelf, who diſplayed the moſt ſignal intrepidity, on this memorable day, was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, his horſe was wounded, and his body was covered with contuſions.

The king would not ſuffer the Swiſs to be moleſted in their retreat, but he could not prevent his ſoldiers from inhumanly committing to the flames two companies of the enemy, who had taken refuge in a village, where they obſtinately refuſed to ſurrender. Alviano, who did not arrive till the end of the action, anxious to ſhare in the glory of the day, attacked the rear of the Swiſs; but the attempt proved unſucceſsful, and was attended with the loſs of many officers of note, among others, young Pitigliano, ſon to the general of that name. Triulzi, who had been preſent at ſeventeen pitched battles, ſaid, that "that of Marignano was a combat of giants, and all the reſt but mere children's play!"—The king rewarded the valour of the chevalier Bayard, by receiving the honour of knighthood from his hands.

The terror which the battle of Marignano inſpired, together with the departure of the Swiſs, left Maximilian Sforza almoſt deſtitute of aſſiſtance. Yet he ſought to prolong the moments of his ſovereignty by retiring into the caſtle of Milan, while Francis took poſſeſſion of the city; but that fortreſs was incapable of withſtanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was ſurrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona; but Sforza obtained, at leaſt, honourable terms from the victor; and a ſafe retreat, with a penſion of thirty thouſand ducats, was aſſigned him in France. Deſtitute of ambition, and of talents, he gladly retired from a ſituation to which he was unequal, and, at laſt, expired at Paris, after lingering fifteen years through a life of contempt.

When the king made his entry into Milan, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and eſtabliſhed a parliament, in imitation of his predeceſſor, after which, he paſſed a week in viſiting the different towns of the duchy. At Vigevano, he received the congratulations of the Italian princes, who, aſtoniſhed at the victory of Marignano, rejoiced or

grieved at the event, according to their different intereſts. The viceroy of Naples haſtened to lead back his troops to the defence of that kingdom; the pope, fearful leſt Francis might be tempted to purſue his conqueſts and proceed to Rome, made propoſals of peace; and the Venetians, as moſt intereſted in the event, were the firſt to congratulate him on his ſucceſs. At the ſame time they demanded the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, which, being immediately granted, enabled them to retake ſeveral of their towns.

Leo the Tenth, verſed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned with their fortunes, the cauſe of his allies. He courted an interview with Francis; and that monarch ſuffered himſelf to be conducted, by the cardinals de Fieſco, and de Medicis, to the city of Bologna. The treaty was ſoon concluded; Leo agreed to withdraw his troops from the cities of Parma and Piacenza; in return for which conceſſion, Francis conſented to abandon the duke di Urbino, an uncertain ally, and the declared enemy of the houſe of Medicis, in whoſe favour he was deſpoiled of his duchy: Had the king gone no farther, his policy would not have been prejudicial to the nation, but he was ſo weak as to accede to the pope's propoſal for the total abolition of the PRAGMATIC SANCTION—an abolition deſtructive of the privileges of the Gallican church—for which he ſubſtituted *the Concordat*, whereby Leo ceded to Francis the right of appointing biſhops and abbots, throughout the French dominions; and the king, in return, granted the pope the *Annates*, or firſt fruits of thoſe eccleſiaſtical benefies[4]. The parliament long refuſed to regiſter the *Concordat*, continued to regulate their deciſions according to the Pragmatic Sanction, and confirmed the oppoſition of the univerſity. The clergy, too, called loudly for the convocation of a national council; but the authority of the king prevailed, and the parliament were, at length, obliged, much againſt their will, to give the diſgraceful compact a place on their regiſters, where it was inſerted, on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1518, with the uſual clauſe of diſapprobation.

While the king thus ſuffered himſelf to be duped by the artful adulation of the pope, his miniſters concluded a more honourable and more advantageous treaty with the Swiſs; by which they conſented to acknowledge Francis for duke of Milan, count of Aſt, and lord of Genoa; engaged to aſſiſt that monarch, and to defend his dominions, and to reſtore all the places they held in the Milaneſe, except Bellinzone. The king, on his part, engaged to pay them ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and the annual penſion which they received before their rupture with Lewis the Twelfth; but five cantons having refuſed to ſubſcribe theſe conditions, the others ſtipulated that they ſhould never be obliged to bear arms againſt their countrymen.

After he had arranged his affairs in Italy, and given orders for the defence of the Mi-

[4] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 249.

laneſe,

laneſe, where the conſtable was left with ſeven hundred men at arms, and ten thouſand infantry, Francis quitted Bologna, on the fifteenth of December, and returned to Lyons.

A. D. 1516.] The victory of Marignano had inſpired with terror the mind of Ferdinand of Arragon; the accommodation with the pope, and the treaty with the Swiſs, which he had, in vain, exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent, had encreaſed his alarm; he trembled for the throne of Naples, and, anxious to avert the danger with which he conceived himſelf to be threatened, he endeavoured to revive the animoſity of the neighbouring powers, and once more to excite a formidable confederacy againſt France; but death put a ſtop to his plans. Ferdinand had long diſcovered an exceſſive ſolicitude to have children by his youthful conſort, who had only given birth to one that died in its infancy: in order to procure a bleſſing, of which, from his advanced age, and the intemperance of his youth, he could have little proſpect, he had recourſe to his phyſicians, and, by their preſcriptions, took one of thoſe potions which are ſuppoſed to add vigour to the conſtitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it. This was its effect on a frame ſo feeble and exhauſted as that of Ferdinand; for though he ſurvived a violent diſorder which it at firſt occaſioned, it brought on ſuch an habitual langour and dejection of mind, as rendered him averſe from any ſerious attention for publick affairs, and fond of frivolous amuſements, on which he had not before beſtowed much time[5]. He died on the twenty-third day of January, 1516. By his will he left the archduke Charles ſole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to Ferdinand, brother to Charles, a ſcanty penſion of fifty thouſand ducats; the regency of Caſtile was commited to cardinal Ximenes, a prelate who poſſeſſed the ſpirit and talents of Thomas à Becket, without the vices of the Engliſh primate; and the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa was appointed regent of Arragon.

Meanwhile the French, who now only acted as auxiliaries to the Venetians in Italy, formed the ſiege of Breſcia, under the command of the mareſchal Lautrec, whoſe brother, Triulzi, had been appointed general of the Venetian forces on the death of Alviano. The garriſon agreed to ſurrender if not relieved within twenty days; but the German general, Roquendolf, haſtened to their aſſiſtance, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and was cloſe followed by the whole Imperial army, led by Maximilian himſelf. On the emperor's arrival Lautrec raiſed the ſiege, and retired with precipitation to Milan, where the alarm was ſo great that Maximilian might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of the city; but, inſtead of marching directly to Milan, he amuſed himſelf by laying waſte the country between the Po and the Adda, and thereby gave time to the conſtable to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence. In the city of Milan there were thirteen thouſand Swiſs, in the pay of France, but as they refuſed to fight againſt their countrymen, who were in the Imperial

[5] Zurita, Annales d'Aragon, tom. vi. p. 347.—Petri Martyris Anglerii Epiſtola, 531.—Argenſola, Annales d'Aragon, lib. i. p. 4.—Robertſon's Reign of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 27.

army,

army, the conſtable diſmiſſed them. Maximilian, who inveſted Milan, was ſoon reduced to the ſame dilemma; his Swiſs troops demanded their pay, and the emperor having diſſipated the money that was deſtined for that purpoſe, they mutinied, and returned to their own country. The Germans, too, diſperſed, and the whole army evacuated Italy. Breſcia was then beſieged anew, and, at length, taken; and Lautrec, after an unſucceſsful attempt on Verona, retired to Villa-Franca, where he could eaſily intercept any convoys deſtined for the relief of that city.

During theſe tranſactions Charles, anxious to take poſſeſſion of his Spaniſh dominions, and deſirous to ſecure, during his abſence, the Netherlands from invaſion, evinced a ſtrong diſpoſition to maintain peace with France: the Flemings, too, who had long poſſeſſed an extenſive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with that power; and Chievres, the Flemiſh miniſter, ſagacious to diſcern the true intereſt of his country, warmly adopted the ſame ſentiments. Francis, ſolicitous to ſecure his late conqueſts in Italy by a treaty, liſtened with joy to the firſt overtures of accommodation. Chievres himſelf conducted the negociation, in the name of Charles, while Boiſi appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. Each of them had preſided over the education of the ſovereign whom he repreſented; they had both adopted the ſame pacific ſyſtem; and were equally perſuaded that the union of the two monarchs was the happieſt event for themſelves, as well as for their kingdoms: in ſuch hands the negociation did not languiſh. Soon after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1516[6], a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs, the chief articles of which were, that Francis ſhould give in marriage to Charles his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Louiſa, an infant of a year old, and, as her dowry, ſhould make over to him all his claims and pretenſions upon the kingdom of Naples; that in conſideration of Charles's being already in poſſeſſion of Naples, he ſhould, until the accompliſhment of the marriage, pay an hundred thouſand crowns a year to the French king, and the half of that ſum annually as long as the princeſs had no children; that when Charles ſhould arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre may repreſent to him their right to that kingdom; and if he do not give them ſatisfaction, Francis ſhall be at liberty to aſſiſt them with all his forces[7]. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with thoſe powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war which the league of Cambray had occaſioned. This treaty was ſigned at Bruxelles, in the month of December, 1516, and confirmed by another treaty, concluded at Cambray, in the month of March following.

A. D. 1517.] About the ſame period a more durable treaty was ſigned between the

[6] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 258. [7] Leonard, Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 69.

French

French and Swiſs; the five cantons who had refuſed to ſubſcribe the former conditions, now joined their countrymen, and acceded to a treaty of perpetual alliance: in conſideration of an additional penſion, they promiſed never to ſerve againſt France; and this treaty has ſubſiſted till the preſent time, without any alteration.

A. D. 1518.] The conſtable de Bourbon had been recalled from the Milaneſe, and was ſucceeded in his government by the mareſchal de Lautrec, who, intoxicated with the favour he enjoyed, and jealous of Triulzi, repreſented that gallant veteran, at the court of France, as a ſecret enemy to the country he profeſſed to ſerve. Triulzi, juſtly incenſed at this malicious imputation, immediately haſtened to France—though he had completed his eightieth year—in order to juſtify his conduct; but the reception he experienced from Francis, who, having inconſiderately given implicit credit to the baſe inſinuations of Lautrec, did not deign to ſpeak to him, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as ſoon brought him to the grave. In vain did the king, feeling a juſt remorſe for his conduct, endeavour to ſoothe by conſolatory language the man he had ſo eſſentially injured. Too ſuſceptible of inſult, the veteran replied—"*It is now too late; the blow is given, and no remedy remains.*" The death of Triulzi tended to alienate the affections of the Milaneſe, and their particular deteſtation of Lautrec, was ſpeedily converted into a general hatred of his countrymen. The mareſchal's ſtaff, which Triulzi had ſo long and ſo honourably borne, was conferred on Leſcun, brother to Lautrec.

Bonnevet, admiral of France, was now diſpatched to London, in order to gain the confidence and friendſhip of Henry the Eighth; and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in the good graces of cardinal Wolſey, that monarch's prime miniſter and chief favourite. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that, by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he thenceforth expreſſed himſelf in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis entered into ſuch confidence with him, that he aſked his advice even in his moſt ſecret affairs; and had recourſe to him in all difficult emergencies, as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy[8]. The cardinal made no ſecret of this private correſpondence to his maſter, who was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of his miniſter's capacity, that he ſaid, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf[9].

When matters ſeemed to be ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey, immediately, without heſitation, en-

[8] Hume. [9] Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.

gaged

gaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to Henry and the English council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that, even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the mutinous disposition of its numerous inhabitants, who were ever discontented with the English government: and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, as it afforded little, if any, means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

These reasons being deemed convincive by the English council, a treaty was concluded for the cession of Tournay; and in order to give that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to Henry, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it seldom happened that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in the erection of a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them noblemen, for the performance of the article[10]: and lest cardinal Wolsey should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. Francis, availing himself of the ascendancy, which, by means of presents and caresses he had acquired over Wolsey, attempted to procure the restitution of Calais, but Wolsey found such a strenuous opposition to the distant overtures which he made for that purpose in the English council, that he did not think it prudent to proceed any farther in the business.

A. D. 1519.] But while Francis was diligently employed in securing the amity of the neighbouring powers, an event occurred, that formed a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian, who expired at Lintz upon the Danube, on the twelfth of January, 1519; an event, in itself, of little importance, for that prince was equally destitute of power, of talents, and of virtue; but rendered by its consequences more memorable than any that had happened during several ages. It broke that profound and universal peace which then reigned in the Christian world; it excited a rivalship between two princes, which convulsed all Europe, and kindled wars more general, and of longer duration, than had hitherto been known in modern times.

[10] Memoires du Bellay, lib. i.—Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 264.

Not

Not long before his death, Maximilian diſcovered great ſolicitude to preſerve the Imperial dignity in the Auſtrian family [11], he had, at firſt, caſt his eyes on Ferdinand, the youngeſt of his grandſons, for his ſucceſſor; that prince having no proviſion made for him, whereas his brother Charles was already in poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, Naples and Sicily; but this arrangement, which was certainly the moſt equitable, he was ſoon induced to change, from conſiderations of policy, and to center in Charles ſuch a combination of power, as ſhould enable him to reſiſt the attempts of all rival potentates, and to ſupport with vigour and effect the dignity of his ſtation. For this purpoſe he exerted his influence with the electors; but a difficulty occurred which he had not foreſeen: from the circumſtance of his never having been crowned himſelf by the pope, a ceremony deemed eſſential in that age, he was conſidered only as emperor. *elect.* Though hiſtorians did not attend to that diſtinction, neither the Italian nor German chancery beſtowed any other title upon him than that of king of the Romans; and no example occurring in hiſtory of the election of any perſon as ſucceſſor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their conſtitution knew no name, obſtinately refuſed to gratify Maximilian in that point [12].

On the death of Maximilian two candidates aſpired to the vacant dignity, Francis and Charles; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no leſs illuſtrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretenſions with ſanguine expectations, and no unpromiſing proſpect of ſucceſs. Charles conſidered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Auſtrian line; he knew that no one of the German princes was ſufficiently powerful to become his rival; he flattered himſelf that no conſideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign potentate to a dignity, which, during ſo many ages, had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and leaſt of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis, the ſovereign of a people whoſe genius, laws, and manners differed ſo widely from thoſe

[11] The revolutions occaſioned by the expedition of Charles the Eighth into Italy, had inſpired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the Imperial dignity. The claims of the empire upon ſome of the Italian ſtates were numerous; its juriſdiction over others was extenſive; and though the former had been almoſt abandoned, and the latter ſeldom exerciſed, under princes of ſlender abilities and of little influence, it was obvious, that, in the hands of an emperor poſſeſſed of power or genius, they would be employed as engines for ſtretching his dominion over the greater part of that country. Even Maximilian, feeble and unſteady as he was, had availed himſelf of the infinite pretenſions of the empire, and had reaped advantage from every war and every negociation in Italy during his reign. Theſe conſiderations, added to the dignity of the ſtation, confeſſedly the firſt among Chriſtian princes, and to the rights inherent in the office, which, if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconſiderable, rendered the Imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition.——*Robertſon.*

[12] Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xiii. p. 258.—Hiſtoire Generale d'Allemagne, par P. Barre, tom. viii. part i. p. 1087. Pontius Heuterus, Rerum Auſtriacarum, lib. vii. c. xvii. p. 179.—lib. viii. c. ii. p. 183.

of the Germans, that it was hardly poſſible to eſtabliſh any cordial union between them. He truſted not a little to the effect of Maximilian's negociations, which, though they did not attain their ends, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation to the Imperial throne; but what he relied on as a chief recommendation, was the fortunate ſituation of his hereditary dominions in Germany, which ſerved as a natural barrier to the empire againſt the encroachments of the Turkiſh power. The conqueſts, the abilities, and the ambition of the ſultan Selim the Second had ſpread over Europe, at that time, a general and well-founded alarm. By his victories over the Mamalukes, and the extirpation of that gallant body of men, he had not only added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had ſecured to it ſuch a degree of internal tranquillity, that he was ready to turn againſt Chriſtendom the whole force of his arms, which nothing hitherto had been able to reſiſt. The moſt effectual expedient for ſtopping the rapid progreſs of this deſtructive torrent, ſeemed to be the election of an emperor, poſſeſſed of extenſive territories in that country where its firſt impreſſion would be felt, and who, beſides, could combat this formidable enemy with all the forces of a powerful monarchy, and with all the wealth furniſhed by the mines of the new world, or the commerce of the Low Countries. Theſe were the arguments by which Charles publicly ſupported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection they appeared to be not only plauſive but convincing. He did not, however, truſt the ſucceſs of his cauſe to theſe alone. Great ſums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifice of negociation were employed; and a conſiderable body of troops kept on foot by the ſtates of the circle of Suabia was ſecretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by preſents; the objections of the more ſcrupulous were anſwered or eluded; and ſome feeble princes were threatened or overawed[13].

Francis, on the other hand, ſupported his claim with equal eagerneſs, and no leſs confidence of its being founded in juſtice. It was contended by his emiſſaries, that it was now high time to convince the princes of the houſe of Auſtria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other perſons might aſpire to an honour which their arrogance had, at length, led them to regard as the property of their family; that it required a ſovereign of mature judgment and approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where ſuch unknown opinions concerning religion had been publiſhed (alluding to the doctrines of the reformers, then recently propagated) as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened to be productive of the moſt violent effects; that a young prince, without experience, and who had hitherto given no ſpecimens of his genius for command, was no equal match for Selim, a monarch grown old in the art of war, and in the courſe of victory; whereas a king who, in his early youth, had triumphed over the valour and diſcipline of the Swiſs, till

[13] Guicc. tom. iii. lib. xiii. p. 263.—Sleidan, Hiſt. of the Reformation.—Struvii Corp. Hiſt. German.—Robertſon.

then

then reckoned invincible, would be an antagoniſt not unworthy the conqueror of the Eaſt; that the fire and impetuoſity of the French cavalry, added to the diſcipline and ſtability of the German infantry, would form an army ſo irreſiſtible, that, inſtead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, it might carry hoſtilities into the heart of their dominions. That the election of Charles would be inconſiſtent with a fundamental conſtitution, by which the perſon who holds the crown of Naples is excluded from aſpiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would ſoon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the empire, and might prove fatal to it[14]. But while his ambaſſadors, Bonnivet, Fleuranges, and d'Orval, enlarged upon theſe and other topics of the ſame kind, in all the courts of Germany, Francis, ſenſible of the prejudices entertained againſt him as a foreigner, unacquainted with the German language or manners, endeavoured to overcome them, and to gain the favour of the princes by immenſe gifts, and ſplendid promiſes. As the expeditious method of tranſmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was then little known, the French ambaſſadors travelled with a train of horſes loaded with treaſure, an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for thoſe to whom they were ſent[15].

Henry the Eighth alſo ſent Pace as his ambaſſador to Germany, and declared himſelf a candidate for the Imperial throne. But Pace, though loaded with careſſes by the German princes and the pope's nuncio, informed his maſter that he could hope for no ſucceſs in a claim which he had been ſo late in preferring. Henry, imputing his diſappointment to that circumſtance alone, and ſoothed with this oſtentatious diſplay of his own importance, ſeems to have taken no farther part in the matter[16].

The Swiſs cantons, though allied to Francis, exerted their influence in favour of his competitor; the Venetians, on the contrary, juſtly jealous of the houſe of Auſtria, eſpouſed, with warmth, the claims of the French monarch; while the pope, with prudent policy, oppoſed the pretenſions of either claimant.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the diet was opened at Frankfort, on the ſeventeenth of June. The right of chuſing an emperor had long been veſted in ſeven great princes, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Electors: theſe were, at that time, Albret of Brandenburgh, archbiſhop of Mentz; Herman, count de Wied, archbiſhop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklau, archbiſhop of Treves; Lewis, king of Bohemia; Lewis, count palatine of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and, Joachim the Firſt, marquis of

[14] Guicciardini.—La Salinus.—Robertſon. [15] Memoires de Mareſchal de Fleuranges, p. 296.
[16] Herbert's Hiſt. of Henry VIII.

Brandenburgh. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious arguments produced by the ambaſſadors of Charles and Francis, in favour of their reſpective maſters, and in ſpite of all their ſolicitations, intrigues, and preſents, the electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German conſtitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanic body, which is a great republic, compoſed of ſtates almoſt independent, the firſt principle of patriotiſm is to depreſs and limit the power of the emperor; and of this idea, ſo natural, under ſuch a form of government, a German politician ſeldom loſes ſight. No prince of conſiderable power or extenſive dominions, had, for ſome ages, been raiſed to the Imperial throne. To this prudent precaution many of the great families in Germany owed the ſplendour and independence which they had acquired during that period. To elect either of the contending monarchs would have been a groſs violation of that ſalutary maxim; would have given to the empire a maſter inſtead of a head; and would have reduced themſelves from the rank of equals to the condition of ſubjects[17].

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, all the electors directed their eyes to Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince, who from the dignity of his virtues, and the ſplendour of his talents, had acquired the honourable appellation of *The Sage*, and they unanimouſly offered him the Imperial crown. Unſeduced by an object ſo alluring, Frederic required a ſhort time for deliberation, and magnanimouſly rejected the proffered diadem. His rejection of a gift which the proudeſt monarchs had courted with avidity, was accompanied by an obſervation on the impolicy of invariably adhering to a maxim, which, though juſt in many caſes, could not be applicable to all. "In times of tranquillity"—ſaid Frederic—"we wiſh for an emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger require one who has the ability to provide for our ſafety. The Turkiſh armies "are now aſſembling under the conduct of a prince diſtinguiſhed for his gallantry, "and fluſhed with conqueſt. They are preparing to ruſh like a torrent upon Germany, with a violence unprecedented in former times. New conjunctures call for new "expedients. Some hand more potent than mine, or that of any other German prince, "muſt, at this period, be entruſted with the Imperial ſceptre; for we poſſeſs neither dominions, revenues, nor authority, which can enable us to face ſuch a formidable foe. "Recourſe, therefore, muſt be had to one of the rival monarchs, each of whom can "bring into the field forces ſufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German "extraction; as he is a member and prince of the empire, by the territories he inherits "from his grandfather; as his dominions lie contiguous to the frontier which is moſt "expoſed to attack; his claim is, in my opinion, preferable to that of a ſtranger to our "language, to our blood, and to our country; and, therefore, I give my vote to raiſe "him to the Imperial throne."

[17] Robertſon.

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This opinion, dictated by ſuch uncommon generoſity, and ſupported by arguments ſo plauſible, made a deep impreſſion on the electors; and the cauſe of Charles was farther promoted by the abilities of the cardinal de Gurk, and the zeal of Erard de la Mark, biſhop of Liege, two of his ambaſſadors, who had conducted their negociations with more prudence and addreſs than Bonnivet and his coadjutors. The former, who had long been the miniſter and favourite of Maximilian, was well acquainted with the art of managing the Germans; and the latter, having been diſappointed of a cardinal's hat by Francis, exerted all the malignant ingenuity of revenge in thwarting the meaſures of that monarch. The Spaniſh party among the electors daily gained ground; and even the pope's nuncio, convinced of the inutility of farther oppoſition, endeavoured to acquire ſome merit with the future emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his maſter, a diſpenſation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples [18].

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important conteſt, which had holden all Europe in ſuſpence, was decided. Six of the electors had already declared for the king of Spain; and the archbiſhop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French intereſt, having, at laſt, joined his brethren, Charles was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raiſed to the Imperial throne, under the title of Charles the Fifth. But though the electors had, from various motives, been induced to promote Charles to that high ſtation, yet they diſcovered an extreme jealouſy of his extenſive power; and in order to prevent any encroachment on the privileges of the Germanic body, a *Capitulation*, or claim of right, was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the electors, of the princes of the empire, of the cities, and of every other member of that body, are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately ſigned by Charles's ambaſſadors, in the name of their maſter, and he himſelf, at his coronation, confirmed it in the moſt ſolemn manner.

The French ambaſſador, Bonnivet, who had entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs, was ſo mortified at the diſappointment he experienced on this occaſion, that it was ſome time before he could prevail upon himſelf to make his appearance at court. Francis himſelf, although he had been frequently heard to ſay to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors—"*Your maſter and I are both ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs; the more fortunate "will carry her; but the other muſt remain contented*"—was equally mortified with his ambaſſador, though he took care to diſguiſe his feelings. From this moment, Charles, more fortunate, or more politic, appears to have acquired an aſcendancy over Francis, which he always preſerved.

While the electors were employed in chuſing an emperor, the French and Spaniſh ple-

[18] Freheri Rer. Germ. Scriptones, vol. iii. p. 172.—Gianone, Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 498.

nipotentiaries

nipotentiaries had met at Montpellier, to terminate the differences between their maſters; but the death of Boiſi, ambaſſador from Francis, put an end to the conferences, and proved an irreparable loſs to his country: his brother, Bonnivet, on his return to court, monopolized the confidence of his maſter, and of the ducheſs of Angoulême, the king's mother.

A. D. 1520.] Francis, alarmed at the augmented ſplendour and power of Charles, and mortified at the preference given to that prince in the ſight of all Europe, endeavoured, by a ſtrict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquiſition of his rival. He had before ſolicited an interview with the Engliſh monarch, which Charles had in vain endeavoured to prevent, by making a voyage to England, where he flattered the king, and detached his favourite Wolſey from the intereſt of France. On the ſeventh of June, this interview took place, in an open plain, between Guiſnes and Ardres, where the two kings, and their attendants, diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation and profuſe expence, as procured it the name of *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Meſſengers had been previouſly ſent to different courts, inviting all comers who were gentlemen, to enter the liſts at tilt and tournament, againſt the two monarchs and their knights. In conſequence of this invitation great numbers attended; feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, together with ſuch exerciſes as were in that age accounted manly or elegant, rather than ſerious buſineſs, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they continued together. Whatever impreſſion the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unſuſpicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind of that monarch, was ſoon effaced by Wolſey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the emperor at Gravelines, on the tenth of July; which was conducted by Charles with leſs pomp than that near Guiſnes, but with greater attention to his political intereſt.

A. D. 1521.] While the rival monarchs were employed in preparing the means of mutual attack, Francis had nearly loſt his life by a ſingular accident; as he was engaged in celebrating the feſtival of the Epiphany, at Romorentin, in the province of Berry, with a party of young noblemen, he received a blow on the head from a log of lighted wood, thrown in a frolic, which felled him to the ground, and inflicted a dangerous wound. The report of his death was immediately propagated throughout the kingdom, and even extended into foreign countries; and Francis was obliged to ſhew himſelf to the different ambaſſadors before he could diſpel the error. The wound he had received rendered it neceſſary to have his head ſhaved; the courtiers, ever eager to imitate their ſovereign, followed the example; and to make themſelves amends for the loſs of their hair, they ſuffered their beards to grow: hence originated the faſhion of ſhort hair and long beards, which continued to prevail, till the acceſſion of Lewis the Thirteenth.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had agreed to do juſtice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by intereſt,

tereſt, to reſtore to his throne; but though frequent applications had been made to Charles for the purpoſe, he continually eluded them upon very frivolous pretexts; and Francis, therefore, thought himſelf authorized by that treaty to aſſiſt the exiled family. Henry d'Albret had ſucceeded to the claims of his father John, and an army, levied in his name, was deſtined, under the conduct of Andrew de Foix, lord of Leſparre, and brother to Lautrec, to reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors. The juncture appeared peculiarly favourable for ſuch an enterprize; Charles was at a diſtance from that part of his dominions; the troops uſually ſtationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spaniſh malecontents warmly ſolicited Francis to invade Navarre [19], in which a conſiderable faction was ready to declare for the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs. Leſparre had neither talents nor experience for the diſcharge of that important truſt to which, through the powerful influence of his connections, he had been recommended; but as there was no army in the field to oppoſe him, he reduced in a few days the whole kingdom, without meeting with any obſtruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna; nor would the ſlight reſiſtance made by that fortreſs have deſerved notice, if Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Biſcay, had not been dangerouſly wounded in its defence. During the ſlow progreſs of a lingering cure, Loyala happened to have no other amuſement than what he could find in the peruſal of the lives of the ſaints. The effect of ſuch reading on his mind, naturally enthuſiaſtic, but ambitious and daring, was to inſpire him with ſuch a deſire of emulating the glory of theſe "fabulous wor-" thies of the Romiſh church," as led him into the wildeſt and moſt extravagant adventures, which terminated in the inſtitution of the ſociety of Jeſuits, the moſt political and beſt-regulated of all the monaſtic orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantage, and received greater detriment, than from any other of theſe religious fraternities [20].

Had Leſparre, on the reduction of Pampeluna, been content with taking proper precautions for ſecuring his conqueſt, the kingdom of Navarre might ſtill have remained annexed to the crown of France in reality, as well as in title. But ſtimulated by the ardour of youth, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with ſucceſs, he imprudently entered the dominions of Spain, and laid ſiege to Logrogno, a ſmall town in Caſtile. This rouſed the Caſtilians from the lethargy in which they had hitherto appeared to be involved, and having nearly compoſed their own private diſſentions, both parties exerted themſelves with emulation in defence of their country. The ſudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logrogno, obliged the French general to abandon his raſh enterprize. The Spaniſh army, which daily encreaſed, haraſſing him during his retreat, he, inſtead of taking ſhelter un-

[19] Petri Martyris Anglerii Epiſtolæ, 721. [20] Robertſon.

der

der the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of ſix thouſand Navareſe, who were marching to his aſſiſtance, attacked the Spaniards, in the plains of Squiros, though far ſuperior to him in number, with great impetuoſity, but with ſo little conduct, that his forces were totally routed; Leſparre himſelf was wounded and taken priſoner; and Spain recovered poſſeſſion of Navarre in ſtill leſs time than the French had ſpent in the conqueſt of it [21].

While Francis endeavoured to juſtify his invaſion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry d'Albret, the lawful ſovereign of that country, another ſubject for diſpute occurred between the rival monarchs:—Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, having abandoned the ſervice of Charles, on account of an encroachment which the Aulick council had made on his juriſdiction, and having applied for protection to the king of France, ſent a herald, in the heat of reſentment, to Worms, to declare war againſt the emperor in form. He then entered Luxembourg, with troops levied in France, and after ravaging the open country, laid ſiege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, while Francis diſavowed the tranſaction, and conſented to ſubmit the deciſion of their differences to the arbitration of Henry of England, who accordingly ſent Wolſey to Calais, where the conferences were opened, and commanded de la Mark to diſband his troops.

Charles, meanwhile, had aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, which, under the count of Naſſau, invaded the territories of Robert, and in a few days, reduced all the towns they contained, except Sedan. Having thus puniſhed the prince who had preſumed to defy him by a declaration of war, Charles would naturally have withdrawn his forces, had he been diſpoſed to the adoption of pacific meaſures; but before he had received any cauſe for complaint againſt Francis, he had formed a reſolution of humbling the power of a monarch who was as much his ſuperior in all the amiable and manly qualities of the human mind, as he fell ſhort of him in cunning, artifice, and fraud. For the promotion of his hoſtile and ambitious views, he had found means to engage in his intereſt the ſovereign pontiff, who preferred the labyrinth of politics to the plain path of religion. An ambitious prieſt is, at all times, a deteſtable character; but a miniſter of a God of Peace, who, actuated by an inſatiate thirſt of power, ſeeks to extend his authority by the effuſion of human blood, merits the execration of mankind. Leo, though poſſeſſed of many excellent endowments, fell into the ſame error, or rather adopted the ſame vices, by which too many of his predeceſſors had been diſtinguiſhed; purſuing the wretched ſyſtem of policy that prevailed among the Italian princes, and of which

[21] Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 21.

treachery

treachery and fraud formed the leading characteriſtics, he reſolved to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt. He firſt concluded a treaty of alliance with Francis, by which he engaged to aſſiſt that monarch in recovering the kingdom of Naples, a part whereof was to be ceded to the pope's nephew, and the remainder to be governed by a papal legate, during the minority of young Henry, ſecond ſon to the king of France, who was to be inveſted, by Leo, with the dignity of king of Naples [22]. But, allured by the proſpect of reaping greater advantages from an alliance with the emperor, the perfidious pontiff ſoon deſerted Francis, and made overtures of friendſhip, though with great ſecrecy, to Charles. A treaty was ſoon concluded, by which it was ſtipulated, that the pope and emperor ſhould join their forces for the expulſion of the French from the duchy of Milan, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould be given to Franceſco Sforza, (a ſon of Ludovico the Moor) who had reſided at Trent, ſince the time his brother Maximilian had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the French king; that Parma and Placentia ſhould be reſtored to the church; that the emperor ſhould aſſiſt the pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the holy ſee ſhould be encreaſed; that the emperor ſhould take the family of Medici under his protection; that he ſhould grant to the cardinal de Medicis a penſion of ten thouſand ducats upon the archbiſhopric of Toledo; and ſettle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the ſame value upon Alexander, the natural ſon of Lorenzo de Medicis.

Charles having thus ſecured the alliance of the pope, and the friendſhip of Wolſey, for whom he had promiſed to obtain the papal dignity, on the death of Leo, reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of coming to an open rupture with France. In conſequence of this determination, the count of Naſſau had no ſooner diſpoſſeſſed the prince of Sedan, than he received orders to advance towards the frontiers of France, where he, ſoon after, laid ſiege to Mouſſon. The cowardice of the garriſon having obliged Montmort, the governor, to ſurrender almoſt without reſiſtance, Naſſau inveſted Mezieres, a place the poſſeſſion of which would have enabled the Imperial army to penetrate into the heart of Champagne, where there was ſcarcely any other town capable of obſtructing its progreſs. Happily for France, the king, ſenſible of the importance of this fortreſs, committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, who had already ſignalized his zeal and courage in Italy, and who, by his valour and integrity, had merited and obtained the honourable appellation of—"*The Knight without Fear, and without Reproach* [23]!"—In the defence of Mezieres Bayard diſplayed all the talents of a great general, and, by repeated exertions of valour and conduct, he contrived to protract the ſiege to a conſiderable length, and in the end obliged the Imperialiſts to retire, with infamy and loſs [24]. The ſervices of Bayard, on this occaſion, were rewarded with the collar of Saint-Michael, and a company of one hundred lances.

[22] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 277. [23] Œuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 114. [24] Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 25, &c.

Mouſſon was ſoon retaken by the duke of Alençon, while the duke of Vendome reduced the towns of Bapeaume and Landrici. The Imperialiſts, flying before the ſuperior forces of France, retired to Valenciennes, where they were reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by the emperor himſelf. The king, meanwhile, having entered Artois, threw a bridge over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Valenciennes. Naſſau had been detached by Charles to prevent the troops from paſſing the river, but he arrived too late; all the infantry had already paſſed, and were drawn up on the oppoſite ſide in order of battle; and while he was deliberating whether he ſhould attack them or not, the cavalry joined them, when Naſſau thought it prudent to retire. The retreat of the Imperialiſts was favoured by a fog; the French, however, were apprized of the circumſtance ſoon enough to have followed them and cut off the whole army[25]; and the conſtable, la Trémouille and Chabannes, were eager to embrace the opportunity, but this was oppoſed by the duke of Alençon and Chatillon, and unfortunately their advice was ſuffered to prevail. A party, indeed, was already formed againſt the conſtable, and it was determined to reject whatever he ſhould propoſe; the king had juſt affronted that nobleman in the moſt ſenſible manner, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon, though this poſt of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office. Accordingly when, after that prince had revolted, he was called upon to reſign the conſtable's ſword, he replied, "*The king took it from me, at the paſſage of the Scheld.*" The king retook Bouchain; but he endeavoured in vain to relieve Tournay, which, after a ſix months ſiege, ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. The reduction of Heſdin by the French concluded the campaign.

The French arms had been equally ſucceſsful in Navarre; d'Eſtiſſac having aſſembled the ſcattered remains of Leſparres army, fortified the towns of Bayonne and Saint John-de-Luze, while the young king of Navarre reduced ſeveral other places. Bonnivet, who had become a favourite with the king, but ſtill more with the ducheſs of Angoulême, and had recently been promoted to the rank of general, was ſent to their aſſiſtance with an army of ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, under the count of Guiſe, and four hundred men at arms. After taking ſeveral fortreſſes in Navarre, they paſſed the river at Andaye, where they put a body of Spaniards to flight, and made a ſudden and unexpected attack on Fontarabia, which capitulated after the firſt aſſault. Bonnivet, proud of his ſucceſs, haſtened to court to reap the laurels which he flattered himſelf he had deſerved.

During theſe operations in the field, the conferences had been carried on at Calais; but when the conditions on which hoſtilities might be terminated came to be conſidered, the emperor's propoſals were ſuch as diſcovered either that he was utterly averſe from peace, or that he knew Wolſey would ſanction with his approbation whatever terms he

[25] P. Mart. Ep. 747.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 35.

might

might offer. He demanded the reſtitution of the duchy of Burgundy, a province, the poſſeſſion of which would have given him acceſs into the heart of the kingdom; and required a diſcharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which had been paid by his anceſtors, and which he himſelf had, on the acceſſion of Francis, renewed. Theſe terms, to which an high-ſpirited prince would ſcarcely have liſtened, after the diſaſters of the moſt unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great diſdain; and Charles ſhewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propoſitions of the French monarch, that he ſhould reſtore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the ſiege of Tournay, the congreſs broke up, without coming to any deciſion.

Meanwhile the league between the pope and the emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the theatre of war. The pride, rapacity, and imperious conduct of Lautrec, governor of the Milaneſe, and of his brother Leſcun, known by the name of mareſchal de Foix, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France, driven many of the principal citizens into baniſhment, and forced others to retire for their own ſafety. Among the laſt was Jerome Moroné, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man diſtinguiſhed for his intriguing ſpirit and ſubtle genius. He repaired to Franceſco Sforza, whoſe brother he had betrayed, and ſuſpecting the pope's intentions of attacking the Milaneſe, although his treaty with the emperor had not yet been made publick, he propoſed to Leo, in the name of Sforza, a ſcheme for ſurpriſing ſeveral places in that duchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former maſters, were ready for any deſperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a conſiderable ſum towards the execution of it; and when, through unforeſeen accidents, it failed of ſucceſs in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had aſſembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged, at that time, to the church. The mareſchal de Foix, who commanded at Milan, in the abſence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their reſort, marched into the eccleſiaſtical territories, and inveſted Reggio; but the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini, the hiſtorian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with diſgrace[26]. Leo eagerly ſeized this pretext for an open rupture with France; and now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manual, the Imperial ambaſſador at Rome, although it had really been ſigned ſome months before; and publickly excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of Saint-Peter's patrimony.

Francis, apprized of the danger to which his Italian dominions were expoſed, immediately commanded Lautrec to repair to his government. That general, who was well-

[26] Guicciardi, tom. iii. lib. 14.—Mem. de Du Bellay.

acquainted with the great neglect of economy in the adminiſtration of the king's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milaneſe had already ſuffered for want of their pay, refuſed to ſet out, unleſs immediately ſupplied with the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. But the king, the ducheſs of Angoulême, and Semblancy, ſuperintendant of finances, having pledged their words, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, on his arrival at Milan, he ſhould find remittances to the amount he demanded, he ventured to depart. But theſe promiſes, however, were violated, and the ducheſs of Angoulême, partly from avarice, and partly from an inveterate diſlike ſhe had conceived to Lautrec, who had been rather too free in his remarks on the numerous adventures to which her amorous diſpoſition had given riſe, ſeized the three hundred thouſand crowns, and appropriated them to her own uſe.

Lautrec, however, ſtill continued to levy a powerful army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates; acting chiefly on the defenſive, he perpetually haraſſed the troops he could not venture to attack, and by his ſuperior ſkill kept the enemy in awe, and effectually impeded the progreſs of their arms. But all his meaſures were diſconcerted by an accident, which no penetration could foreſee, nor prudence prevent. A body of twelve thouſand Swiſs ſerved in his army under the banners of the republic, with which France was in alliance. By a law, eſtabliſhed among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, indeed, had been ſometimes eluded, and private perſons had been allowed to inliſt in what ſervice they pleaſed, though not under the public banners, but under thoſe of their officers. The cardinal of Sion, (a Swiſs by birth) who ſtill preſerved his influence over his countrymen and his enmity againſt France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thouſand Swiſs joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen marching under hoſtile ſtandards, and intent on mutual deſtruction, became ſo ſenſible of the infamy to which they would be expoſed, as well as the loſs they might ſuſtain, that they diſpatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The cardinal of Sion, however, by corrupting the meſſengers appointed to carry this order, prevented it from being delivered to the Swiſs in the ſervice of the confederates; but being intimated, in due form, to thoſe in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, inſtantly yielded obedience, in ſpite of Lautrec's remonſtrances. This defection of the Swiſs was followed by the reduction of Milan, which was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy ſoon imitated the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the domains of the church; and the town of Cremona, with the caſtle of Milan, and a few inconſiderable forts, only remained in the hands of the French. Lautrec, with the remains of his ſhattered army, retired precipitately towards the territories of the Venetians, who had peremptorily rejected the ſolicitations of the pope, and faithfully adhered to their alliance with France.

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The news of this rapid ſucceſs had ſuch an effect upon Leo, that he was immediately ſeized with a fever, (if the French hiſtorians may be credited) which put an end to his exiſtence, on the ſecond of December, 1521. By this unexpected accident the ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended; the Swiſs were recalled by the cantons; ſome other mercenaries diſbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Imperial ſervice, remained to defend the Milaneſe: but Lautrec, deſtitute both of men and money, was wholly unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522.] In the conclave as in the cabinet, the policy of Charles prevailed over that of Francis, and the ſacred college, after much contention, raiſed cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who governed Spain in the emperor's name, (and was conſequently devoted to his intereſt) to the papal dignity. The war in the Milaneſe was reſumed with freſh vigour; the Swiſs, enraged at the deception paſſed on them by the cardinal of Sion, cemented their alliance with the king of France, and ſent him a ſupply of ſixteen thouſand men; the Venetians, too, evinced the greateſt zeal for his ſervice. But all theſe appearances proved deceitful: Guicciardini, not leſs ſkilful as a general, than eminent as an hiſtorian, repulſed, by his valour and addreſs, a bold and vigorous attack which Lautrec made on the city of Parma, of which he was governor. The Venetians, by their negligence, ſuffered ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, under the conduct of Jerome Adorno, to effect a junction with the confederates; and another body, led by Franceſco Sforza, to advance as far as Pavia, where they halted; while the French army lay encamped at Caſſano, between that city and Milan. Here he was joined by a conſiderable reinforcement from France, under the conduct of his brother, the mareſchal de Foix, accompanied by Bayard and Navarre, who, on their road, had reduced the towns of Novara and Vigevano. Sforza, however, had contrived to elude the vigilance of Lautrec, and had marched to Milan, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people. The French were repulſed in an attack upon Pavia, and as a ſcarcity of proviſion began to be felt in their camp, they took the road to Mouza, and endeavoured to advance to Arona, whither the money deſtined for the pay of the troops had arrived from France; but the Imperialiſts, aware of their object, ſtationed their army in ſuch a poſition as to prevent its accompliſhment. The Swiſs, who had before been clamorous for their pay, now loſt all patience, and crowding around Lautrec, threatened inſtantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay that was due, or promiſe to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec expatiate on the impoſſibility of the former, and the temerity of the latter, which muſt be attended with certain deſtruction, as the enemy occupied a camp (at Bicocca) ſtrong by nature, and rendered almoſt inacceſſible by art. Deaf to reaſon, and confident of ſucceſs, the Swiſs renewed their demand with encreaſed ferocity, and offered themſelves to lead the attack. Lautrec was thus compelled to act in oppoſition to his own judgment, and when the morn approached, the Swiſs appeared in arms, and with intrepidity equal to their obſtinacy marched againſt the enemy, deeply entrenched on every

every ſide, ſurrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they advanced, they ſuſtained a furious cannonade with great firmneſs, and without waiting for their own artillery ruſhed impetuouſly upon the intrenchments. After incredible exertions of valour, which were bravely ſeconded by the French, they were compelled to give up the vain attempt, and to retire with the loſs of three thouſand men. To that courage which had deſpiſed all danger, ſucceeded a puſillanimity which rejected all reſource. They retired to a valley, and peremptorily refuſed to renew the attack in a quarter where they would have met with much leſs reſiſtance. The Venetians, too, remained in a ſtate of inactivity, and refuſed to make a diverſion unattended with danger, and the only object of which was to prevent the enemy from directing their whole force againſt the mareſchal de Foix, who, by a deſperate effort of valour, had forced his way, over a ſtone bridge, into the camp. Not being ſeconded, he was compelled to retreat by the ſame bridge, a taſk of extreme difficulty, but which, by a diſplay of prudence equal to his courage, he did in good order. Lautrec was preſent every where; never had he diſplayed greater ſkill; and notwithſtanding the innumerable difficulties he had to encounter, he would inevitably have gained the victory had his orders been obeyed. He propoſed to renew the attack the next morning, but the Swiſs, diſcouraged by the loſs they had already ſuſtained, not only refuſed to fight, but left the camp, and ſet out for their own country. Lautrec deſpairing, after this diminution of his forces, to make any farther reſiſtance, retired into France, after throwing garriſons into Cremona and ſome other places, all of which, except the citadel of Cremona, ſoon ſurrendered to the confederates.

Theſe diſaſters were ſpeedily ſucceeded by the loſs of Genoa and the defection of the Venetians, who were, at length, induced to conclude a peace with the emperor; and Francis had now to oppoſe a confederacy of all the Italian princes, excepting only the duke of Savoy.

On the return of Lautrec to France, he found the king ſo enraged at the loſs of the Milaneſe, that he refuſed to ſee him; but, at the interceſſion of the conſtable, he, at length, was prevailed on to grant the mareſchal an audience, who juſtified himſelf, by imputing the diſaſters of the campaign to the want of the three hundred thouſand crowns which had been promiſed him for the pay of the troops. Francis, who was ignorant of this circumſtance, flew into a violent paſſion with Semblancy, ſuperintendant of the finances, and peremptorily inſiſted on knowing what had become of the money, which he had ordered to be ſent to Italy. The miniſter, a man of integrity and virtue, who had grown grey in the ſervice of his country, finding an imputation thus caſt upon his character, confeſſed that he had been compelled to pay the money to the ducheſs of Angoulême, who had taken the conſequences upon herſelf. But that infamous woman, ſacrificing every principle of honour to avarice and revenge, had the preſumption to deny the fact; and though Semblancy, in his own defence, produced her receipt, ſhe ſtill perſiſted in

in the denial, and maintained that the receipt was given for another ſum of the ſame amount. Francis, however, prejudiced as he was in favour of his mother, could not refuſe belief to the teſtimony of his ſenſes: Semblancy continued to enjoy his place for two or three years after this period; but that vindictive princeſs, intent on revenge, at length ſuborned one of his clerks to accuſe him of peculation; he was, accordingly, committed to the Baſtile, where he was tried by partial judges, in conſequence of whoſe ſentence he expired on a gibbet, on the ninth of Auguſt, 1527 [27].

Nor was Semblancy the only victim of Louiſa's revenge; ſhe had long conceived a paſſion for the duke of Bourbon, whoſe gratitude ſhe had endeavoured to ſecure by procuring his elevation to the important dignity of conſtable; but finding her love rejected by a prince whoſe affections were fixed on his wife, ſhe had found means to prejudice the king againſt him, and had occaſioned thoſe affronts which Bourbon had experienced in Artois. Farther enraged with the conſtable for procuring for Lautrec the means of juſtifying his conduct from the aſperſions which ſhe had thrown on it, her love was converted into hatred. But the death of the ducheſs of Bourbon, daughter to the famous lady of Beaujeu, tended to revive her former tenderneſs; and ſacrificing her reſentment to her paſſion, ſhe offered her hand to the diſconſolate duke. That offer being rejected with contempt, the inſult was deemed irreparable. The reſentment of ſlighted love and wounded vanity, raged with encreaſed violence, and Bourbon was, by this implacable princeſs, doomed to deſtruction. Duprat, the moſt corrupt miniſter that ever held the ſeals, inſtigated by ſome private offence he had received from the duke, aided her plans of revenge, and forwarded the ſcheme of perſecution. A law-ſuit was commenced againſt him for the recovery of the Bourbonnois, Auvergne, la Marche, le Forés, le Beaujolois, the principality of Dombes, and ſeveral other poſſeſſions, part of which he held in right of his deceaſed wife, while the reſt he inherited as the patrimony of his family. The judges, overawed by the authority of the ducheſs of Angoulême, promiſed a *proviſional* ſentence, deſtitute even of the appearance of equity, by which the conſtable's eſtates were ſequeſtered.

While the kingdom was haraſſed by theſe internal diſſentions, it was threatened with a foreign invaſion on every ſide. England had declared againſt France, and the forces of Henry, under the command of the earl of Surrey, made an incurſion into Picardy; but the prudent conduct of the duke of Vendôme had prevented them from undertaking any enterprize of importance; and they had returned to England, after a fruitleſs campaign, in which they had reaped neither honour nor advantage.

A. D. 1523.] The Spaniards, meanwhile, had attacked Fontarabia, which was gal-

[27] Gaillard, Hiſtoire de François I. tom. viii.

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lantly defended by Du Lude, during a vigorous ſiege of thirteen months, when the approach of Chabannes, with a powerful reinforcement, compelled the enemy to retire; but on the return of Du Lude to France, the command of that important fortreſs devolved on Frauget, who, on a renewal of the ſiege, immediately ſurrendered it to the Spaniards; an act of cowardice which was puniſhed by degrading him from the rank of a nobleman.

Meanwhile, the duke of Bourbon, inflamed by a repetition of injuries, had recourſe to meaſures which deſpair alone could have dictated. He entered into intrigues with the Imperial court, and offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural ſovereign to the emperor, and to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of France. Charles, as well as the king of England, to whom the ſecret was communicated[28], expecting to derive great advantage from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and ſpared neither promiſes nor allurements which might tend to confirm him in his reſolution. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry; and the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be ſettled on him, with the title of king. The emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees; and Henry, ſupported by the Flemings, was to invade Picardy; while twelve thouſand Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in concert with Bourbon, who undertook to raiſe ſix thouſand men among his friends and vaſſals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this dangerous plot was ſuſpended till the king ſhould croſs the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions; and as he had already advanced as far as Lyons, France ſtood on the brink of deſtruction.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had reached the ear of Francis, who, far from giving credit to the report, had an interview with the duke at Moulin, where he informed him of what he had heard, at the ſame time aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and requeſting he would accompany him to Italy. The conſtable acknowledged that he had received ſome propoſals from the emperor, but declared that he had rejected them with diſdain, and only wiſhed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his zeal and fidelity to his ſovereign. Francis paid implicit belief to what he ſaid, and proceeded on his journey; the conſtable ſet out ſoon after, apparently with an intention of following him, but turning ſuddenly to the left, he croſſed the Rhone, eſcaped all the parties which the king, ſenſible too late of his credulity, ſent out to intercept him, and joined the emperor's army in Italy.

The king took every poſſible precaution to avert the ill effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He ſecured all the towns in the conſtable's territories; he

[28] Rymer's Fœdera, t. xiii. p. 794.

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ſeized all the gentlemen whom he could ſuſpect of being his aſſociates; and as he had not yet diſcovered the whole extent of the conſpiracy, he relinquiſhed his intention of leading his army in perſon into Italy, and entruſted the command of that expedition to admiral Bonnivet, who paſſed the Alps with thirty thouſand men.

Colonna, who was entruſted with the defence of the Milaneſe, was, by no means, prepared to reſiſt ſuch a formidable force; deſtitute of reſources, he could only attempt to guard the paſſage of the river Teſino againſt the French; but in this he was foiled; Bonnivet croſſed the river without loſs, at a ford which had been neglected, and, at his approach, the Imperialiſt's retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as ſoon as the French ſhould appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini aſcribes to infatuation [29], Bonnivet delayed his march for three or four days, and thereby loſt the opportunity with which his good fortune had preſented him. The citizens recovered from their conſternation; Colonna, ſtill active at the age of fourſcore, and Moroné, whoſe enmity to France rendered him indefatigable, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and when Bonnivet arrived, after a fruitleſs attack on the town, he was obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to retire into winter quarters.

During theſe tranſactions, pope Adrian died, to the great joy of the Roman people, who publickly hailed his phyſician, as THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. He was ſucceeded in the chair of Saint Peter by the cardinal de Medicis, who aſſumed the appellation of Clement the Seventh.

The count of Guiſe, to whom Francis had entruſted the command of a ſmall army, deſtined for the defence of Burgundy, ſucceſsfully repelled the attacks of count Furſtemberg, the Imperial general, who made an incurſion into that province. After reducing ſome inconſiderable places, the Imperialiſts, baffled by the ſuperior conduct of Guiſe, were compelled to retreat with loſs and diſgrace.

La Trémouille had a more formidable enemy to encounter in Picardy, invaded by the united armies of England and Flanders, amounting to four-and-twenty thouſand men. The duke of Suffolk, who commanded them, penetrated as far as the banks of the Oyſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with conſternation. But the arrival of the duke of Vendôme, with a body of troops detached by the king, who was ſtill at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who perpetually haraſſed the enemy; the rigour of a ſeaſon more than uſually inclement, together with a ſcarcity of proviſions, compelled the Engliſh to retire; and la Trémouille had the glory of having,

[29] Guic. tom. iii. l. 15.

with a handful of men, checked the progreſs of a formidable army, and of expelling them with ignominy from the territories of France.

A. D. 1524.] The power and reſources of Francis had appeared to great advantage during the laſt campaign, in which he had rendered abortive all the machinations of his enemies, both foreign and domeſtic. But the preſent was deſtined to exhibit a very different ſcene. In Italy the allies had, by the beginning of March, aſſembled a powerful army, under the command of Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, (Colonna having died during the winter) though the chief direction of military operations was committed to Bourbon and the marquis de Peſcara. Bonnivet had not troops ſufficient to oppoſe this army, and was wholly deſtitute of thoſe talents which could render him an equal match for its leaders; courage, indeed, was all he poſſeſſed. After various movements and ſkirmiſhes, a detail of which would be neither intereſting nor inſtructive, he was compelled to abandon the ſtrong camp in which he had intrenched himſelf at Biagraſſa. Soon after, partly by his own miſconduct, partly by the active vigilance of the enemy, and partly by the caprice of ſix thouſand Swiſs, who refuſed to join his army, though within a day's march of it, he was reduced to the neceſſity of attempting a retreat into France, by the valley of Aoſt. Juſt as he arrived on the banks of the Seſſia, and began to paſs that river, Bourbon and Peſcara appeared with the vanguard of the allies, and attacked his rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himſelf with great valour, received a dangerous wound in the arm, which obliged him to quit the field, and to reſign his command to Bayard, the count of Saint Pol, and the lord of Vandeneſſe. Bayard and Vandeneſſe ſwore they would ſave the army, or periſh in the attempt. Unhappily for France, the latter was their fate. Bayard, who always courted the poſt of danger, was entruſted with the conduct of the rear; he placed himſelf at the head of his men at arms, and animating them by his exhortations and example to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the reſt of his countrymen to make good their retreat: but in this ſervice the gallant knight received a wound in the loins from a muſquet-ball, which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horſeback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then fixing his eyes on the guard of his ſword, which he held up inſtead of a croſs, he addreſſed his prayers to God, and, in this poſture, which became his character both as a ſoldier and as a chriſtian, he calmly waited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the van of the allies, found him in this ſituation, and expreſſed regret and pity at the ſight. "*Pity not me,*" cried the brave and loyal chevalier, "*I die as a man of honour ought, in ſerving my king: you, indeed, are an object of pity, who fight againſt your prince, your country, and your oath.*" The marquis de Peſcara, paſſing ſoon after, manifeſted his admiration of Bayard's virtues, as well as his ſorrow for his fate, with the generoſity of a gallant enemy; and finding that he could not be removed with ſafety from that ſpot, ordered a tent to be pitched there, and appointed proper perſons to attend him. He died, notwithſtanding their care, as his anceſtors for ſeveral generations had done, in the field of battle.

battle. Peſcara ordered his body to be embalmed, and ſent to his relations; and ſuch was the reſpect paid to military merit in that age, that the duke of Savoy commanded royal honours to be paid it in all the cities of his dominions; it was conveyed to Dauphiné, (where people of all ranks came out in a ſolemn proceſſion to meet it) and interred in the convent of Minims, about a league from Grenoble [30]. The king never ceaſed to regret the loſs of his favourite knight; and after he had loſt his liberty at the battle of Pavia, he was heard to exclaim—"*Ah, Bayard, if thou hadſt been alive, I ſhould not be where I am!*"

Bonnivet led back the remains of his army into France; and in one ſhort campaign Francis was ſtripped of all his Italian conqueſts, and left without a ſingle ally in that country. After this expulſion of the French from Italy, the Italian princes having obtained the object of the confederacy, expreſſed their intention of diſſolving it; while the pope was extremely ſtrenuous in his admonitions to the emperor not to perſecute the rival he had humbled. But Charles, intoxicated with ſucceſs, ſtimulated by his own ambition, and urged on by Bourbon's deſire of revenge, reſolved on an immediate invaſion of France. An army of eighteen thouſand men accordingly paſſed the Alps, under the conduct of the marquis de Peſcara, aided by Bourbon; and entering Provence, laid ſiege to Marſeilles. Bourbon would fain have directed their firſt attacks againſt Lyons, where his partiſans were ſuppoſed to be numerous; but the emperor was ſo deſirous of ſecuring a port which might, at all times, give him a free acceſs into the dominions of his rival, that he overruled the conſtable's opinion.

Francis made the moſt extraordinary efforts in order to defeat the deſigns of his enemies: he had already ſent Brion and Ceré, with two hundred men at arms, and three thouſand infantry, to the relief of Marſeilles; and he now collected the ſcattered remains of Bonnivet's army, which he augmented with fourteen thouſand Swiſs, ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, and fifteen hundred men at arms. La Paliſſe—who was now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of mareſchal de Chabannes—took poſſeſſion of Avignon, while the king himſelf advanced as far as Salon; but he no ſooner began to advance towards Marſeilles, than the Imperial troops, exhauſted by the fatigues of a ſiege which had laſted forty days, weakened by diſeaſes, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions—from the care which had been taken to lay waſte the adjacent country—evacuated the kingdom, (on the nineteenth of September) and retired with precipitation into Italy.

Francis having repelled this formidable invaſion, ought certainly to have contented himſelf with providing for the future defence of his kingdom againſt ſimilar attacks; but having a numerous and well-appointed army at his command, he could not withſtand the temp-

[30] Belleforet, Epit. p. 73.—Mem. de Du Bellay, 75.—Œuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 108.—Pacquier, Recherches, p. 526.—Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 324.

tation which now preſented itſelf to his view, for the recovery of the Milaneſe. In vain did his wiſeſt miniſters and generals attempt to diſſuade him from this imprudent enterprize, by repreſenting the danger of taking the field at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, with an army compoſed chiefly of Swiſs and Germans, to whoſe caprices he muſt be ſubject in all his operations, and on whoſe fidelity his ſafety muſt abſolutely depend. In vain did his mother aſſure him that ſhe had ſomething of the utmoſt conſequence to communicate to him, and advance by haſty journies towards Provence, in order to ſecond the remonſtrances of his miniſters; Francis was deaf to her ſolicitations, and began his march before her arrival, appointing her, however, by way of atonement for his neglect, to be regent of the kingdom during his abſence.

The French croſſed the Alps at mount Cenis, and advanced directly to Milan, where their unexpected arrival occaſioned ſuch conſternation, that although Peſcara entered the city with ſome of his beſt troops, he found it impoſſible to defend it; and having thrown a garriſon into the citadel, he retired through one gate while the French entered at another. Francis was guilty of a fatal error, in not immediately purſuing the Imperialiſts, who repaired to Loda on the Adda, an untenable poſt, which they had reſolved to abandon on his approach. Inſtead of doing this, to which he was adviſed by his moſt experienced generals, he unfortunately eſpouſed the opinion of Bonnivet; and, on the eighteenth of October, laid ſiege to Pavia on the Teſino. The poſſeſſion of Pavia would, indeed, have been an object of importance, ſince it would have opened to the French a free paſſage into a country, fertile and extenſive; but the ſeaſon was too far advanced for forming the ſiege of a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned by ſix thouſand veterans, under the command of a brave and experienced general.

The king proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and during three months every exertion of art and valour was employed for reducing the town, but the vigilant activity and enterprizing ſpirit of the governor, Antonio de Leyva, rendered them all fruitleſs. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent ſallies; behind the breaches made by their artillery, he erected new works, ſcarcely inferior in ſtrength to the original fortifications; he repulſed them in all their aſſaults; and by his exhortations and example induced not only the garriſon, but the inhabitants, to brave every ſpecies of danger and fatigue. The progreſs of the French was not leſs retarded by the rigour of the ſeaſon, than by the exertions of the enemy: they attempted, at the ſuggeſtion of Silly, bailiff of Caen, to reduce the town, by diverting the courſe of the Teſino, which bathed its walls, and conſtituted its chief defence on one ſide; but a ſudden inundation of the river deſtroyed in one day the labour of many weeks, and ſwept away all the mounds which his army had raiſed with infinite toil, as well as a very great expence [31].

[31] Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 447.

While

While Francis lay before the town, Clement the Seventh, jealous of the emperor's power, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which would leave the king in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe; and when Charles rejected his propoſals with diſdain, he immediately concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of France, in which the republic of Florence was included [32]. Francis having thus deprived the emperor of his two moſt powerful allies, and ſecured a paſſage for his own troops through their territories, was ſo imprudent as to detach ſix thouſand men, under the command of John Stuart, duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples, in the vain hope that Lannoy would be induced to recal a part of the Imperial army from the Milaneſe. But Peſcara perſuaded the viceroy to diſregard the motions of Albany, and confine his attention to Francis, who thus weakened his army very unſeaſonably, without the proſpect of reaping the ſmalleſt advantage from ſuch a meaſure.

A. D. 1525.] The garriſon of Pavia was, by this time, reduced to the greateſt extremity; and the Germans, having received no pay for ſeven months, threatened to deliver the town to the French, a diſaſter which the Imperial generals reſolved to avoid by immediately marching to their relief. This they were compelled to do, by the arrival of twelve thouſand Germans, whom Bourbon had juſt brought to their aſſiſtance, which gave them a ſuperiority over the French, who were conſiderably weakened, as well by the detachment ſent to Naples, as by another, under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, which had reduced Savona, defeated four thouſand Spaniards, and inſulted the city of Genoa: and, laſtly, by the defection of the Griſons, who were recalled to the defence of their own territories.

On the firſt intelligence of the enemy's approach, Francis called a council of war; at which opinions were divided, but the majority were decidedly of opinion that a retreat ſhould be attempted, and that no conſideration ſhould induce them to hazard the ſafety of the king and kingdom on the precarious event of a battle; theſe were the ſentiments of all thoſe illuſtrious warriours who had acquired ſo much glory in the preceding reigns: Lewis d'Ars, San Severino, Galiot de Genouillac, Chabannes, Foix, la Trémouille, all inſiſted on the propriety of raiſing the ſiege, and retiring to Benaſco; obſerving, at the ſame time, that the Imperial army would ſoon be obliged to diſband for want of pay, and that then Pavia would become an eaſy conqueſt. Their opinion was ſupported by the biſhop of Carpi, who informed the king, in the pope's name, that Clement earneſtly conjured him not to riſk an action. But theſe prudent councils were ſtrenuouſly rejected by Bonnivet, who even preſumed to reproach Chabannes with attending rather to the ſuggeſtions of age, than to the dictates of his heart: all the young courtiers, anxious to ſignalize their courage, ſeconded Bonnivet, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of fighting the Im-

[32] Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 448.

perialiſts,

perialiſts, ſooner than relinquiſh an enterprize, on the ſucceſs of which the future fame of Francis depended. Unfortunately, the king's notions of honour were ſo delicate, that he could not prevail on himſelf to raiſe the ſiege of a town which he had ſworn to reduce; and he, therefore, determined to wait for the Imperialiſts before the walls of Pavia.

The ſituation of the French camp nearly reſembled that of the Imperialiſts at Bicocca; it was ſituated in an extenſive park, ſurrounded by a wall, in the center of which ſtood the caſtle of Mirabello; it was defended by ſtrong entrenchments, and the approach to it on every ſide was rendered as difficult as art could make it. Here Francis drew up his troops in order of battle; the vanguard was entruſted to the mareſchal de Chabannes, the centre was commanded by the king in perſon, and the duke of Alençon had the conduct of the rear. Two falſe attacks were made by the enemy on the French camp, in the night of the twenty-third of February; while they were employed in deſtroying the wall by ſapping; this they did ſo effectually, that at break of day on the twenty-fourth, a breach ſixty toiſes in length was effected, by which the Imperialiſts entered the camp. They ruſhed on with ſuch impetuoſity, that the caſtle of Mirabello was reduced in an inſtant, and the garriſon taken priſoners; but a detachment of the Imperialiſts, who were advancing towards the town, were attacked and defeated by Chabot Brion, while the artillery was ſo well-pointed and ſucceſsfully played by Galiot de Genouillac, that if that officer had been ſuffered to purſue his own plan, it would have ſufficed, of itſelf, to deſtroy the enemy's army. The Imperialiſts retired with the utmoſt precipitation, and in the greateſt confuſion, into a neighbouring plain, where the king was ſo imprudent as to follow them with his Gendarmes, and by placing himſelf between his own batteries and the enemy's troops, gave up all the advantage he might have derived from his artillery: the reſt of the army was, of courſe, obliged to follow their ſovereign. The diviſion commanded by the mareſchal de Chabannes now formed the right wing, and that under the duke of Alençon the left; while the black-bands, reduced to five thouſand men, took their ſtation between the centre where the king fought in perſon, and the right wing; and the Swiſs were placed to the left of the king's diviſion. All the efforts of the Imperialiſts were directed againſt the centre; but Bourbon, with his Germans, attacked the black-bands, who, after they had diſplayed the moſt intrepid valour, were all cut to pieces. The right wing twice repulſed a body of Neapolitan cavalry, but was, at length, overpowered by ſuperior numbers; Chabannes himſelf was thrown from his horſe, taken priſoner, and maſſacred in cool blood, by the brutal ferocity of a Spaniſh officer, who, enraged at not being entitled to any part of his ranſom, was reſolved that no other ſhould profit by it[33]. After the death of Chabannes the right wing was totally routed, and the few troops that remained haſtened to join the centre, where the king had obtained ſome little advantage, dearly bought with the lives of many of his braveſt officers. Hitherto the Swiſs had diſcharged their duty;

[33] Garnier.

but

but the duke of Alençon, alarmed at the defeat of the right wing, ſuddenly fled, with his whole diviſion, and baſely deſerting his ſovereign, haſtened to Lyons, where he died ſoon after, with ſhame and remorſe; the Swiſs, finding themſelves thus forſaken, began to ſuſpect ſome treacherous deſign, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of Fleuranges, retired from the field: Dieſpach, their leader, reſolved not to ſurvive the diſgrace of his countrymen, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy's ſquadrons, and fell covered with honourable wounds. All who deteſted the puſillanimous conduct of Alençon, and who had endeavoured to recall him to a juſt ſenſe of his duty, now crowded around the king. Though wounded in ſeveral places, and thrown from his horſe, which was killed under him, Francis defended himſelf on foot with heroic courage. Many of his gallant nobles threw themſelves between their ſovereign and the enemy, and endeavouring to ſave his life at the expence of their own, fell at his feet. Bonnivet, the unhappy author of this dreadful calamity, performed prodigies of valour, and while he dealt deſtruction to all around him, met the death he courted. The king continued fighting, till exhauſted with fatigue, and ſcarcely capable of farther reſiſtance, he was left almoſt alone, expoſed to the fury of ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſtrangers to his rank, and enraged at his obſtinacy. At that moment, came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had accompanied Bourbon in his flight, and placing himſelf by the ſide of the monarch, againſt whom he had rebelled, aſſiſted in protecting him from the violence of the ſoldiers, at the ſame time conjuring him to ſurrender to Bourbon, who was not far diſtant; but the name of Bourbon rouſed the indignation of Francis, who called for Lannoy, and gave up his ſword to him, which he, kneeling to kiſs the king's hand, received with profound reſpect; and taking his own ſword from his ſide, preſented it to him, ſaying, That it did not become ſo great a monarch to remain diſarmed in the preſence of one of the emperor's ſubjects. Francis was immediately conducted to the Imperial camp, where his wounds were dreſſed, and whence he diſpatched this laconic but expreſſive note to his mother—"*Madame, all is loſt, except our honour*[34]."

Ten thouſand men fell in this fatal action, and the field of Pavia was ſtained with the beſt blood of France. Lewis d'Ars, la Trémouille, Chabannes, Bonnivet, and San Severino, were among the ſlain. The king of Navarre, the prince of Bozzolo, the count of Saint-Pol, Montmorenci, Saint-Marceau, Brion, Monchenu, Fleuranges, de Lorges, du Bellai-Langeac, la Roche-du-Maine, and many other illuſtrious warriours, ſhared the fate of Francis.

Lannoy treated his royal captive with every mark of reſpect; but ſolicitous to prevent a poſſibility of eſcape, he conducted him the day after the action to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzighitone, near Cremona, where he was committed to the cuſtody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spaniſh infantry, a man of ſtrict honour, and incorruptible in-

34 Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 472.—Œuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 355.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 90.

tegrity.

tegrity. The feeble garriſon of Milan, on the firſt news of the defeat, retired without being purſued; and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

The kingdom was now reduced to a ſituation pregnant with dangers the moſt alarming: the ducheſs of Angoulême had to encounter not only thoſe inconveniencies which naturally ſprang from the king's captivity, and the loſs of a flouriſhing army, but others of a more ſerious caſt, ariſing from the diſcontent which prevailed in every part of France, and which ſeemed to threaten a general inſurrection. The people murmured; the parliament complained, inſiſted on a reform, and required the immediate diſmiſſion of the chancellor du Prat; but in this trying emergency, the magnanimity of Louiſa was eminently diſplayed, and that kingdom which her paſſions had endangered, her abilities were exerted to ſave. She aſſembled, at Lyons, the princes of the blood, the governors of the provinces, and the notables of the realm, who came to the generous reſolution of immediately paying the ranſom of all the officers and ſoldiers who had been taken at the battle of Pavia. The army was thus enabled again to take the field, while the garriſon of Heſdin, in Picardy, encouraged by the proſpect of relief, repelled an attack of the Imperialiſts on that town. Louiſa, at the ſame time, endeavoured to conciliate the favour, and to obtain the protection of the king of England.

Henry the Eighth had been ſtartled at the fatal event of the battle of Pavia, and had become ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the power of Charles the Fifth; while his miniſter, Wolſey, was enraged at the recollection of the emperor's treachery, in having deluded him with vain promiſes of the papal crown. The Engliſh monarch, however, though reſolved on a change of meaſures, deemed it prudent to ſave appearances, and he cauſed public rejoicings to be made throughout his dominions, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis; he alſo diſmiſſed the French envoy, whom he had hitherto allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London[35]. But upon the ſubmiſſive applications of the ducheſs of Angoulême, he renewed his correſpondence with her, and beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that ſhe ſhould never conſent to the diſmembering any province of the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. To the emperor, however, he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguiſhing the monarchy of France: he required that Charles ſhould immediately invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded that Francis ſhould be delivered to him, in conſequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to ſurrender all uſurpers to him whoſe rights they had invaded. Theſe propoſals were received

[35] Du Bellay, l. viii.—Stowe, p. 221.—Baker, p. 273.

by

by the emperor with the diſdain that was expected, and his rejection of them afforded Henry a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Meanwhile the Imperial generals in Italy were obliged to diſband the greater part of their troops, for want of money to pay them; and Charles himſelf, inſtead of profiting by the preſent calamitous ſituation of France, and making one great effort to penetrate into that kingdom, deſcended to the arts of intrigue and negociation. He ordered Beaurain to pay his royal captive a viſit at Pizzighitone, and to offer him peace on the following conditions: that he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the duchy of Milan; that he ſhould reſtore to Charles the duchy of Burgundy, which he claimed in right of his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy; and that Provence, Dauphiné and the Lionnois ſhould be ceded to the duke of Bourbon, and, in conjunction with his own hereditary eſtates, ſhould be formed into an independent kingdom. The king rejected with indignation theſe humiliating propoſals, and, drawing his dagger, exclaimed—" 'Twere better " that a king ſhould die thus!"—Alarçon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though Francis ſoon recovered greater compoſure, he ſtill declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather remain a priſoner through life, than purchaſe liberty by ſuch ignominious conceſſions. He offered, however, to eſpouſe Eleanora, widow to the king of Portugal, and ſiſter to the emperor, to hold Burgundy as the dower of that princeſs, and to entail it on her children; to pay the ſame ranſom which king John had paid; to ſupply Charles with a fleet and army, whenever he might chooſe to repair to Rome for the purpoſe of receiving the Imperial crown; and, laſtly, to reſtore all the poſſeſſions belonging to the duke of Bourbon, and to give him his ſiſter, the princeſs Margaret, (to whom he was known to be attached) in marriage. Theſe offers were rejected by Charles.

But Lannoy, anxious to convey his priſoner ſafe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a perſonal interview with the emperor would accelerate his releaſe from captivity on more equitable terms; and the French monarch, anxious to graſp at any thing which could afford him the ſmalleſt proſpect of procuring his liberty, furniſhed the galleies neceſſary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral, Doria, to ſuffer them to paſs without moleſtation. Bourbon and Peſcara were deceived by the pretence that Lannoy meant to tranſport his priſoner to the caſtle of Naples; and the latter officer embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed, on the ſeventeenth of June, 1525, at Palamos, in Catalonia. Francis was then conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, under the care of the vigilant Alarçon.

The regent, during theſe tranſactions, was employed in cementing her alliance with the king of England, who concluded a treaty with her on the thirtieth of Auguſt, by

which he engaged to procure her ſon his liberty, on reaſonable conditions[36]. The regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom to be Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during his life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. A preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to cardinal Wolſey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay[37].

Francis, meanwhile, inſtead of the interview with which he had been flattered by Lannoy, found himſelf in a ſolitary priſon, cloſely guarded, and allowed no other recreation than to take the air on a mule, ſurrounded by ſoldiers. The continuance of this harſh treatment for ſix months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, fearful of loſing by his death all the fruits of his victory, condeſcended to make him a conſolatory viſit, and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the ſick monarch called to him "—You come, ſir, to viſit your priſoner."—"No," replied Charles, "I come to viſit "my brother, and my friend, who ſhall ſoon obtain his liberty." This friendly language, and the ſpecious promiſes of the emperor, had ſo good an effect on the king, that he daily recovered; but the flattering expectations he had been led to entertain vaniſhed with the return of health; and Francis, in deſpair, entruſted to his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, a deed, by which he reſigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

A. D. 1526.] Charles, being apprized of this circumſtance, and farther induced by a confederacy of the Italian powers, who, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, had entered into an alliance with the ducheſs of Angoulême, began ſeriouſly to think of treating with the king; while Francis, on his ſide, was perſuaded by his friends to accede to any terms that might be propoſed to him, under the idea that engagements contracted under ſuch circumſtances could never be deemed binding. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of January, 1526, a treaty was concluded between the rival princes, after Francis had ſecretly proteſted, in the preſence of his friends, againſt the validity of a contract extorted, as it were, by force. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that the king ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Eleanora, who ſhould have a marriage-portion of two hundred thouſand crowns; that he ſhould be conducted to Fontarabia, and reſtored to liberty on the tenth of March; that his two ſons ſhould be delivered as hoſtages, together with twelve of the moſt experienced officers in the French ſervice, who were to remain in the emperor's power until all the articles of the treaty ſhould be fulfilled; that Francis ſhould renounce all his pretenſions on Italy; that he ſhould reſtore Burgundy and its dependencies; that he ſhould relinquiſh the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; that he ſhould abandon his allies in Italy; and ſupply the emperor with a fleet and army, to aſſiſt him in puniſhing his rebellious vaſſals. Francis likewiſe engaged to abandon the king of Navarre, the dukes of Gueldres and Wirtemberg, and Robert de la Marck,

36 Du Tillet.—Rec. des Traités de Leonard, tom. ii. 37 Hume.

and

and to re-eſtabliſh the duke of Bourbon and the prince of Orange in all their poſſeſſions. If any difficulty ſhould afterwards occur in the execution of that article which provided for the ceſſion of Burgundy, from the oppoſition of the ſtates, either of France or of that province, the king ſtipulated, that, in ſix weeks time, he ſhould return to priſon, and there remain till the full performance of the treaty. From the whole tenour of this famous convention, it was evident that Charles intended to reduce Italy, as well as France, to ſubjection and dependance.

It was foretold by many of Charles's miniſters, that, however ſolemn the oaths, promiſes, and proteſtations exacted of Francis, he would never execute a treaty ſo diſhonourable to himſelf, and ſo diſadvantageous to his country. By reſigning Burgundy to the emperor, he gave his powerful enemy a free paſſage into the heart of the kingdom; by ſacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himſelf of all foreign aſſiſtance, and rendered his oppreſſor irreſiſtible, by arming him with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country. To theſe great views of intereſt, were added the motives, no leſs cogent, of paſſion and reſentment. While Francis, a prince who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom. It was alſo foreſeen, that the emulation and rivalſhip, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two monarchs, would make him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance at yielding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt, who, by the whole tenour of his conduct, he would incline to think, had ſhewn himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His miniſters, friends, ſubjects, and allies, would, they averred, be unanimous in perſuading him that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people, and that every principle ought to be rendered ſubordinate to the great duty of enſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined, they ſaid, that Francis could be ſo *romantic* in his principles, as not to hearken to a caſuiſtry, ſo plauſive in itſelf, and ſo flattering to all the paſſions, by which, either as a prince or a man, he was ſtrongly actuated.

Such was the reaſoning of ſeveral of the Imperial miniſters, particularly of Gattinara, the chancellor[38], who adviſed his maſter to treat Francis with more generoſity, and to give him his liberty on ſuch terms, as would engage him, not on the feeble bond of treaties, but, by the more forcible tie of honour, to a ſtrict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wiſer and more honourable council; at the ſame time that the proſpect of a general combination of the European powers, prevented him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confuſions which his abſence muſt neceſſarily occaſion in his kingdom. Still ſuſpicious, however, of the ſincerity of his priſoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of

[38] Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

aſking him privately, and as a friend, whether he ſeriouſly intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; proteſting, that, at all events, he himſelf was firmly determined to reſtore him to liberty, and that the proſpect of obtaining this advantage, needed no longer engage him to diſſemble. Francis was too well-acquainted with Charles's character to truſt to the ſincerity of this proteſtation; and, therefore, renewed his aſſurances of fidelity, and a ſtrict obſervance of his word. The emperor replied, that Francis was now his beſt friend and ally; but, if he ſhould afterwards break his engagements, which he could not ſuſpect, he ſhould think himſelf entitled to reproach him with a conduct ſo baſe and unworthy: and on theſe terms the two monarchs parted.

Francis was conducted to Fontarabia on the eighteenth of March, 1526, and haſtened to the banks of the Bidaſſoa, accompanied by Lannoy, Alarçon, and an eſcort of fifty horſe, while his two ſons appeared on the oppoſite ſhore, under the care of the mareſchal de Lautrec. The exchange being made, the king croſſed the river, and inſtantly mounting a Turkiſh horſe, waved his hand over his head, and exclaiming, "*I am yet a king!*" galloped full ſpeed to Saint-John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the ducheſs of Angoulême and the whole court. He was ſoon followed by a Spaniſh envoy, who came to demand his ratification of the treaty of Madrid; but Francis waved the propoſal, under pretence that he muſt previouſly aſſemble the ſtates of Burgundy, and obtain their conſent to the ceſſion of that province. As ſoon as he had diſmiſſed the envoy with this unſatisfactory anſwer, he wrote to the king of England, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he was indebted for his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his councils in all tranſactions with the emperor[39]. He then proceeded to fill up all the vacant poſts in the miniſtry: the mareſchal de Montmorenci was appointed to the government of Languedoc; Chabot-Brion was created admiral of France, and governor of Burgundy; the government of Dauphiné was aſſigned to the count of Saint-Pol; and Triulzi and Fleuranges were made mareſchals of France, in the room of Chabannes and de Foix, who had been killed at the battle of Pavia.

After the king had made theſe regulations he repaired to Coignac, to receive the ambaſſadors from the Italian princes, with whom he was about to form a league for fruſtrating the ambitious ſchemes, and repreſſing the uſurpations of the emperor. At the ſame time Lannoy, who had remained at Vittoria, with the hoſtages and queen Eleanora, ready to conduct them to France as ſoon as the treaty ſhould have been executed, went to Coignac, accompanied by Alarçon, to ſummon Francis to fulfil his engagements. The king made the ſame reply as before, and Lannoy ſtayed to hear the determination of the ſtates of Burgundy, who declared againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for

39 Hume.

alienating

alienating their province, and expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould return to his priſon; but the king, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, made public, on the twenty-eighth of June, the treaty which he had concluded with the Italian powers[40].

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been holden in the moſt anxious ſuſpence, with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who ſuſpected that this monarch would never execute a treaty ſo prejudicial to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independence, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis did not heſitate, but immediately entered into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that prince, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France, on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther additions or incumbrances, Francis renouncing all his pretenſions in Italy, reſerving only for himſelf Genoa, and the county of Aſte. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but alſo as protector of the *Holy League*, as this confederacy was called: and if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, it was agreed by the confederates, that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom, of the yearly revenue of thirty thouſand ducats; and that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom[41], ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a yearly revenue of ten thouſand ducats.

A. D. 1527.] Francis hoped that the appearance of this powerful confederacy would engage the emperor to relax ſomewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid, and, at leaſt, to accept the two millions of crowns which he had offered to him in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy; and led away by theſe hopes he neglected to ſend, in due time, reinforcements to his allies in Italy, and, indeed, forgot the whole world in the arms of his favourite miſtreſs, Anne de Piſſeleu, afterwards dutcheſs of Etampes. The duke of Bourbon had got poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the inveſtiture; and having levied a conſiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates, and not the leſs ſo, becauſe Charles, deſtitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The duke was extremely beloved by his troops, and, in order to prevent thoſe mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection for him had, alone, hitherto reſtrained, he led them to Rome, and promiſed to enrich them by the plunder of that

[40] Guicciardini, lib. xvii. [41] Hume.

opulent

opulent city. On the ſixth of May, 1527, the aſſault was given: Bourbon was killed by a random ſhot as he was planting a ladder to ſcale the walls; yet the army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, rather enraged than diſcouraged by the death of their leader, entered the city ſword in hand, and exerciſed all thoſe brutalities which may be expected by ferocity excited by reſiſtance, and from inſolence inflated by ſucceſs, which ſeldom fails to take place when that reſiſtance ceaſes. This renowned city, expoſed by her renown alone to ſo many calamities, never endured, in any age, even from the barbarians by whom ſhe was ſo often ſubdued, ſuch indignities as ſhe was now conſtrained to ſuffer. The univerſal maſſacre and pillage, which continued for ſeveral days, were the ſmalleſt evils to which the wretched Romans were expoſed [42]. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, or ſacred in religion, ſeemed but the more to provoke the inſults of the ſoldiery. Virgins ſuffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon thoſe very altars, to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced each moment with the moſt cruel death, in order to engage them to reveal their ſecret treaſures, or purchaſe liberty by exorbitant ranſoms. Clement himſelf, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, and neglected to make his eſcape in time, was taken priſoner; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, did but draw on him the inſolent mockery of the Germans, who, from their attachment to the Lutheran principles, were pleaſed to gratify their animoſity by the abaſement of the ſovereign pontiff.

When the emperor was informed of this event, deeply verſed in the arts of hypocriſy, he expreſſed the moſt profound ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms. He put himſelf and all his court into mourning: he ſtopped the rejoicings for the birth of his ſon Philip; and, knowing that every artifice however groſs, can, when ſeconded by authority, impoſe on the people, he ordered prayers, during ſeveral months, to be offered up for the pope's liberty, which a letter under his hand would, it was well known, have ſufficed to procure.

The concern expreſſed by Francis and the king of England for the misfortune which had befallen their ally, was much more ſincere. Theſe two monarchs had, on the thirtieth of April, concluded a treaty, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the dauphin Francis, and his brother, Henry duke of Orleans, and to repay the money borrowed of the Engliſh monarch; and, in caſe of refuſal, the ambaſſadors, attended with heralds, were ordered to denounce war againſt him. This war, it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thouſand infan-

[42] Guicciardini, lib. xviii.

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try, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated, that either Francis or his ſon, the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, ſigned on the twenty-ninth of May, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther induced to proceed with vigour in the proſecution of their plan for reſtoring him to liberty. Cardinal Wolſey croſſed the ſea, and had an interview with Francis, on the eleventh of July, at which he diſplayed all the grandeur and magnificence of a ſovereign prince. He was attended with a train of a thouſand horſe: the cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor of France met him at Boulogne; and the king himſelf, beſides granting the proud prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their own dominions, each by his own authority.

The more to cement the union between theſe princes, a new treaty was concluded at London, on the eighteenth of September; by which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France. As a return for this conceſſion, Francis bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay, for ever, fifty thouſand crowns a year to Henry and his ſucceſſors; and that a greater ſolemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the parliaments and principal nobility of both kingdoms ſhould give their aſſent to it. The mareſchal de Montmorenci, accompanied with many perſons of diſtinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was ſent over to England to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which ſuited the occaſion.

The king, meanwhile, had holden a *Bed of Juſtice*, at which deputies from all the towns in the kingdom attended, who were unanimous in their opinions that he was not bound to obſerve the treaty of Madrid, which had been the reſult of force, and was contrary to the laws of the realm; and they agreed that he had a right to levy on his ſubjects whatever money might be neceſſary for the ranſom of his ſon, and the other wants of the ſtate[43]. In conſequence of this determination, Francis reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and having aſſembled a powerful army, he appointed the mareſchal Lautrec to command it. The Italian ſtates received Lautrec with open arms, who inſtantly

[43] Gaillard.

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ſeized Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. Pavia was taken by aſſault, and the whole Milaneſe muſt have been reſtored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealouſy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome; the terror of his approach induced Charles to reſtore Clement to liberty, and directed the ſubſequent operations of the war againſt the kingdom of Naples.

During theſe tranſactions, Francis and Henry ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt him, refuſed to ſubmi to all the conditions inſiſted on by the allies. He departed, indeed, from his demand of Burgundy as the ranſom of the French princes, but he required, previouſly to their liberation from captivity, that Francis ſhould evacuate Genoa, and all the fortreſſes which he held in Italy; and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, on account of his pretended treaſon. The French and Engliſh heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war againſt him, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation and decent firmneſs; but to the French, he reproached his maſter with breach of faith; reminded him of the private converſation which had paſſed between them at Madrid before their ſeparation; and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that that monarch had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, demanding ſecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; but though the courage of neither prince could be doubted, the duel never took place; yet the example of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages had a conſiderable influence on the manners of Europe, and ſanctioned the practice of duels in private and perſonal quarrels.

A. D. 1528.] Meantime Lautrec purſued his conqueſts in Italy with vigour and effect. He ſpeedily reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, except Gaieta and the capital; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ableſt ſeaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had gained a victory over the ſuperior fleet of the emperor, and every thing ſeemed to favour the progreſs of the French arms.

But the imprudence of Francis ſoon blaſted this flattering proſpect; he had neglected to make proper remittances for the ſupport of the Italian army; and he was prevailed on, by the fatal councils of his miniſters, to diſguſt his admiral Doria; who, though in the ſervice of France, maintained the independent ſpirit of a republican, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldneſs. He was anxious to re-eſtabliſh the republican form of government in Genoa; to have his countrymen regarded by the French not as ſubjects but allies; and he oppoſed, with threats, the deſign of Francis to reſtore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town, which the Genoeſe had long regarded with jealouſy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expreſſions, commanded him to be inſtantly

ſtantly arreſted; but Doria, apprized of his danger, retired with his gallies to a place of ſafety; entered into a negociation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required, and ſailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and relief.

The communication with the ſea being thus opened, plenty was reſtored to Naples; the French in their turn began to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions, and they were inceſſantly haraſſed by the Imperialiſts, under the conduct of the prince of Orange. To the ravages of famine thoſe of peſtilence ſucceeded; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long ſtruggling with the difficulties of his ſituation, expired the victim of diſeaſe and diſappointment. On his death, the command of the French army devolved on the marquis of Saluzzo, who retired with the remnant of his troops to Averſa, where he was ſoon compelled to capitulate by the prince of Orange; Naples was again evacuated by the French, and the emperor recovered his ſuperiority in Italy.

Theſe diſaſters were followed by the loſs of Genoa, the garriſon whereof was reduced by deſertion to an inconſiderable number. Doria, impatient to deliver his country from a foreign yoke, ſailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow-citizens. The French retired into the citadel, but were ſoon obliged to ſurrender; while Doria, inſtead of uſurping the ſovereign power, eſtabliſhed the government nearly the ſame as it ſubſiſts to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of poſterity the honourable appellations of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.

A. D. 1529.] In the duchy of Milan the French were totally defeated by the Imperialiſts, under Antonio de Leyva, and Francis, diſcouraged and exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of peace. The emperor, alſo, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Turkiſh arms, embarraſſed by the propagation of the doctrines of Luther in Germany, and the ſeditious murmurs of his ſubjects in Spain, evinced an inclination to liſten to his propoſals. Margaret of Auſtria and the ducheſs of Angoulême, mother to Francis, met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification, whence the peace derived the appellation of "*The Ladies' Peace*," though more frequently called The Peace of Cambray. The king of England, the republic of Venice, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, ſent ambaſſadors to aſſert or diſcuſs their reſpective rights; but thoſe rights were ſacrificed; Charles was in a ſituation to dictate, and Francis was obliged to comply. By this treaty, concluded on the fifth of Auguſt, 1529, the king renounced all pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, the county of Aſte, and the kingdom of Naples; engaged to compel the Venetians to reſtore all the places of which he himſelf had put them in poſſeſſion; and relinquiſhed his rights to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and to the poſſeſſion of Tournay and Arras. Charles agreed to accept of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, as the ranſom of the

French princes, reſerving, however, his pretenſions to that duchy in full force; and Francis conſented immediately to conſummate his marriage with Eleanora, the emperor's ſiſter. The king of England was ſo generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he ſent him an acquittal of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which that prince owed him.

The Italian princes were now abandoned entirely to the diſcretion of the emperor. Florence, after a reſiſtance worthy of the cauſe for which ſhe fought, was ſubdued by the Imperial arms, and finally ſubjected to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians experienced a better treatment, and were only compelled to relinquiſh their acquiſitions on the Neapolitan coaſt. Even Franceſco Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and a pardon for all his paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the pope at Bologna.

A. D. 1530, 1531.] It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king could raiſe the ſum ſtipulated for the ranſom of his ſons, who did not arrive in France till the firſt of June, 1530, when they were met by Francis at the abbey of Vegin, where he conſummated his marriage with Eleanora, a princeſs whoſe perſonal charms were inſufficient to fix the wavering affections of an amorous monarch. During this interval of tranquillity, Francis indulged in ſorrowful reflections on his paſt misfortunes, which he vainly ſought to remedy by the pitiful ſubterfuge of a ſecret proteſtation againſt the treaty of Cambray; but he derived much greater conſolation from his intercourſe with men of ſcience, to whom he was a liberal friend and benefactor. Yet even here his ſatisfaction was incomplete; his mind being poiſoned by the inſinuations of the clergy, his dread of incurring the guilt of hereſy made him fall into the *ſin* of perſecution. The French divines, in their diſcourſes from the pulpit, and their diſputations in the ſchools, diſplayed the moſt inveterate and intolerant bigotry; all the arguments and poſitions which they either could not underſtand or were unable to confute, they ſtigmatized as heretical. Even Eraſmus, who combated with zeal and ability the principles of Luther, could not eſcape the cenſures of the univerſity; and ſeveral perſons accuſed of hereſy were, by the orders of Francis, committed to the flames. The ducheſs of Alençon, ſiſter to the king, an amiable princeſs, and a liberal patroneſs of the ſciences, was accuſed of a deviation from the purity of the Catholic faith, and was obliged to ſtoop to a defence of her orthodoxy: a book which ſhe had compoſed in verſe, entitled *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, made a great noiſe; but the doctors of the Sorbonne ſeized it at the bookſeller's, and prevented its farther circulation.

Meantime the progreſs of Lutheraniſm in Germany was rapid and extenſive; and the princes of the empire who profeſſed thoſe doctrines, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes paſſed by the Catholic princes in the Imperial diet at Spires, for the defence of the eſtabliſhed faith, they thenceforth received the appellation of

of *Proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

A. D. 1532, 1533, 1534.] The death of the ducheſs of Angoulême, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of September, 1531, had delivered Francis from a counſellor whoſe paſſions had frequently endangered the kingdom, which her wiſdom and magnanimity had contributed to protect; yet mindful of her councils, he completed her favourite project of annexing the duchy of Brittany to the crown: the ſtates of that province were, after much difficulty, prevailed on to abandon their claim of a free and ſeparate principality, and, in the month of Auguſt, 1533, the long wiſhed-for annexation took place. The king appeared extremely anxious to preſerve the friendſhip of Henry, and at a ſecond interview between the two monarchs, at a place equi-diſtant from Calais and Boulogne, they diſplayed every mark of mutual confidence. Nor was Francis leſs eager to attach the pope to his intereſts, for which purpoſe he propoſed a marriage between the celebrated Catherine of Medicis, the niece of Clement, and his ſecond ſon, Henry duke of Orleans; the pope accepted with joy the proffered alliance, and, accordingly, conducted the intended bride to Marſeilles, in the month of October, 1533, when the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. But the king did not reap the advantages which he had expected to derive from this alliance, for Clement died within the year, and was ſucceeded in the papal throne by Alexander Farneſe, who aſſumed the title of Paul the Third.

A. D. 1535, 1536.] Francis having by this time recruited his finances, and indignant at the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, ſeized the opportunity of his rival's abſence, then engaged in breaking the chains of the Chriſtian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Merveille, his ambaſſador at Milan, whom Sforza cauſed to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hoſtilities; and the duke of Savoy, by refuſing permiſſion to the French troops to paſs through Piedmont, drew upon himſelf the firſt operations of war.

The king advanced as far as Lyons, and gave the command of his army to the admiral Chabot-Brion, who ſpeedily reduced moſt of the towns in Savoy, and proceeded towards mount Cenis, when the death of Franceſco Sforza led the king to hope that he might eaſily obtain from the emperor the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan for his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans; but Charles, who had juſt returned from a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the famous Barbaroſſa, and who thought that his power was now irreſiſtible, wiſhed to keep the Milaneſe for himſelf. He concealed, however, his deſigns, and amuſed the king, during the winter of 1535, with deluſive hopes that vaniſhed at the approach of ſpring, when Charles appeared fully prepared to take the field. Yet Francis ſtill cheriſhed hopes that his reſiſtance might be overcome, and though his troops completed

the reduction of the dominions of the duke of Savoy, he ordered them to reſpect the territories of the emperor. The negociations ſtill continued, though Charles complained of the conduct of his rival, in making war on his brother-in-law, at a time when he was about to beſtow the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan on his ſon. Still he promiſed to come to a deciſion on the buſineſs, if Francis would ſend an ambaſſador to receive his anſwer at Rome, whither he was then going. The cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guiſe, was accordingly ſent to the capital of the Chriſtian world, and he was attended by Velly, who had hitherto conducted the negociation. Both Velly and the cardinal Du Bellay, the French ambaſſador at Rome, were of opinion, that Charles had only delayed his anſwer, in order that the pope might have the glory of appearing as a mediator between the rival monarchs; nor were they inclined to believe Paul, when he frankly aſſured them that they flattered themſelves, with deluſive hopes, and that he was certain the duke of Orleans would never be duke of Milan. At length, the fatal day arrived which was deſtined to encreaſe thoſe ſentiments of hatred which ſubſiſted between theſe two potent princes. The emperor began to complain more loudly of the invaſion of Piedmont, and talked of inveſting the duke of Angoulême with the duchy of Milan in preference to his brother. After an altercation with Velly, who preſſed him to fulfil his promiſe, he repaired to the Vatican, where, in the preſence of all the foreign ambaſſadors, and all the cardinals, he reviled the king of France and his ſubjects in the moſt indecent manner: he averred, that all the treaties which his moderation had dictated, had been openly violated; he traced back every inſtance of perfidy to the reign of Lewis the Twelfth; he juſtified Sforza in the aſſaſſination of Merveille; blamed the king for ſeeking to revenge the death of his ambaſſador; maintained that he had only made uſe of that circumſtance as a pretence for violating the treaty of Cambray; and repreſented him as a prince deſtitute of honour, and reſtrained by no principle: he concluded by exhorting the pope, the ſacred college, and all the Chriſtian potentates to unite with him againſt a prince who was the ally of infidels, and a diſturber of the public repoſe. The pope replied, with great moderation, to this vehement harangue, promiſing to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and exhorting the emperor to peace. The ſovereign pontiff in a private converſation with Charles, convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct, and perſuaded him ſo to explain his ſpeech of the preceding day, as to do away the moſt offenſive parts; but the thin veil which he threw over his abuſe was inſufficient to conceal his rancour[44].

Velly, at the laſt audience he had of the emperor, preſſed that prince to tell him in what manner he ſhould juſtify himſelf to his maſter for having given credit to his promiſes: "I beg your majeſty"—ſaid the ambaſſador—"to declare before his holineſs, "whether it be not true, that you promiſed me the Milaneſe for the duke of Orleans?"

[44] Gaillard.

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The emperor, ſomewhat diſconcerted by a queſtion thus preciſe, remained ſilent for ſome time, but being preſſed for an anſwer, he acknowledged that he had made ſuch a promiſe, but under conditions which had not been fulfilled: Velly then offered to fulfil thoſe conditions; Charles replied that it was impoſſible. "Why then did you propoſe them?" returned Velly. The emperor had recourſe to fleſh evaſions; he obſerved that the time was paſt; that the king, by his invaſion of Piedmont, had releaſed him from his engagements, and that the Italian princes would oppoſe any attempt to fulfil them.—To ſuch pitiful ſubterfuges was this powerful monarch reduced by his artifice, diſſimulation, and treachery!

War was now unavoidable, and both monarchs prepared for the conteſt with a vigour and alacrity equal to their reſentment: but Francis, warned by the fatal defeat of Pavia, reſolved not to riſk any deciſive action, but to act chiefly on the defenſive. He ſtrengthened the fortifications of all thoſe towns which were moſt open to attack; he recruited his armies, and repleniſhed his coffers. The chief command of the troops, deſtined for the defence of Picardy, was conferred on the duke of Vendôme, who was aſſiſted by the mareſchal de Montmorenci; the duke of Guiſe commanded in Champagne; Humieres was ordered to defend the province of Dauphiné, and to guard the paſſes of the Alps: Barbeſieux was ſtationed at Marſeilles; and the king himſelf, with a powerful army, undertook to defend the remaining part of Provence, againſt which he juſtly concluded the principal attack would be directed.

Charles, meanwhile, entered Piedmont with an army of forty thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand cavalry; and his progreſs was greatly facilitated by the treachery of the marquis of Saluzzo, who had ſucceeded admiral Brion in the command of the French forces in that quarter. That nobleman, by a ſuperſtitious faith in aſtrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to deſert the cauſe of his ſovereign and benefactor. But Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, by his courage and conduct, delayed the Imperial army above a month, before that inconſiderable place, and by that means gave Francis ample time to prepare for the reception of the enemy. A detachment of the Imperialiſts, at the ſame time, inveſted Turin, but were compelled to retire, after various ſkirmiſhes, in which the French were generally ſucceſsful.

De Leyva, meanwhile, made a fruitleſs attempt to enter Dauphiné, but the emperor's real deſign was to get poſſeſſion of Provence, which he claimed as well in his own right as in conſequence of the ceſſion which the duke of Bourbon had made him of that country. From the magicians and aſtrologers, whom he conſulted on this occaſion, he received the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs; and ſo thoroughly was he convinced that he ſhould complete, with facility, the conqueſt of France, that he diſtributed a variety of governments and poſſeſſions, in that kingdom, to his favourites and friends. He harangued his troops

troops in the ſame anthoritative tone, and with the ſame imperious confidence, as he had diſplayed to the French ambaſſadors at Rome; and the ſoldiers replied to his harangue with ſuch loud acclamations of joy, as clearly evinced that their ſentiments correſponded to thoſe of their maſter. At length the Imperial army arrived at Saint-Laurent, the firſt town in the French dominions, on the twenty-fifth of July; and as that day was the feſtival of Saint-James, the patron of Spain, it was generally believed that the ſaint had accorded his particular protection to the emperor; to ſtrengthen this belief, the ſoldiers were reminded that, on that ſame day, in the preceding year, Charles had effected a landing on the coaſt of Africa, where he obtained a ſignal victory over Barbaroſſa. Theſe ideas, being ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of the troops, inſpired them with freſh courage, which was farther encreaſed by the tranquillity of the French: not a ſingle body of troops was any where to be ſeen, and this apparent inactivity was conſidered as the effect of terror.

The king, meanwhile, had completed the fortifications of ſuch towns as were capable of defence, demoliſhed others, and laid waſte the open country: in his camp at Valence he was prepared to ſend ſuccours wherever they might be wanted, while Montmorenci was ſent to command the camp at Avignon, with orders to conduct himſelf with the utmoſt caution and prudence, and particularly, not to hazard a deciſive action. Montmorenci arrived at Avignon on the fourth of Auguſt, and, in a council of war, it was determined to confine his operations to the ſecuring his camp from inſult, and to the preventing the enemy from forming any eſtabliſhment on the rivers Rhone and Durance. As the Imperialiſts approached they were alarmed at the face of deſolation which the country preſented, deſtitute alike of food and ſhelter: even Aix was diſmantled, notwithſtanding the offer of Montejan to take the command of it, and that of the inhabitants to defend it to the laſt extremity.

A victory obtained by the van of the Imperial army, over a detachment of the French, under the command of Montejan and Boiſy, who had extorted from Montmorenci a reluctant permiſſion to haraſs the enemy on their march, ſerved both to inflate the Germans and to diſcourage the French, who began to tremble in their camp. The news of this check did not ſo much mortify the king as the intelligence which he received, at the ſame time, of the reduction of Guiſe in Picardy. The counts of Naſſau and Rieux had entered that province, where the duke of Vendôme commanded; and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had taken place with little advantage on either ſide. But Naſſau, after an unſucceſsful attempt on Saint-Riquier, at which the female inhabitants greatly contributed to his defeat, took by ſurprize the town of Guiſe. The neglect and cowardice of the garriſon were ſeverely puniſhed, and all the nobility, who were in the place at the time, were degraded from their rank. But theſe diſaſters were trifling when compared to one which now reached the ears of the king. The dauphin, on the road to join the army, had ſtopped at Tournon, where, after heating himſelf at tennis, he was ſo imprudent

dent as to drink a glaſs of cold water, in conſequence of which he expired in four days. The cardinal of Lorraine was appointed to convey the dreadful intelligence to the king, but his tears ſtopped his utterance, and the monarch, by one of thoſe *preſſentimens* which, though often felt, cannot eaſily be accounted for, was apprized of that which no one dared to communicate. Francis felt as a father, and the whole kingdom joined in his lamentations for the loſs of a ſon, who was an object of univerſal eſteem.

The count of Montecuculli was afterward accuſed of having adminiſtered poiſon to the young prince; and as the vulgar are ſeldom inclined to aſcribe the death of a great man, or diſtinguiſhed character, to any natural cauſe, the accuſation met with more credit than it deſerved; the count was arreſted, and being applied to the rack, confeſſed the crime; to the commiſſion of which, he ſaid, he had been inſtigated by the Imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva. Suſpicions were even caſt on the emperor himſelf; but the moſt unprejudiced hiſtorians have rejected the evidence extorted by torture, and there remains little doubt but that the fact is as we have ſtated it above. Montecuculli, however, in conſequence of his own confeſſion, and of a treatiſe on poiſons, found in his poſſeſſion, and written by himſelf, was declared guilty, and was, accordingly, executed at Lyons, on the ſeventh of October, 1536.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor advanced as far as Marſeilles, but all his attempts to reduce that city proved ineffectual, and he was finally compelled to relinquiſh the inglorious ſiege. Finding his army conſiderably reduced, and having loſt many of his braveſt officers, he, at length, was prevailed on to quit the territories of France, where he had neither gained honour nor advantage. He retreated in the greateſt confuſion, and the king might eaſily have deſtroyed his army, had he not been reſtrained by the pertinacious caution of Montmorenci, and by his deſire of reinforcing the duke of Vendôme, and of quieting the apprehenſions of the Pariſians. In Picardy, the count of Naſſau, after the reduction of Guiſe, had laid ſiege to Peronne, which was ably defended by the mareſchal de Fleuranges, who repulſed the enemy in four ſucceſſive aſſaults, and compelled them to abandon the hopeleſs enterprize; ſo that Francis, by the prudence of his own meaſures, and the union and valour of his ſubjects, rendered abortive the formidable ſchemes of his rival.

A. D. 1537.] Francis, on his return to Lyons, at the end of the campaign, found James the Fifth, king of Scotland, who had, without ſolicitation, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of his ancient ally, with an army of ſixteen thouſand men; though contrary winds had prevented him from landing, until the campaign was cloſed, and the emperor had retired. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the generous conduct of the Scottiſh monarch, that he gave him his daughter, the princeſs Magdelen, in marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated on the firſt of January, 1537. Magdalen dying within the year, James took, for his ſecond wife, Mary, daughter to the duke of Guiſe, and widow to the duke of Longueville,

Longueville, who became mother to the celebrated Mary Stuart, not leſs famous for her beauty and accompliſhments, than for the perſecution ſhe ſuſtained during her life, and the calumnies which have been heaped, with illiberal profuſion, on her memory.

On the nineteenth of January, a bed of juſtice was holden at Paris, at which Capel, the advocate-general, attempted to prove, in a long ſpeech, that the domains of the crown being inalienable, the king had no right to cede the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois to Charles, who, as a vaſſal of the crown, had incurred the guilt of felony, and whoſe territories, therefore, were declared to be forfeited. This ridiculous ceremony could have no other effect than that of encreaſing the animoſity which ſubſiſted between Francis and Charles. An alliance which the former contracted, at this period, with the emperor of the Turks, was attended with no greater advantage.

The campaign opened at an early period, in the Low Countries, where the king for a while commanded his troops in perſon; but his impatience to reviſit the beautiful ducheſs of Etampes induced him to return to Piedmont, when the command of the forces devolved on the mareſchal de Montmorenci. The French reduced ſeveral towns and fortreſſes, but they were all ſpeedily retaken by the ſuperior forces of the Flemings, who, in their turn, inveſted Terouanne. The dauphin and Montmorenci haſtened to the relief of the place, but when they had advanced within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared inevitable, they were ſtopped by the intelligence that a ſuſpenſion of arms had been agreed on. The queen-dowager of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-Countries, and her ſiſter, Eleanora, wife to Francis, had met at the village of Bomy, two leagues from Terouanne, where they concluded, on the thirtieth of July, 1537, a truce of ten months, for the Low-Countries and the province of Artois. The war ſtill continued in Piedmont, but nothing of importance occurred during the preſent campaign, which was terminated by a truce for three months, concluded on the twenty-eighth of November, and afterwards prolonged to the tenth of June, in the following year.

A. D. 1538.] The enmity of Francis and Charles appears to have exceeded their ſtrength, and their coffers were exhauſted by their frequent and bloody wars. The mediation of the pope was offered and accepted, and an interview at Nice appointed between the rival princes. The emperor accordingly repaired, on the third of March, to Villa-Franca; and the king arrived, about the ſame time, at Villa-Nuova; but ſtill the two monarchs did not meet. Mezeray is of opinion, that the emperor was fearful of being preſſed on the ſubject of the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, and of having a promiſe extorted from him in the preſence of the pope. Both Charles and Francis viſited his holineſs, though at different times; and, after much altercation, a truce for nine years was at length concluded between them, on the eighteenth of June, 1538.

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The interview which Charles had rejected at Nice he courted at Aigues-Mortes, and at that town the two monarchs met. From the tokens of reſpect and friendſhip which paſſed between them, it was conjectured by ſome, that a ſincere reconciliation had taken place; they had ſeveral private converſations with each other, the ſubject of which never tranſpired, but they tended to alarm the duke of Savoy, the ſultan Solyman, and the king of England. Notwithſtanding this apparent concord and harmony, no peace was concluded, and the rival princes parted as they met.

Some months after this interview, the king fell dangerouſly ill at Compiégne, in conſequence of an intrigue which he had with the wife of an advocate, whoſe huſband, in order to revenge himſelf, had purpoſely contracted a diſeaſe which he communicated to his wife, who gave it to Francis. The lady herſelf died of it; the huſband, by timely precautions, was ſoon cured; but the king laid the foundation of a diſorder which inſenſibly preyed upon his vitals. The continual pains he experienced altered his temper, and he became ſuſpicious and peeviſh. The diſguſt he conceived for a pleaſure, which he was no longer capable of enjoying, proved advantageous to his ſubjects, as that time which he had hitherto beſtowed on the proſecution of his amours, he now devoted ſolely to affairs of ſtate.

A. D. 1539.] The emperor, meanwhile, found ample occupation in his own dominions: the citizens of Ghent, mindful of their former immunities, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refuſed to contribute to the ſupport of the late war; and erecting the ſtandard of rebellion, had offered, by their deputies, to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch ſtill flattering himſelf with the vain hope of obtaining the inveſtiture of Milan from the juſtice of the emperor, rejected the propoſals of the Flemings, and communicated their ſchemes and intentions to his rival.—Charles, though free from any danger on the ſide of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obſtinate. The exigency, he was aware, demanded his immediate preſence, but his dignity would not allow him to paſs through Germany without a train of attendants and troops that muſt neceſſarily have delayed him; and the voyage by ſea was dangerous at that advanced ſeaſon of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his moſt experienced counſellors, he reſolved, as the ſhorteſt way, to demand a paſſage through the dominions of his rival. To Francis he, at the ſame time, made a promiſe to inveſt the duke of Orleans with the duchy of Milan [45]. The French council aſſembled on the occaſion; they were unanimous in agreeing that the emperor's requeſt ſhould be complied with, but the majority were of opinion that the inveſtiture of Milan ſhould be firſt granted; this, however, was over-ruled by Montmorenci (who had recently received the conſtable's ſword) as well as by Francis himſelf; who inſiſted

[45] Garnier.

on the propriety of placing a full reliance on the generoſity and juſtice of Charles. The duke of Orleans, his brother, and the conſtable, advanced as far as Bayonne to meet the emperor, and offered themſelves as hoſtages for his ſafety, but their offer was refuſed. The king, himſelf, though ſtill indiſpoſed, gave him the meeting at Châtelleraud, paid him all poſſible honour, and aſſigned him the glorious privilege of affording relief to the poor, and freedom to the captive.

A. D. 1540.] On the firſt of January, the emperor made his public entry into Paris, attended by all the nobility, magiſtrates, and municipal bodies; the dauphin and the duke of Orleans rode on either ſide of him, and the conſtable followed him. But this profuſion of honours was inſufficient to remove the apprehenſions of Charles, who, conſcious that he merited no kindneſs from his rival, began to blame his own imprudence in putting himſelf in his power: Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he was greatly alarmed at a joke paſſed on him by the duke of Orleans, who jumped up behind him, and throwing his arms around his waiſt, exclaimed—"Your Imperial Majeſty is now my priſoner." Another time, the king, who was candour itſelf, told him, That the ducheſs of Etampes was of opinion he ſhould not ſuffer him to leave Paris, until he had revoked the treaty of Madrid: "If the "advice be good," replied the emperor, greatly diſconcerted, "you ought to follow it;" at the ſame time he purpoſely let fall a ſuperb diamond, which the ducheſs picked up, and which he begged her to accept; ſhe complied with his requeſt, and, in the ſequel, repaid his attention by betraying the intereſts of her ſovereign. The king's fool having placed the emperor's name on his liſt, for having put himſelf in the power of his rival, obſerved, that if the king ſuffered him to eſcape, he would efface the emperor's name, and inſert his maſter's in the place.

Charles remained ſix days at Paris, but he had no ſooner reached his own territories, than the French ambaſſadors demanded the reſtitution of the Milaneſe; for ſeveral months the king of France was deluded by the ambiguous anſwers and ſpecious evaſions of his rival. The revolted Flemings were at length completely humbled by their Imperial maſter, who put the leaders of the inſurrection to death; exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent a fine of twelve hundred thouſand crowns; deprived them of their privileges, and conſtructed a citadel to keep them in awe. Having accompliſhed his object, Charles relinquiſhed the diſguiſe which was no longer neceſſary to his intereſt; he peremptorily refuſed to grant the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, and denied that he had ever made any promiſe that could bind him to an action ſo weak and imprudent.

A. D. 1541.] Francis was greatly enraged when he found himſelf the dupe of his unprincipled rival; and his indignation was augmented in proportion as he perceived that the credulous ſimplicity with which he had truſted him, expoſed him to the ridicule of Europe. He ſuſpected the treachery of his own ſervants; and, though he had reſolved on a renewal of the war, he diſmiſſed his beſt general, Montmorenci. The cauſe of the conſtable's

conſtable's diſgrace—who received orders to retier from court, whither he did not return until the following reign—has never been well aſcertained. Some authors pretend that the king reproached him with the advice he had given to truſt to the generoſity of the emperor, and even go ſo far as to ſay that the conſtable maintained a criminal correſpondence with Charles; others aſſert that Francis took umbrage at his too great intimacy with the dauphin, of whom the king was jealous; but the moſt probable opinion is, that the conſtable's conduct had afforded no juſt grounds for diſpleaſure, and that his diſgrace was entirely owing to ſome of thoſe intrigues which ſo frequently prevail in courts. The court of France was, at this time, divided into two parties; at the head of one, were the dauphin and his miſtreſs, Diana of Poictiers; and the other was preſided by the duke of Orleans, who, by his attention to the ducheſs of Etampes, enjoyed the greateſt portion of his father's favour. The ducheſs hated Diana with all that warmth of animoſity which a rivalſhip in beauty and power naturally excites in the breaſt of a female; and Montmorenci, ſenſible of this, was ſtudious to exerciſe his wit at the expence of the ducheſs, and to beſtow the higheſt commendations on her rival.

The next object of the king's diſpleaſure was the admiral Brion, whoſe pride was inſupportable, but whoſe probity was undoubted: having expreſſed his intention of humiliating the admiral, the chancellor Poyet (who had been entruſted with the ſeals, on the death of du Prat, in 1535,) with the prompt zeal of a courtly ſycophant, inſtituted a proceſs againſt him for extortion and malverſation, and, by a baſe proſtitution of the laws, pronounced a ſentence which condemned Brion to perpetual baniſhment, and to pay a fine of fifteen hundred thouſand livres. The king, enraged at this unjuſt proceeding, revoked the ſentence, and reſtored the admiral to the poſſeſſion of his honours and eſtates; but Brion was ſo deeply affected by the attack which had been made on his honour, that he ſurvived the revocation of his ſentence only two years. Poyet himſelf was diſgraced, and by a ſentence of the parliament, pronounced on the twenty-fourth of April, 1545, was declared incapable of holding any office whatever, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand livres, and to be impriſoned for five years. The cardinal of Lorraine was the laſt miniſter who was diſgraced, for receiving a penſion of two thouſand crowns from the emperor; this prelate's thirſt for riches was inſatiate; and whenever the *auri ſacra fames* forms the *leading* feature in the diſpoſition of a man, he ſeldom can be truſted, for there can be little doubt but that he will ſacrifice every principle to the acquiſition of wealth: the cardinal enjoyed no leſs than four archbiſhopricks, ſeven biſhopricks, and four abbeys, at the ſame time. D'Annebaut, who was promoted to the office of admiral, and the cardinal de Tournon, were entruſted with the whole management of public affairs; they were both of them men of acknowledged probity, but their talents were by no means equal to their integrity.

Francis filled every court in Europe with his negociations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with a ſuſpicious eye his frequent interviews with the emperor, and his alli-

ance with the king of Scotland; the pope ſtill maintained a ſtrict neutrality; and ſultan Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himſelf ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the ambaſſadors of Francis, on their road to Venice, were aſſaſſinated near the mouth of the Teſino, at the inſtigation of the marquis del Guaſto, governor of the Milaneſe. The French monarch loudly complained of this baſe violation of the laws of nations; and demanded the puniſhment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; but his demands were eluded, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms that juſtice which he vainly ſought to obtain by negociation.

A. D. 1542.] Piedmont and the Netherlands had been deſtined by du Bellay to become the theatre of war, but the new council rejected his plan, and regulated, on a far different ſcale, the operations of the enſuing campaign. It was determined to direct the principal efforts of the troops againſt Perpignan, the capital of Rouſſillon, which was falſely aſſerted to be in a defenceleſs ſtate, while another army was to be ſent into Luxembourg, to aſſiſt the duke of Cleves, who claimed the king's protection, to enable him to recover the duchy of Gueldres, which had been wreſted from him by the houſe of Auſtria. In purſuance of this plan, the dauphin was appointed to command the army deſtined for Rouſſillon; he had under him Annebaut and Montpezat, and his orders were to lay ſiege to Perpignan, to the relief of which place it was expected the emperor would march in perſon, and in that caſe the king intended to repair, himſelf, to the ſcene of action. The troops that were ſent to Luxembourg were commanded by the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the duke of Guiſe and his ſon, the count of Aumale; and by the young count of Enguien. The duke laid ſiege to Damvilliers, and the ſoldiers having entered the place while the articles of capitulation were preparing; the town was reſigned to pillage, and afterward levelled with the ground. Yvry was reduced by the duke of Guiſe, and Arlon by the count of Enguien; Luxembourg and Montmidy made but little reſiſtance, and, in a very ſhort time, Thionville was the only place in the duchy that remained in poſſeſſion of the emperor. The duke of Cleves ſent two thouſand cavalry, under the mareſchal of Gueldres, and ten thouſand Lanſquenets, to ravage Brabant, where they advanced as far as Antwerp, and, after defeating the young prince of Orange, they effected a junction with the duke of Orleans at Yvry. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a ſucceſsful campaign in that quarter; when the duke of Orleans, on the report that a general action was expected to take place in Rouſſillon, ſuddenly quitted the army, in order to partake of thoſe laurels which, as he imagined, his brother was about to reap. He entruſted the duke of Guiſe with the care of his conqueſts in Luxembourg, but afraid of leaving the provinces of Picardy and Champagne expoſed to the attacks of the enemy, he ſent the Lanſquenets to guard the frontiers. Guiſe was thus reduced to act merely on the defenſive; the Imperialiſts retook Luxembourg and Montmidy, but the laſt of theſe towns was recovered by the French general.

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In Rouſſillon the French arms were far from ſucceſsful; conſiderable delays had occurred in collecting the troops deſtined for that quarter, and ſupplying them with proviſions; ſo that the emperor had ſufficient time to put Perpignan in a proper ſtate of defence, and to furniſh it with every requiſite for ſuſtaining a long ſiege. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a deciſive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the perſevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſe, and repulſed in various attacks, received orders from Francis to abandon the enterprize, and return to their own country: the duke of Alva made a vain attempt to haraſs them on their retreat; his efforts were fruſtrated by the vigilance of the dauphin; and the army reached France in ſafety.

But though the glory of Francis was tarniſhed by the failure of this expedition, it acquired additional ſplendour from his conduct to the revolted inhabitants of Rochelle, who, in conſequence of a new duty of twenty-four livres on every buſhel of ſalt, had taken up arms, and expelled all the officers of the revenue from the town. The king repaired thither in perſon, and at his approach, the inhabitants laid down their arms and ſued for pardon. Francis lent a favourable ear to their ſolicitations, and, to ſhew his confidence in the citizens of Rochelle, he would ſuffer no other perſons to wait on him at table, and to guard his perſon during his ſtay in the place. He extended a full pardon to all the inſurgents, and only required, as an acknowledgment of their fault, the payment of two hundred thouſand livres, which he gave to the chancellor Montholon; but that worthy magiſtrate, who was diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of *The Ariſtides of France*, returned the money to the inhabitants for the purpoſe of founding an hoſpital.

A. D. 1543.] In the enſuing campaign the plan of operations was changed, Rouſſillon was neglected, and the principal efforts of the French were directed againſt the Netherlands. Anthony, duke of Vendôme (afterwards king of Navarre, in right of his wife, Joan of Albret, and father to Henry the Fourth) who commanded in Picardy, reduced the town of Lillers, and ſeveral other places in the environs of Terouanne. The admiral Annebaut, who commanded the troops in Hainaut, received orders to join the king, who had advanced to Cateau-Cambreſis. The inhabitants of Landrecy ſet fire to the town, and fled for refuge to the foreſt of Mormeaux. The duke of Vendôme, meanwhile, had taken Bapaume, and laid ſiege to the citadel, which was on the point of capitulating, when the duke was called to join the king at Cateau-Cambreſis. The intention of Francis was to fortify Landrecy, for which purpoſe he fixed his camp at Marolles. A detachment of the army, commanded by the dauphin, reduced Aimeries, Maubeuge, and Barlemont-upon-Sombre; while the count of Aumale extended his incurſions to the gates of Aveſne.

As ſoon as the fortifications of Landrecy were completed, the king left his camp at Marolles, and laid ſiege to Luxembourg, which he ſpeedily reduced, and which he expreſſed his

his determination of keeping as an amends for the loſs of the Milaneſe. He then detached Annebaut, with ten thouſand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Cleves; but that prince had already made his peace with the emperor, and agreed to join Charles againſt Francis, his friend and ally. The Imperialiſts, meanwhile, under the counts of Roeux and Roquendoff, had inveſted Landrecy, and the king now marched with his whole army to the relief of that town, where he firſt received intelligence of the alliance which had been formed between the emperor and the king of England.

On the fourteenth of September, 1542, James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired in the flower of his age, leaving only an infant-daughter, the celebrated Mary Stuart, by his conſort Mary of Lorraine. The diſputes with regard to the regency, during the minority of the young princeſs, filled Scotland with confuſion. Henry formed the deſign of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon Edward to the heireſs of that kingdom; and he engaged Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed the regency, as next heir to the crown, after Mary, to ſecond his plan. But his project was thwarted by cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, who alſo aſpired to the regency, and who perſuaded the majority of the Scottiſh nobles to oppoſe the projected alliance with England. As a war was fully expected to be the conſequence of this oppoſition, the cardinal found it neceſſary to make an immediate application to France, and to crave the aſſiſtance of that ancient ally, during the preſent diſtreſſes of the Scottiſh nation. Mathew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was, at that time, in the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen-mother; and he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould be ſoon diſpatched after him. By this means the French party acquired a decided ſuperiority over that of the Engliſh in Scotland.

Henry now reſolved to break with France, and to unite his arms with thoſe of the emperor, notwithſtanding the ill-treatment he had formerly experienced from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in ſeparating himſelf entirely from the ſee of Rome, and that he had broken his promiſe in that particular. He was diſſatisfied that his nephew, the late king of Scotland, ſhould have been allowed to marry, firſt, Magdalen of France, then a princeſs of the houſe of Guiſe; and he conſidered theſe alliances as pledges, which Francis gave of his intentions to ſupport the Scots againſt the power of England[46]. He had received information of ſome railleries which the French king had thrown out againſt his conduct with regard to his wives; he was diſguſted that Francis, after ſo many obligations which he owed him, had ſacrificed him to the emperor; and in

[46] Père Daniel.

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the confidence of friendſhip, had raſhly revealed his ſecrets to that ſubtle, intriguing, and intereſted monarch; and he complained, that regular payments were never made of the ſums due to him by France, and of the penſion which had been promiſed. Impelled by theſe various motives, he alienated himſelf from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very earneſtly courted his alliance. This league, beſides ſtipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for the invaſion of France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter that kingdom with an army each of twenty-five thouſand men; and to require Francis to pay Henry all the ſums which he owed him, and to conſign Boulogne, Terouanne, and Ardres, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion in future. In caſe theſe conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy Acquitaine and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy and ſome other territories[47]. That they might have a pretence for enforcing theſe claims, they ſent a meſſage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with ſultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuffered from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refuſal, war was to be declared againſt him by the allies. The partizans of France objected to Charles's alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs odious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman; and they obſerved, that this league was a breach of that ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement the Seventh, never to make peace nor alliance with England.

In conſequence of this league, ſix thouſand Engliſh troops were ſent to join the Imperialiſts, then engaged in the ſiege of Landrecy, which the emperor covered with an army of above forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior, as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the ſiege: but while theſe rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men ſtood in expectation of ſome great event, the French king found means to throw ſuccours into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpoſe, he ſkilfully made a retreat. Charles ſent Gonzaga to attack the rear of the French army; but that general was vigorouſly received and ſucceſsfully repulſed by Briſſac; and the emperor, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, deſpaired of ſucceſs in his enterprize, and found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege; in his retreat, however, he took Cambrai by ſurprize, and placed an Imperial garriſon in that city.

During theſe tranſactions in the Netherlands, Europe was aſtoniſhed at beholding a junction of the French and Turkiſh fleets: on the fifth of July, Barbaroſſa appeared off the coaſt of Provence with a hundred and ten gallies, where he was joined by two-and-twenty French gallies, under the count of Enguien; and the two fleets, on the fifth of Auguſt, laid ſiege to Nice; but though the town ſurrendered after an obſtinate conteſt, the garriſon

[47] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768.—Vol. xv. p. 2.—Hume.

retired

retired to the citadel, where they braved all the efforts of the confederate forces. At the ſame time the war was carried on in Piedmont, but without vigour or effect.

A. D. 1544.] The next campaign opened with greater vigour, and was attended with greater ſucceſs. The young count of Enguien, who was now entruſted with the command of the French forces in Piedmont, greatly reſembled the unfortunate duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cerignoles; with the valour of the braveſt ſoldier he combined the ſkill of the moſt experienced general, and he had the advantage of the duke, inaſmuch as his military talents were not ſullied by temerity. After reducing various fortreſſes, the count, on the firſt of February, laid ſiege to Carignano, and, in order to ſecure the reception of ſupplies, it was neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of the town of Carmagnola. Of this the Imperial general, the marquis del Guaſto, was aware, and being reſolved, at all events, to compel the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, he endeavoured to ſeize Carmagnola himſelf; but the count was too quick in his motions, and having ſecured the place, he ſtrengthened the fortifications, and put it in a proper ſtate of defence. Del Guaſto now perceived that he could not effect his object without riſking a battle, an event of which d'Enguien was equally deſirous, but he was prevented by the poſitive orders of Francis, from purſuing the dictates of his inclination. Montluc, however, was diſpatched to court to entreat the king to withdraw his prohibition, and at the ſame time to ſend the count a ſupply of money for the payment of his troops. With the former part of d'Enguien's requeſt Francis was with great difficulty prevailed on to comply; and this circumſtance was no ſooner made known, than all the young nobility in the kingdom, with that ardour which has ever diſtinguiſhed the gallant nobles of France, and extorted the admiration of their enemies, haſtened to join the army. Still money was wanting; the ſupply ſent by the king being wholly inadequate to the purpoſe for which it was deſtined, and the Swiſs troops in the ſervice of France inſiſted on being immediately paid. In this emergency the young nobles ſtood forward, and raiſed among themſelves the ſum required[48]. Both armies now prepared for the expected conflict: among the French, ardent zeal and unanimity of ſentiment obtained; with the Imperialiſts, bold confidence and blind preſumption prevailed. In ſuch contempt did the marquis Del Guaſto hold his youthful adverſary, that he told the citizens of Aſte they were at liberty to ſhut their gates againſt him if he did not return victorious; and to the ladies of Milan he diſplayed, with pompous exultation, a heap of fetters and handcuffs, which he deſigned for the count of Enguien and his gallant volunteers. The count treated his threats and boaſtings with the diſdain they deſerved,

[48] It is with infinite ſatisfaction we record the gallant atchievements and liberal conduct of the French nobility, who have, in ſo many inſtances, proved themſelves not only the braveſt defenders, but the beſt friends of their country. It has, of late, become faſhionable to rail at and vilify this deſcription of citizens; but it is the duty of the hiſtorian to ſtem the torrent of popular prejudice; facts ſpeak for themſelves, and conſtitute the beſt arguments that can poſſibly be oppoſed to the air-built ſyſtems of theſe modern *theoriſts*, who aſſume the peculiar privilege of ignorance and vanity to reprobate principles they cannot appreciate, and ſneer at the merit they do not poſſeſs.

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and adopted every precaution which could tend to enſure him ſucceſs. On the fourteenth of April the two armies met near Cerizoles; victory for awhile remained doubtful; ſhe then ſeemed to incline to the Imperialiſts, and the flight of a body of Italians, under the count de Gryeres, induced Enguien to believe the day was loſt; but the ſpirited exertions of the French nobility and their gallant followers ſoon reſtored order to the army, and, preſſing forward with impetuous valour, the enemy were routed and put to flight. Enguien wiſhed to purſue them, but he was checked by the prudent advice of an old officer, who begged him to recollect the fate of the duke of Nemours. The victory was complete; ten thouſand of the Imperialiſts periſhed on the field, four thouſand were taken priſoners, and all their baggage, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the French. Del Guaſto, who had received a wound in the knee, retreated to Aſte, but the inhabitants refuſing to admit him, he haſtened to Milan. Enguien now reduced, with facility, the town of Carignano, and the greater part of the marquiſate of Montferrat; intelligence of his ſucceſs being diſpatched to the king, it was ſpeedily forwarded to all the foreign courts; the duchy of Milan was ready to ſubmit to the French; all Italy was in motion; even the kingdom of Naples exhibited ſymptoms of diſcontent; but Enguien was, unfortunately, incapacitated from improving theſe advantages, by the formidable preparations of the king of England, which compelled Francis to recal twelve thouſand of his beſt troops; ſo that the count could only act on the defenſive, whence he was induced to accept the propoſal of the Imperial general, and to ſign a truce for three months.

Henry, on the fourteenth of July, landed at Calais with thirty thouſand men, attended by the principal nobility and gentry of England. The Engliſh army was ſoon joined by the count of Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and the whole compoſed an army which nothing on the frontier could reſiſt.

The emperor, with an army of nearly ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and that he might loſe no time while he waited for the march of his confederate, he ſate down before Luxembourg, which he took; he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuſe, which was ſurrendered to him; Ligny met the ſame fate: he next laid ſiege to Saint Dizier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave reſiſtance under the count de Sancerre, the governor; and the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation. The French army, commanded by the dauphin and the admiral Annebaut, was poſted on the banks of the Marne, with expreſs orders not to riſk an action. Briſſac, ſtationed at Vitry, made frequent and ſucceſsful ſallies on the Imperialiſts, who, enraged at the loſſes they daily ſuſtained from his exertions, at length directed their efforts againſt the town he occupied, which was taken and reduced to aſhes. The obſtinate reſiſtance of the garriſon of Saint Dizier made the emperor deſpair of reducing the place, and, (as a ſcarcity of proviſions began to prevail in his camp) had the

dauphin's army marched to its relief, it is moſt probable he would have raiſed the ſiege. But the dauphin was reſtrained from acting by the king's poſitive orders; and the treachery of the ducheſs of Etampes relieved Charles from the difficulties under which he laboured; ſhe gave him ſecret intelligence of the proceedings of the French council; ſhe informed him of the place where the dauphin had left, under a ſlender guard, an ample ſupply of proviſions; and ſhe even forged the ſignature of the duke of Guiſe, in a letter addreſſed to the count of Sancerre, requeſting that nobleman to give up Saint Dizier, as it would be impoſſible to march to its relief[49]. This town was accordingly ſurrendered to Charles, after it had ſuſtained a ſiege of ſix weeks.

The king of England, meantime, either tempted by the defenceleſs condition of the French frontiers, or thinking that the emperor had firſt broken his engagements by forming ſieges, (for it had been ſettled between them, that they ſhould immediately march forward to Paris) or, perhaps, foreſeeing, at laſt, the dangerous conſequences of entirely deſtroying the French power[50], inſtead of fulfilling his agreement, ſate down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: Henry himſelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to the Engliſh monarch by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for his diſhonourable conduct.

The emperor, after the reduction of Saint Dizier, purſued his march along the banks of the Marne, and pitched his camp immediately oppoſite to that of the French, who were only divided from him by the river. As the dauphin was not permitted to hazard a battle, Charles proceeded to take poſſeſſion of Epernay and Château-Thierry. The news of his progreſs filled the Pariſians with alarm; they haſtened to quit the capital, and the roads to Rouen and Orleans were covered with waggons loaded with their wives, children and effects. The king endeavoured, by his preſence and exhortations, to inſpire his ſubjects with confidence; while the dauphin, by a forced march, contrived to throw himſelf between the forces of Charles and the capital; and he ſent a ſtrong detachment of ſeven or eight thouſand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the aſſiſtance of the Pariſians, under the conduct of de Lorges, who fixed his camp at Lagny. The emperor, aſtoniſhed at the dauphin's vigilance and activity, turned to the left, and marched to Soiſſons. Finding his ſchemes for ſubduing France were likely to prove abortive, he propoſed terms of accommodation to the king, and conferences were accordingly opened at Creſpy in the Laonnois. Annebaut, and Chemans, the keeper of the ſeals, attended on the part of the king, and Gonzaga and the Chancellor Granvelle on

[49] Garnier. [50] Hume.

that

that of the emperor. The treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of September, 1544. Francis agreed to relinquish his acquisitions in Piedmont and Savoy; and the emperor engaged, in the space of two years, to bestow on the duke of Orleans his daughter or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries or the Milanese as a dower. This peace, though highly advantageous to the king, as it relieved him from the efforts of his most powerful enemy, was highly blamed by his subjects. The dauphin, on the twelfth of December, entered a public protest against it at Fontainbleau, in the presence of the duke of Vendôme, and the counts of Enguien and Aumale. The parliament of Thoulouse also protested against the treaty, as destructive of the rights of the crown. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged, by the approach of the dauphin, to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned to England.

A. D. 1545.] The war between England and France was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides gallies, which he entrusted to the command of the admiral Annebaut; and having embarked some land forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England[51]. They sailed to the isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor at Saint Helen's. It did not exceed one hundred sail; and the English admiral thought it most advisеable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French among the narrow passages and rocks which were unknown to them. The rival fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the sinking of the Mary Rose, one of the largest vessels in the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable. The French landed troops in the isle of Wight, and committed depredations on the circumjacent country, but being repulsed by the provincial militia, they retired to their ships, and soon after set sail for France. They were, however, again driven by the wind on the coast of England, where they met with the English fleet, and a fresh cannonading ensued, which proved no more decisive than the foregoing. It was, indeed, scarcely possible, that a fleet could, at that time, without boarding, obtain any considerable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly so ill-served, that Du Langey observes in his Memoirs, as a circumstance somewhat singular, that each of these numerous fleets, in an engagement which lasted two hours, fired full three hundred shot; when a single vessel could now, without difficulty, perform thrice as much.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so powerful a fleet was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he intended to besiege; and, for that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he proposed to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of money and time, the fort was found so ill-constructed, that he was

[51] Memoires de Du Bellay.

obliged to abandon it; and though he had collected, on that frontier, an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterprize. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which ſerved commonly to ſupply the garriſon with proviſions; and he laid it entirely waſte by fire and ſword. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued between the French and Engliſh, in one of which the count of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and noſe; and notwithſtanding that the lance broke, and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not diſmounted by ſo violent a ſhock, and the head of the lance being extracted by the ſkill of Ambroſe Paré, an eminent ſurgeon, Aumale afterwards recovered, and became extremely famous under the name of duke of Guiſe. The king of England, in order to defend his poſſeſſions in France, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans, who having marched to Fleurines in the biſhopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions; they received intelligence of a ſuperior army on the ſide of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and pay ſoon bred a mutiny among them: and, having ſeized the Engliſh commiſſaries, as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. Towards the end of this campaign the duke of Orleans died of a peſtilential fever: his loſs was deeply regretted by the king, but not by the nation, who already conſidered him as the head of a dangerous party. The emperor immediately declared, that by this accident he held himſelf acquitted from all his agreements relative to the Milaneſe.

A. D. 1546.] Early in the ſpring of this year, the king of England ſent a body of nine thouſand men, chiefly foreigners, to Calais. Some ſkirmiſhes of little moment enſued with the French, and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either ſide. Henry, whoſe animoſity to Francis had ſubſided, became deſirous of ending a quarrel, which, as he could not hope for much longer life, might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis, too, on his part, was inclined, from ſimilar motives, to a peace with England. Commiſſioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a ſmall place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon agreed on, and the treaty ſigned by them on the ſeventh of June, 1546. The chief conditions were, that Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due from Francis ſhould be diſcharged. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of five hundred thouſand livres, which was to remain open to future diſcuſſion. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty.

A new war was now expected with the emperor, as the treaty of Creſpy had been rendered void by the death of the duke of Orleans. Annebaut and the chancellor Olivier were diſpatched to the Imperial court, to propoſe a freſh treaty to Charles; but that prince, who was then occupied with the troubles occaſioned by the league of Smalcalde, deferred

deferred his anſwer, under various pretences, until he had obtained from the Flemings the ſuccours he had demanded, and had ſucceeded in his efforts to diſunite the league; he then replied—without explaining his intentions—that he ſhould not engage in a war unleſs he were attacked. This was conſtrued into a refuſal of the king's demands; and Francis, accordingly, put all his frontier towns in a proper ſtate of defence. The emperor ſtated ſome objections to the fortifying Villa-Franca, which, he pretended, was a fief of the empire; but du Bellay, by the production of ancient records, convinced him of his error. Charles gave up the point, but, in order to oppoſe one barrier to another, he reſtored the fortifications of Damvilliers, which had been diſmantled by the duke of Orleans, in 1542.

A. D. 1547.] The death of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count of Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the loſs of both theſe princes impreſſed Francis with a grief which nothing could mitigate. The remaining hours of his life were embittered by domeſtic contention, ariſing from the diſputes which prevailed between the ducheſs of Etampes and Diana of Poictiers; he was ſenſibly affected by the death of Henry of England, to whom he was perſonally attached. A ſlow fever continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to another, in a ſtate of languor and depreſſion, and, at length, expired at Rambouillet, on the thirty-firſt of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Francis employed his laſt moments in giving uſeful council to the dauphin; he adviſed him never to recal Montmorenci; not to promote the elevation of the Guiſes; to retain in his ſervice the cardinal de Tournon, and the admiral Annebaut; and, finally, to ſpare, protect, and relieve his ſubjects: but, unhappily, no part of this advice was followed.

The magnificence by which Francis had been ever diſtinguiſhed through life, did not forſake him in death; his funeral obſequies were performed with unuſual pomp. In the proclamation which announced his death, he was repreſented as—"A prince mild in "peace, and victorious in war; the father and reſtorer of learning and the liberal arts." But there is more of flattery than of truth in this delineation of his character. Too much addicted to pleaſure, Francis frequently neglected the moſt important concerns, and the intereſts of the people ſuffered from the inattention of the monarch. While we admire his frankneſs, generoſity and candour, we cannot but reprobate thoſe ſhameful perſecutions which he cauſed to be exerciſed on all whoſe religious opinions were different from his own. He had many captivating qualities, and many ſolid virtues; but his failings were numerous, and he was not wholly exempt from vice.

Francis

Francis had, for his firſt wife, Claude of France, daughter to Lewis the Twelfth, and Anne of Brittany; this princeſs died in 1524. In 1530 he married Eleanora of Auſtria, ſiſter to Charles the Fifth, and widow to the king of Portugal. By his ſecond wife he had no children; by the firſt, he had the dauphin, Francis, who died in 1536; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Charles, duke of Orleans, who died in 1545; Louiſa-Charlotta; Magdelen, who married James the Fifth, king of Scotland; and Margaret, who eſpouſed Emanual Philibert, duke of Savoy.

The laſt years of the reign of Francis were diſgraced by the cruel perſecutions which were inflicted on the Vaudois; many of theſe ſectaries had been converted by the gentle behaviour and perſuaſive eloquence of the cardinal d'Amboiſe; but the cardinal Tournon, an inveterate bigot, had recourſe to a very different mode of converſion; and numbers of the wretched Vaudois were, by his orders, made to periſh in the flames, or on the wheel. On a falſe accuſation, of cheriſhing principles of rebellion, the parliament of Provence, in the month of November, 1540, pronounced a rigorous ſentence againſt them, the execution of which was ſuſpended ſo long as the preſident de Chaſſané lived; but his ſucceſſor, the baron d'Oppede, a man of a diſpoſition violent, cruel, and avaricious, procured a freſh ſentence, and placing himſelf at the head of a body of troops, maſſacred, without diſtinction, all the unhappy victims of his avarice and rage: their towns and villages were pillaged and reduced to aſhes; and the Vaudois were made to experience all the horrors which the human imagination can conceive. Thoſe eſcaped the beſt who were reſerved for the gallies. When the ſoldiers were tired with killing, d'Oppede cauſed a fire to be lighted, and, after putting the people to the moſt exquiſite tortures, caſt them into the flames.

Francis, who was a great patron of the ſciences, had formed a plan for the erection of a college for the ſtudy of the dead languages; but he never put it in execution: he eſtabliſhed, however, ſalaries for profeſſors of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, phyſic and ſurgery. A mathematical profeſſor was alſo eſtabliſhed during his reign; and the ſtudy of natural philoſophy began to be cultivated with diligence and ſucceſs.

From the year 1528 to 1534, a perpetual ſummer prevailed in France; during four years not two days' froſt was experienced; nature, exhauſted by a continued heat, inceſſantly produced bloſſoms, but had not ſtrength to bring the fruit to maturity: a ſcarcity of proviſions was the conſequence of this phenomenon; the harveſt was ſcarcely

ſufficient

ſufficient to ſupply ſeed for the following year. Worms, and inſects of every kind, multiplied *ad infinitum*, and deſtroyed the little fruit which the earth yielded. A moſt dreadful famine prevailed, and the conſumption of unwholeſome food gave riſe to a diſorder which carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of France [52].

An ordonnance was iſſued by Francis, in 1539, by which all vicars were ordered to keep an exact regiſter of births and chriſtenings; a regulation of infinite utility. In the ſame year an edict was iſſued, ordering all the ſentences pronounced in the different courts to be given in French inſtead of Latin, as had before been uſual.

[52] Gaillard.

HENRY

HENRY THE SECOND.

A. D. 1547.] HENRY the Second completed his twenty-eighth year, the very day on which he ſucceeded to the throne, which was the thirty-firſt of March; though the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the twenty-eighth of July. He was poſſeſſed of the full vigour both of body and of mind; handſome in his perſon, but aukward in his manners and addreſs; accompliſhed in all the martial exerciſes of the age, but averſe from application to buſineſs, and from every purſuit which required ſtudy and attention[1]. An ardent admirer of the fair ſex, he was grateful to all who favoured his prevailing paſſion; and as Diana de Poictiers had firſt initiated him in the ſchool of love, ſhe had acquired an unlimited aſcendancy over the mind of the youthful monarch.

This celebrated woman had made her firſt appearance at court, during the reign of Francis, at the time of the duke of Bourbon's revolt, when, it was aſſerted, ſhe purchaſed, by the ſacrifice of her honour, a pardon for her father, Saint-Vallier, who had been one of the principal agents in that conſpiracy[2]. Dazzled with the ſplendour of a court, ſhe reſolved to eſtabliſh her reſidence at a place where her ſuperior endowments could not fail to enſure that attention they were ſo well calculated to command; but being ſuddenly recalled by her family, ſhe was, reluctantly, compelled to defer the execution of her project till after the death of her huſband, Maillé de Brezé, grand ſeneſchal of Normandy. Finding Francis the Firſt attached to another object, ſhe directed

[1] Brantome.—Matthieu.—Mem. de la Vieuville.—MS. de Fontanieu. [2] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 2.

her

her attention to his ſecond ſon, Henry, who was greatly neglected by his father, and ſhe requeſted of the king that the prince might be permitted to become her knight, inſinuating, at the ſame time, that love was the beſt maſter for ſharpening the wit, and forming the heart, of a young man. As it was generally believed that this connection was by no means ſo chaſte as the laws of chivalry required, Francis was ſeverely cenſured for his complacency, and Henry was reproached with his want of delicacy; on the prince's bed a paper was found containing the malediction of Jacob againſt his ſon Ruben. Many perſons, at a loſs to conceive how the mother of two daughters, both marriageable, could ſo far captivate the heart of a prince, in the flower of youth, as to become the abſolute miſtreſs of his thoughts and actions, aſcribed the influence of Diana to magic and witchcraft. Garnier is of opinion[3] that the connection which ſubſiſted between Henry and Diana had nothing criminal in its nature, but was a mere Platonic intercourſe, founded on a congeniality of ſoul and ſentiment; and, in ſupport of his opinion, he mentions a ſymbolic medal, on which the lady is repreſented with all the attributes of the chaſte goddeſs of the ſilver bow, treading upon love, and exclaiming—"*I have conquered the conqueror of the world!*" He farther obſerves, that her court was compoſed of young women of the firſt quality; her alliance courted by noblemen of the higheſt rank; and that, although ſhe had given proofs of her fecundity, and Henry himſelf had a numerous offſpring, no child was born to ſanction the idea of her incontinence. Be that as it may, her influence over Henry was extenſive and unrivalled: in her ſociety, he loſt that roughneſs and ferocity which he had contracted from the martial exerciſes to which he had devoted the greater part of his time; and he acquired a degree of affability, an evenneſs of temper, and mildneſs of diſpoſition, which continued to mark his character through life. But, on the other hand, he acquired that ſpirit of diſſipation, that taſte for pomp and luxury, and that blind prodigality, which were productive of ſuch ſerious inconveniencies, and which laid the foundation of thoſe calamities which diſtinguiſhed the ſucceeding reigns.

Notwithſtanding the dying injunctions of his father, Henry haſtened to recall the conſtable Montmorenci, whom he re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of all his honours, and to whom he paid the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns, the amount of his ſalary, as conſtable, during the five years which he had paſſed in exile. The conſtable exerted his newly-acquired power for the gratification of his private revenge. The ducheſs of Etampes, who had greatly contributed to procure his baniſhment, was the firſt to feel the effects of his reſentment: ſhe was ſent back to her huſband, and ſtripped of all the poſſeſſions which the profuſe bounty of the late monarch had laviſhed on her. The hotel d'Etampes was given to Diana of Poictiers, and her eſtate at Chevreuſe to the car-

[3] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 3.

dinal of Lorraine[4]. All the old miniſters were diſmiſſed, ſome of them impriſoned, and moſt of them perſecuted. The requeſt of Francis the Firſt to his ſon to repreſs the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, was equally diſregarded with his other injunctions, and that potent family was ſoon received into favour, and entruſted with the confidence of Henry. To this imprudent conduct may be traced the origin of thoſe factions and leagues which tended, at a ſubſequent period, to deſolate the kingdom. Five different parties were already formed in France; the firſt of which was headed by Diana of Poictiers; the ſecond, by the conſtable; the third, by the houſe of Guiſe; the fourth, by the mareſchal Saint-André; and the fifth, by Catherine of Medicis.

The firſt mark of favour which Diana received from Henry, after his acceſſion to the throne, was the money ariſing from the confirmation of magiſtrates, and others, in their reſpective offices, and from the renewal of privileges of all kinds, a formality neceſſary to be obſerved at the commencement of every reign, and for which a certain ſum was exacted. This money had generally been appropriated to the purpoſe of defraying the expence of the king's funeral; but Francis the Firſt had deviated from the uſual cuſtom, and made a preſent of it to his mother; this liberality of a ſon to a parent made an impreſſion on the minds of his people, that obviated the inconveniencies which might have ariſen from this irregular proceeding; but as Henry had no ſuch excuſe to plead, his conduct excited an univerſal diſcontent. He next beſtowed on his favourite the county of Valentinois, with the title of ducheſs; the lordſhip of Anet, where ſhe built a magnificent ſeat; that of Limours; ſeveral manſions and vacant ſpots of ground, belonging to the crown, within the walls of Paris; and, laſtly, all the confiſcated property of thoſe proteſtants who were condemned to die as heretics, or elſe compelled to fly to Geneva, in order to eſcape the perſecution which awaited them in France.

Montmorenci, by being placed at the head of the adminiſtration, and by enjoying the two important offices of ſecretary of war, and ſecretary for foreign affairs, poſſeſſed the means of augmenting the number of his creatures and partizans; but the extreme ſeverity of his diſpoſition, his avarice, and exceſſive partiality for his numerous relations, diſguſted a conſiderable part of the higher order of nobles. During the preceding reign he had ſcarcely ſuffered a ſingle year to paſs away, without extending his domains by ſome new acquiſitions; and few men had ever poſſeſſed ſo many lucrative poſts at one time. Though he had been compelled to reſign the office of mareſchal of France, as incompatible with the ſuperior dignity he enjoyed, he ſtill retained the ſalary: he was conſtable of France; grand-maſter of the king's houſhold; governor of Languedoc; private governor of Nantes; Saint-Malo; the Baſtille, and the wood of Vincennes; and, laſtly, bailiff of the palace, an office which he held in the name of one of his ſons, who was

[4] Belcarius.—De Thou.—Additions aux Mem. de Caſtelreau, par le Laboureur.—MS. de Bethune.—La Vieuville.

not

not yet old enough to enjoy it in perſon. The king had alſo given him the territory of Beaumont-upon-Oiſe, and two conſiderable annuities, one of which was charged on the ſucceſſion of Louiſa of Savoy, mother to Francis the Firſt. The conſtable diſplayed leſs ardour in the attainment of titles and honours, than in the acquiſition of wealth; and as he was in no haſte to procure the dignity of a duke, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf preceded in all public ceremonies by the princes of the houſe of Guiſe.

Thoſe princes purſued a very different line of conduct from that which had been adopted by the conſtable: affable, generous, and more anxious to obtain honours than to accumulate wealth, they ſought no other poſſeſſions than what they inherited from their anceſtors, and titles were the ſole objects of their ſolicitations. Beſides the two duchies of Guiſe and Aumale, they procured the erection of ſeveral eſtates they poſſeſſed in the province of Maine into a marquiſate, and the barony of Joinville into a principality. By a particular mark of favour, beſtowed but ſeldom even on princes of the blood royal, they obtained two cardinal's hats at the ſame time; but although by this means they enjoyed five or ſix biſhopricks, with a dozen of abbies, and their fortunes were equal to thoſe of many ſovereigns; they carried their magnificence to ſuch an extent, and were ſo profuſely liberal in their benefactions, that, far from enriching their family, the greater part of them died inſolvent.

Saint André, beſides the dignity of mareſchal of France, enjoyed the government of the Lionnois, Bourbonnois, Forès, and the Beaujolois; with the office of firſt chamberlain to the king, which gave him a free acceſs to the royal preſence at all hours of the day and night, and enabled him to obtain whatever he aſked from a monarch who was never known to withſtand the ſolicitations of a favourite. Henry gave him ſeveral valuable eſtates in Languedoc, and conferred on him many other lucrative grants.

Catherine of Medicis had been married to the king, while only duke of Orleans, and when he had barely completed his thirteenth year; ſhe had, ſome time ſince, brought him a ſon, who was named Francis; but ſhe was nevertheleſs holden in contempt, as well by Henry himſelf, as by all who ſurrounded him; yet the pliancy of her diſpoſition, and her profound diſſimulation, had, at length, enabled her to become the head of a party. By careſſing the ducheſs of Valentinois, whom ſhe deteſted; by perpetually flattering the pride, and aſking the advice of the conſtable, whom ſhe conſidered as her greateſt enemy; and by ſtopping at nothing which could, in the ſmalleſt degree, promote the object ſhe had in view; ſhe obtained many conſiderable favours, as well for herſelf as her partizans. Her party, however, was but ſmall, and the principal members of it were the Vidame of Chartres, deſcended from the ancient houſe of Vendôme; the admiral Annebaut, who had been diſmiſſed by Henry, but who, through her intereſt, was re-admitted to a ſeat in the council; Pietro and Leo Strozzi, two Florentine exiles, who were related to her; and Gaſpard de Saulx Tavannes.

The reſt of the court, or rather the whole nation, were divided between the four firſt parties, by whoſe recommendation all military promotions, all offices, civil and eccleſiaſtical, all penſions and employments, were diſtributed; ſo that the king, no longer conſidered as the fountain of honours and rewards, was holden in little eſtimation by his ſubjects; and the only perſon that ſeemed to be attached to him from diſintereſted motives, was la Chateigneraie, who would doubtleſs have, himſelf, become the leader of a party, but for an act of indiſcretion which occaſioned his death.

Francis de Vivonne, lord of Chateigneraie, and Guy de Chabot, lord of Jarnac, both natives of the province of Angoumois, had been introduced at the court of Francis the Firſt, nearly at the ſame time; one of them was placed in the dauphin's houſehold, and the other in that of the duke of Orleans; and notwithſtanding the antipathy which prevailed between their reſpective maſters, and which extended to the partizans and dependants of either prince, theſe young noblemen had ever preſerved a ſincere friendſhip for each other[5]. The whole court was aſtoniſhed at the magnificence diſplayed by Jarnac; and la Chateigneraie, who was better acquainted than any one elſe with the circumſtances of his friend, having expreſſed a wiſh to know whence he derived his reſources, was informed by Jarnac, in confidence, that he was ſupplied with money by his mother-in-law, with whom he maintained a criminal connection[6]. La Chateigneraie had imprudently entruſted the dauphin with this fatal ſecret; the dauphin was equally indiſcreet, and the report becoming common ſoon reached the ears of Jarnac's father. He immediately ſent for his ſon, who denied the charge, and requeſted he would inſtantly accompany him to court, that he might ſee in what manner he would confound the perſon who had dared to calumniate him. They accordingly repaired thither, and entering the apartment where the court was aſſembled, young Jarnac exclaimed aloud, that *whoever aſſerted that he maintained a criminal intercourſe with his mother-in-law, was a liar and a coward.* As la Chateigneraie could not ſuffer this challenge to remain unanſwered without diſhonouring himſelf in the eyes of his maſter, and, indeed, without expoſing the dauphin himſelf to the imputation of falſhood, he boldly replied, that Jarnac had imprudently boaſted of that which he now ſo proudly denied; and that he would extort from him a confeſſion of the fact. The affair was carried before the council, and as it was not a caſe that admitted of legal proof, it was decreed, that it ſhould be decided by ſingle combat. Francis, however, interfered, and forbade the parties to proceed to extremities; but the public were leſs indulgent than the king; and la Chateigneraie, though he enjoyed the confidence of his maſter, ſcarcely dared appear in public, where every one avoided him, as the baſe deſtroyer of a lady's fame. On the acceſſion of Henry, his favourite renewed his former accuſation, the conſequence of which was a public challenge from Jarnac: it was now reſolved that a judicial combat ſhould take place; and

[5] Brantome. [6] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 20.—Mezeray, tom. viii. p. 11.

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the lists were accordingly marked out at Saint Germain en Laye, where Henry attended in person, and the constable, assisted by the mareschals of France, was judge of the field.

Having observed all the forms prescribed by the laws of chivalry, the two combatants attacked each other sword in hand; la Chateigneraie, who was one of the most robust men of the age, confided in his strength, while Jarnac trusted to his superior agility; the latter, covering his head with his shield, bent beneath the vigorous blows of his adversary, till having watched an opportunity, he aimed two successful strokes at his left ham, which was left uncovered that the motion of his leg might not be impeded. The astonishment of the spectators, when they beheld that warrior whose brows they were in momentary expectation of seeing encircled with the wreath of victory, lay prostrate on the ground, was inexpressible; such was the impression made on them by this unexpected sight, that the remembrance of it has been transmitted to posterity, and every fly and unforeseen attack is still called by the French *Coup de Jarnac.* While la Chateigneraie lay in a state of insensibility, Jarnac approached the scaffold where the king was seated, and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Sire, I am sufficiently revenged if you believe me "innocent. I resign my adversary to you, and entreat you to impute all that has passed "entirely to our own levity and thoughtlessness." He then returned to la Chateigneraie, who had, by this time, recovered his senses, and endeavoured to extort from him an acknowledgment of his innocence; but the wounded warrior rising on his knees, drew his dagger, and endeavoured to reach his opponent; but his strength failed him, and he again sunk on the ground. Jarnac refused to avail himself of the advantage he had obtained over his adversary, whom he entreated, by their former friendship, to preserve a life that might still be useful to his country; but the acknowledgment he required was too painful to be made; the king, therefore, interfered, and declaring that Jarnac had performed his duty, and that his honour was restored, ordered his favourite to be taken from the field. Although la Chateigneraie had lost a vast quantity of blood, the surgeons, after examining the wound, expressed their opinion that a cure might easily be effected; but their patient, indignant at the triumph of his adversary, tore off the dressings, and, obstinately rejecting all offers of assistance, soon after expired. Some writers[7] have affirmed that Henry was so deeply affected by the loss of his favourite, that he abolished, by an edict, all judicial combats. But no vestige of such an edict is any where to be found; and it is moreover certain that two years after this event the state council ordered another judicial combat, which was attended with the same forms, though, on account of the inferior rank of the combatants, with less pomp. Fendille and d'Aguerre had a dispute in the king's chamber, which ended in blows; the council having taken cognizance of the matter, decreed that it must be decided by arms, and

7 Mezeray, Robertson, et alii.

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the king entruſted the execution of their ſentence to the mareſchal de la Mark, who appointed the town of Sedan for the ſcene of action. Fendille, conſcious of the ſuperiority of his adverſary, endeavoured to elude the combat, but the council rejected all his applications for that purpoſe, and enjoined obedience to their decree, under pain of degradation. The combat accordingly took place; Francis de Vendôme, viſcount of Chartres, appeared as the friend of d'Aguerre; and the duke of Nevers, governor of Champagne, as the friend of Fendille. The latter was thrown from his horſe at the firſt attack, and confeſſing whatever his adverſary required, purchaſed his life at the expence of his honour[8]. This example ſufficiently proves that the king and his council were far from wiſhing to aboliſh judicial combats in certain caſes; barbarous as the practice undoubtedly was, it was much leſs prejudicial to ſociety than the Italian cuſtom, which now began to be extremely prevalent in France, of revenging an injury or inſult by private aſſaſſination. To remedy this latter evil Henry iſſued ſeveral edicts, by one of which this deſcription of aſſaſſins were ſubjected to the puniſhment of the wheel; by another, all perſons, except military men, were prohibited from carrying fire-arms; and by a third, all innkeepers were ordered to keep a regiſter of all the officers and ſoldiers who lodged in their houſe, and to refuſe them admiſſion, unleſs they conſented to deliver up their fire-arms, which were to be returned to them on their departure[9].

The rapaciouſneſs of the leaders of the different factions, by occaſioning the creation of many new places, greatly encreaſed the public expenditure, and, of courſe, cauſed a deficit in the revenue. As it was deemed impolitic to mark the commencement of a reign by an augmentation of impoſts, indirect means for procuring the neceſſary ſum were ſought for, and the following adopted:—the value of the mark of gold was raiſed ſix livres, twelve ſols, ſix derniers, which made it worth one hundred and ſeventy-two livres; the mark of ſilver was raiſed from fourteen livres ten ſols, to fifteen livres: crown lands, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres, were expoſed to ſale; the tenths levied on the clergy were doubled; a *free gift* was exacted from the principal towns in the kingdom; and ſome trifling additions were privately made to the *Gabelle* in the provinces beyond the Loire.

The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at laſt ſummoned a general council, which had aſſembled at Trent, on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and had for the ſpace of fifteen months been employed, both in correcting the abuſes of the church, in aſcertaining her doctrines, and in condemning the tenets of Luther. The French monarch had obſerved with concern, that the emperor, at whoſe inſtigation this aſſembly had been ſummoned, aſſumed a kind of dictatorial authority over the fathers, and ſought to render them the inſtruments of his ambition and policy; Francis, therefore,

[8] Garnier. [9] Idem.

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was deſirous either that the pope ſhould prorogue the council to a more favourable ſeaſon, or, which would anſwer the ſame purpoſe, that he ſhould transfer it to ſome town within the territories of the church. The pontiff was not leſs alarmed than the king at the ambitious projects of Charles, but he was fearful of drawing down upon his head the vengeance of a monarch, who, being maſter of the greater part of Italy, might ſend orders to inveſt him in his palace, before any of his allies could arrive to his aſſiſtance. In order to remove this objection, Francis offered to gratify his favourite paſſion, the aggrandiſement of his family, by giving in marriage to his grandſon, Horatio Farnéſe, the princeſs Diana, a natural daughter of the dauphin Henry, who had been legitimated. Paul was unable to withſtand ſo flattering an offer, and having received from Francis a promiſe of ſupport, he ſent orders to his legates, to transfer the council to Bologna, without appearing himſelf to be any wiſe concerned in the buſineſs. The legates, accordingly, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, made the motion required by their maſter, which was carried by a majority of votes, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the Imperial prelates, who determined to remain at Trent. At this period Francis died, but the pope was relieved from the uneaſineſs which he had entertained on that account, by the reſolution of Henry, to follow the ſame line of conduct, with regard to the emperor, which had been practiſed by his father.

Charles the Fifth had long been accuſtomed to make religion ſubſervient to his intereſt; he was reſolved to employ the imputation of hereſy as a pretence for ſubduing the proteſtant princes, and oppreſſing the liberties of Germany; but found it neceſſary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adverſaries. He ſeparated the palatinate and the elector of Brandenburgh from the proteſtant confederacy: he took arms againſt the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe: he took the former priſoner at the battle of Mulhauſen, and treated him in the moſt unfeeling and inhuman manner: by a baſe violation of his word, and a dereliction of every principle of honour, he detained the latter captive, after he had granted him a ſafe-conduct. He ſeemed to have obtained the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, aſtoniſhed at his ſucceſs, and deprived of their uſual reſources by the death of Francis the Firſt, and Henry the Eighth, were no longer able to withſtand his power. Henry indeed, was willing to afford them aſſiſtance, but he rather choſe to interfere in favour of Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of the late king, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Edward the Sixth had aſcended the throne of England, and, during the minority of that prince, the duke of Somerſet was declared protector of the realm. Somerſet reſolved to avail himſelf of the confuſion which prevailed in Scotland, where the malevolent bigotry of John Knox, and his aſſociates, had ſpread terror and deſolation throughout the nation, to promote an union of the two kingdoms, by marrying Mary, the heireſs

heireſs of Scotland, to young Edward. With this view he levied an army of eighteen thouſand men, and entering Scotland, revived the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that kingdom, and refuſed to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage he had projected. He ſoon after obtained a ſignal victory over the Scots, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, who loſt ten thouſand men in the action; and had Somerſet purſued his advantage, there can be little doubt but that he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on that diſtracted nation; but the news of ſome intrigues which were forming againſt his authority at court, induced him to accelerate his return to England; and the Scots, recovering from their conſternation, and inſtigated by the queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, rejected the propoſed alliance, and renewed their applications to France for aſſiſtance.

Henry, who was deeply intereſted in preventing the union of Scotland and England, conſented to furniſh, at his own expence, the ſuccours required for the defence of the former kingdom, on condition that the Scottiſh parliament ſhould, by a formal act, decree that their young ſovereign ſhould give her hand to the dauphin Francis, who, in conſequence of this alliance, ſhould govern both kingdoms; and that Mary ſhould be immediately ſent over to France, to be brought up in a manner ſuitable to her rank, in the court of her father-in-law. The parliament was accordingly ſummoned to meet in an abbey, near Haddington, where the propoſal of Henry was ſubmitted to their conſideration. The arguments were carried on with great warmth and ability on both ſides; it was objected by ſome, that the meaſure propoſed was a deſperate one, that it allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage; expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners; involved them in perpetual war with England; and left them no expedient by which they could hope to conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. On the other hand, it was urged, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe his utmoſt efforts to defend the kingdom. Theſe arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully diſtributed among the nobles. The earl of Arran received the duchy of Chatelleraut in Poitou, and obtained for his ſon the command of a hundred men at arms. And as the Scottiſh clergy dreaded the conſequence of the Engliſh alliance, they ſeconded this meaſure with all the zeal and induſtry which either zeal or intereſt could inſpire, ſo that it was finally determined to accept the propoſals of the king of France.

Henry was no ſooner informed of the reſolution of the Scottiſh parliament, than he gave orders for the embarkation of three thouſand of his beſt infantry, to which he joined the ſame number of Lanſquenets, under the command of the Rhinegrave, and ſix companies

panies of light-horſe[10]. This army was entruſted to the conduct of Andrew de Montalembert, lord of Eſſé, who had ſignalized his courage and military talents in the laſt reign, by the defence of Landrecies: he had under him Peter Strozzi, a relation of the queen's; d'Andelot, nephew to the conſtable; la Rochefoucaud; d'Eſtauges; Rochechouard; Piennes; Cruſſol; Montpezat; Joyeuſe; Bourdeille and Négrepeliſſe. "Gentlemen," ſaid Eſſé to his officers, on landing, "I very well know that there is ſcarcely any one of you who does not think himſelf a greater man than I am, and who, at court, would think himſelf degraded by becoming my companion. But ſince the king has been pleaſed to appoint me his lieutenant-general, I muſt even perform the duties of my ſtation; and, therefore, prepare to obey me both great and ſmall: on our return to France, each of us may reaſſume his former rank!" It was by the obſervance of a ſtrict diſcipline, and by ſetting his officers and men an example of frugality, patience and courage, that Eſſé ſucceeded in repelling the attacks of the Engliſh, and in extricating the Scots from the difficulties under which they laboured.

The fleet which had conveyed theſe troops to Scotland, was deſtined to bring back Mary Stuart to France; Leo Strozzi, who commanded it, fearful of being intercepted by the Engliſh, if he employed all his ſhips for that purpoſe, detached the chevalier de Villegagnon, with four gallies, then lying in the Frith of Forth, who ſet ſail as if he intended to return home: but when he reached the open ſea, he turned northwards, paſſed by the Orkneys, and came in on the weſt coaſt at Dunbarton. The young queen was there committed to his care; and being attended by two Scottiſh noblemen, ſhe put to ſea, and, after meeting with ſome tempeſtuous weather, arrived ſafely at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1548.] The rapid ſtrides which the emperor continued to make towards the accompliſhment of his ambitious projects gave ſerious inquietude to Henry, who, anxious to perſuade the pope to take up arms againſt Charles, levied an army, with which he entered Italy; but the Roman pontiff was too far advanced in years to think of engaging in a war, and the king himſelf was ſpeedily compelled to repaſs the Alps, in order to quell a dangerous ſedition which broke out in Guienne, in conſequence of the rapacious conduct of the officers of the revenue employed in collecting the oppreſſive duties upon ſalt[11]. The taſk of vengeance was entruſted to the conſtable Montmorenci and the duke of Guiſe; the former marked his progreſs with blood, and advancing to Bourdeaux deprived the citizens of their privileges, put numbers of them to death, and broke the parliament, who had exerted themſelves in a very extraordinary manner, to reduce the people to obedience. Henry then repaired to Lyons, where he was received with the utmoſt magnificence by the inhabitants of that opulent city: and on his arrival at Mou-

[10] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 101. [11] La Vieuville.—Belcarius.—Belleforêt.—De Thou.—Sleidan.

lins, he attended the celebration of the marriage of Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and firſt prince of the blood, with Joan of Albret, heireſs of Navarre.

A. D. 1549.] In the month of June, this year, the king made his ſolemn entry into Paris, where his acceſſion to the throne was celebrated by tilts and tournaments, and by every kind of rejoicing then in vogue; but the chief object of theſe rejoicings was to collect together all the nobility in the kingdom, in order to accelerate the execution of a project which the confuſion that prevailed in the Engliſh council had led him to form. Having, accordingly, collected a powerful army, Henry marched from Paris in the month of Auguſt, and directed his courſe towards the Bourbonnois, which he had reſolved to recover by force of arms[12]. But ſecret as his preparations had been, the Engliſh miniſter was apprized of them; and he endeavoured to avert the impending ſtorm by courting the alliance of the emperor. With this view he ſent over ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then kept his court, in order to aſſiſt the reſident ambaſſador in the negociation; but that prince had formed a deſign of extending his dominions, by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely deſirous of accepting the Engliſh alliance againſt France, his capital enemy, he thought it unſuitable to his other pretenſions to enter into ſtrict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connection with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendſhip from England, and eluded the applications of the ambaſſadors.

Henry, meanwhile, arrived at the place of his deſtination, and falling on the Boulonnois, ſpeedily reduced the forts of Sallacques, Ambleteuſe, and Blacquenai, though well ſupplied with every thing requiſite for ſuſtaining a ſiege. He endeavoured to ſurprize Boulenburg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peſtilential diſtemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligni, lord of Châtillon, (afterwards ſo famous by the name of admiral Coligni) who had orders to renew the ſiege in the ſpring.

During the winter, Henry entered into a freſh treaty with the Swiſs, whom the emperor had long been endeavouring to detach from his alliance[13], and having agreed to increaſe their pay one-third, they engaged to ſerve him in any quarter where their ſervices might be required. He alſo received a deputation from the inhabitants of the provinces beyond the Loire, who repreſented, in energetic terms, the hardſhips under which they

[12] Depêches de Marillac—De Thou—Belcarius—Belleforêt.

[13] MS. de Fontanieu—Rec. de Traités.

laboured,

laboured, from the oppreſſive impoſt of the Gabelle, an impoſt holden in ſuch abhorrence by the people, that upwards of ten thouſand families had adopted the reſolution of emigrating to ſome foreign country: the deputies maintained that the total ſuppreſſion of the Gabelle was alone adequate to remedy an evil of ſo alarming a nature; and they offered, in the name of their conſtituents, to purchaſe an exemption from the tax by the payment of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold. This offer it was deemed prudent to accept, and the ſum of twenty-five thouſand livres being added, to indemnify thoſe who had purchaſed the places of collectors, Henry reſtored the parliament of Bourdeaux, which had been ſuppreſſed by the conſtable, and re-eſtabliſhed the citizens and municipal officers in the poſſeſſion of their poſts and privileges.

A. D. 1550.] During theſe tranſactions, a powerful party had been formed in England againſt the duke of Somerſet, who was, at length, compelled to reſign the protectorſhip. The earl of Warwick, who was now at the head of affairs, finding it neceſſary to conclude a peace with France, ſent over Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, to Paris, to negociate, in a private manner, with the conſtable Montmorenci. Preliminaries being ſettled, the conſtable ſent his nephew, de Coligni; his brother, Francis Montmorenci, lord of Rochepot; Andrew Guillard, lord of Mortier; and William Bochetel, lord of Saſſi, ſecretary of ſtate, to meet the Engliſh plenipotentiaries; and, after ſome diſcuſſion, it was agreed to give four hundred thouſand crowns for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne: one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty, which was ſigned on the twenty-fourth of March. An agreement, ſome time after, was formed for a marriage between the king of England and Elizabeth, a daughter of Francis; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled: but this project never took effect.

A. D. 1551.] Henry, having diſengaged himſelf, in ſuch an honourable manner, from the burden of ſupporting the Scots, and maintaining a war againſt England, was now at full leiſure to purſue the meaſures which his hereditary jealouſy of the emperor's power naturally ſuggeſted. He had openly proteſted againſt the treaty of Creſpy, as injurious to the intereſt of the crown, and only calculated to aggrandize his younger brother, the duke of Orleans, who ſoon after expired. He now reſumed his hopes of Italian conqueſts, and Italy was again menaced with indications of approaching hoſtilities. Julius the Third, who had ſucceeded Paul in the papal throne, had taken up arms to diſpoſſeſs Octavio Farneſe, grandſon of the late pontiff, of the duchy of Parma. Octavio claimed and obtained the protection of Henry; and the pope, ſenſible that he could not, with his own forces alone, expect to ſubdue that prince, while ſupported by ſuch a powerful ally as the king of France, had recourſe to the emperor, who, being extremely ſolicitous to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialiſts, as the protectors of the holy ſee; and hoſtilities commenced between them, while Henry and

Charles themſelves ſtill affected to give out that they would inviolably adhere to the peace of Creſpy. Gonzaga laid ſiege to Parma; while Horatio Farneſe, and Lewis de Saint-Gelais, lord of Lenſac, committed depredations on the eccleſiaſtical territories.

Meanwhile the council had, by the pope's orders, reaſſembled at Trent; but many of the Italian prelates being prevented, by this war, or the preparations for it, from repairing to that city on the firſt of May, the day appointed; the papal legate and nuncios were compelled to adjourn till the firſt of September, when about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, or from Spain, were convened [14]. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to buſineſs; when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and, preſenting letters of credence from the French king, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he proteſted, in the name of his maſter, againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline, with the requiſite tranquillity; he declared, that his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general or æcumenick council, but muſt conſider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention. The legate affected to deſpiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy, concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans could not pay much regard to an aſſembly, the authority of which the ſecond prince in Chriſtendom had formally diſclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the deciſions of a few men, who arrogated to themſelves all the rights belonging to the repreſentatives of a church univerſal; a title to which they had ſuch ſlender pretenſions.

Henry, meantime, had laid aſide the veil which he had hitherto worn, and ſtood forward as a principal in that war in which at firſt he had appeared only as an auxiliary. Polin, baron de la Garde, ſailing from the ports of Normandy, with a ſquadron of twenty gallies, ſurprized a fleet of Flemiſh ſhips, on their return from Spain, and made a conſiderable booty. Leo Strozzi, with another ſquadron, took a large Spaniſh galley, and ſeveral tranſports, off the harbour of Barcelona: the dukes of Vendôme and Nevers, governors of Picardy and Champagne, entered Artois, Hainaut, and the duchy of Luxembourg, and ravaged a vaſt extent of country; but, though the enemy were wholly unprepared to receive them, they were unable to make any conqueſt of importance. In Piedmont, however, the mareſchal de Briſſac was more ſucceſsful; he reduced Quiers, Queras, and Saint-

[14] Adriani Iſtoria, lib. viii. p. 505, 514, 524.—Sleidan, p. 513.—Paruta, p. 220.—Lettere del Caro, ſcritte al nome del Cardinale Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 2.

Damien,

Damien, three places of great ſtrength, whoſe centrical ſituation enabled them to keep the whole province in ſubjection. Gonzaga, ſenſible of their importance, converted the ſiege of Parma into a blockade, and, leaving the marquis of Marignano to command in his abſence, advanced with a ſtrong detachment to retake them; but he arrived at a period when the ſeaſon was too far advanced for military operations; and the diviſion of his army enabled the garriſon of Parma to make ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies on the enemy, whom they finally compelled to retire from before the city.

Early in the winter, Henry entered into a negociation with the Roman pontiff, and ſoon concluded a truce for two years, that he might be at liberty to direct all his efforts againſt the emperor. While Charles was employed in ſubverting the liberties of Germany, Maurice, duke of Saxony, couſin to the depoſed elector, and a proteſtant prince himſelf, had, from motives of intereſt, ſeconded his deſigns, and acquired his favour: but he was no ſooner inveſted with the ſpoils of his degraded kinſman, than he reſolved to reſcue them from the caprice of a maſter whom he dreaded, and more firmly to eſtabliſh a religion, the exerciſe of which he had contributed to reſtrain. In the execution of this difficult and dangerous enterprize, he formed and conducted, with acute penetration and conſummate ſkill, an intricate plan of policy which deceived the moſt artful prince in Europe; and while he appeared the ſervile inſtrument of Imperial greatneſs, he inſinuated himſelf into the confidence, and attained an unqualified aſcendancy over the minds, of thoſe whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. He ſecretly negociated a new confederacy of the proteſtants, and he earneſtly courted the aſſiſtance of Henry to oppoſe the deſpotiſm which Charles laboured to eſtabliſh.

John de Freſſe, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to negociate with Maurice and his aſſociates; and a formal treaty was, accordingly, concluded on the fifth of October[15]. As it would have been unſuitable to the character of a king of France to undertake the defence of the Proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns the contracting parties pretended to commit entirely to the diſpoſition of Divine Providence; the only motives aſſigned for their preſent confederacy againſt Charles, were to releaſe the landgrave of Heſſe from captivity, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German empire. In order to accompliſh theſe ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties ſhould, at the ſame time, declare war againſt the emperor; that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made but by common conſent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard againſt the inconveniencies of anarchy, or of pretenſions to joint command, Maurice ſhould be acknowledged

[15] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 340.

as head of the German confederates, with abſolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his aſſociates ſhould, before the eleventh of March, bring into the field ſeven thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand infantry; that, towards the ſubſiſtence of this army, during the three firſt months of the war, Henry ſhould contribute two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards, ſixty thouſand crowns a month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry ſhould attack the emperor on the ſide of Lorraine, with an army equal to that of the confederate princes; that if it were found requiſite to elect a new emperor, ſuch a perſon ſhould be nominated as ſhould be agreeable to the king of France, who ſhould himſelf have the preference if he choſe to declare himſelf a candidate for the Imperial dignity[15]. The preparatory negociations for this treaty were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated his plans only to two of them, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh, and William of Heſſe, the Landgrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his miniſters; nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction[17]. Maurice ſwore to obſerve the treaty, in preſence of the biſhop of Bayonne; and Albert of Brandenburg was diſpatched to the caſtle of Chambor, where Henry then reſided, to exact a ſimilar engagement from that monarch.

A. D. 1552.] The king haſtened to make the neceſſary preparations for fulfilling the engagements he had contracted, but he found an extreme difficulty in raiſing a ſufficient ſum for defraying the expences of his expedition. The war in Italy had already exhauſted the treaſury, and compelled the government to have recourſe to exactions both odious and onerous. He now opened a loan at Lyons; and demanded a free gift from the city of Paris, in return for which he granted a duty of two ſols ſix deniers on every hogſhead of wine introduced into the capital. But theſe expedients proving inſufficient, he had recourſe to others of greater extent and importance. By the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, he inſtituted ſixty new courts of juſtice in the different towns of the kingdom, by which means nearly ſix hundred offices were expoſed to ſale[18]. The ſentences of theſe courts were deciſive in all matters of property, where the object of litigation did not exceed in value two hundred and fifty livres; and from that ſum to five hundred livres—for matters of no higher importance came within their cognizance—an appeal lay to the ſuperior courts. Each of the new courts was preſided by nine magiſtrates, with a ſalary, each, of one hundred livres, payable out of the produce of the duties upon ſalt. The king alſo obtained from the clergy a promiſe of three millions of livres, payable in ſix months, on condition that he ſhould paſs an edict, reſtoring to the eccleſiaſtical courts the ſame degree of power which they enjoyed previous to the year 1539, when an ordonnance, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Guilelmine*[19], from the unfortunate chancellor *Guillaume* Poyet,

[15] Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 258. [17] Robertſon. [18] De Thou.—Recueil d'Ordonn.—Regiſt. du Parlement. [19] Loyſeau, Traité des Offices.—Regiſt. du Parl.

was

was paſſed, by which the deciſions of thoſe courts were properly confined to matters purely ſpiritual, or regarding the perſons of the clergy; the money was paid, and the edict paſſed; but the parliament refuſing to regiſter it, it was not enforced. A farther ſum was raiſed by the erection of other new offices, as well in the court of aids, as in the chamber of accompts. A treaſurer-general was appointed in each of the fourteen *Generalities* into which France was divided, and a *criminal-judge* in every bailiwick, ſenéchauſſée, and other juriſdiction.

Henry having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, during his abſence, took the road to Champagne, where his army was aſſembled. It conſiſted of fifteen thouſand French infantry; nine thouſand Lanſquenets; ſeven thouſand Swiſs; fifteen hundred lances; two hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers of the king's houſhold-troops; twelve hundred horſe-arquebuſiers; two thouſand light-horſe; two thouſand militia, and five hundred Engliſh knights, ſent by Edward to the aſſiſtance of his intended father-in-law[20]. As ſoon as the troops were ready to march, Henry publiſhed a manifeſto, in which, after taking notice of the ancient allianee between the French and German nations, both deſcended from the ſame anceſtors, and, after mentioning the applications which, in conſequence of this, ſome of the moſt illuſtrious of the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared, that he now took arms to re-eſtabliſh the ancient conſtitution of the empire, to deliver ſome of its princes from captivity, and to ſecure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body. In this manifeſto Henry aſſumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the liberties of Germany and its captive princes*; and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient ſymbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this bleſſing was to be obtained and preſerved by force of arms.

So early as the fifteenth of March, the French, having entered Lorraine, laid ſiege to Toul, which opened its gates at their approach; Verdun followed the example. Their forces next appeared before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the conſtable Montmorenci, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry, who had hitherto been detained at Joinville by the illneſs of his queen, now joined the army, and made his entry into all the towns which his troops had reduced, with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to him, and annexed thoſe important conqueſts to the French monarchy. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz, under the command of the lord of Gonnor, brother to the mareſchal de Briſſac, with orders to repair and ſtrengthen, without delay, the fortifications of that city. From thence Henry advanced into Alſace, as far as Straſburg, and having demanded leave of the

[20] De Thou—Matthieu—Rabutin—Paradin—Sléidan—Dom Calmet, Hiſtoire de Lorraine—Garnier.

ſenate

ſenate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the ſame fraud which he had practiſed at Metz, he might render himſelf maſter of the place, and by that means ſecure a paſſage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Straſburgers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortunes of their neighbours, ſhut their gates, and having aſſembled a garriſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, repaired their fortifications, raſed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hoſtile attempt upon them. The electors of Treves and Cologne, the duke of Cleves, and other princes in the neighbourhood, interpoſed in their behalf, beſeeching Henry that he would not ſo ſoon forget the title which he had generouſly aſſumed, and inſtead of being the deliverer of Germany become its oppreſſor. The Swiſs cantons ſeconded them with zeal, ſoliciting Henry to ſpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendſhip and alliance.

Powerful as this united interceſſion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of ſo much value, had he been in a condition to ſeize it. But in that age, the method of ſubſiſting numerous armies, at a diſtance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly underſtood; and neither the revenues of princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which ſuch an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to ſuffer from ſcarcity of proviſions, and had not ſufficient magazines collected to ſupport them during a ſiege, which muſt neceſſarily have been of great length. At the ſame time, the queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low Countries, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roſſem, laid waſte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Theſe concurring circumſtances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire ſome merit with his allies by this retreat, which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiſs that he had taken the reſolution merely in compliance with their requeſt [21]; and then, after giving orders that all the horſes in his army ſhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of having puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, he marched back towards Champagne.

Maurice had publiſhed his manifeſto, and taken the field at the ſame time with Henry, and after a variety of ſucceſsful manœuvres, compelled the emperor, who was unable to check the rapidity of his progreſs, to evacuate Inſpruck with a ſlender train, and under cover of the night; and that monarch fled with precipitation before the arms of Maurice as far as Villach in Carinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories.

[21] Sléidan, p. 557.—Brantome, tom. vii. p. 39.

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While the king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entruſted with the command of a ſeparate body of eight thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries, who had reſorted to his ſtandard rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That prince, finding himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of deſperate adventurers, ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them, ſoon began to diſdain a ſtate of ſubordination, and to form ſuch vaſt ſchemes of aggrandizing himſelf, as ſeldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unleſs when civil war, or violent factions, rouſe them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of ſucceſs. Full of theſe aſpiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to ſpread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devaſtations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money as would enable him to keep his army together; he laboured to get poſſeſſion of Nuremburg, Ulm, or ſome other of the free cities in Upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the ſeat of his power. But, finding theſe cities on their guard, and in a condition to reſiſt his attacks, he turned all his rage againſt the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, whoſe territories he plundered with ſuch wanton and unrelenting cruelty, as gave them a very unfavourable impreſſion of the ſpirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The biſhops of Bamberg and Wurzburgh, by their ſituation, lay particularly expoſed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almoſt one half of his extenſive dioceſe; and compelled the latter to advance an immenſe ſum in order to ſave his country from ruin and deſolation. During theſe deſtructive incurſions, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whoſe commands, as generaliſſimo of the league, he had engaged to obey, or to the remonſtrances of the other confederates; and manifeſtly diſcovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any ſolicitude about the common cauſe, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms.

Meantime the emperor, alarmed at the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt him, and wholly unprepared to reſiſt the united efforts of his enemies, expreſſed a willingneſs to liſten to terms of accommodation; and conferences were accordingly opened at Paſſau, at which moſt of the proteſtant princes and deputies from the free cities attended, and where Charles was repreſented by his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans. After much diſcuſſion, during which the emperor had raiſed up numerous obſtacles to the concluſion of a peace, Maurice left Paſſau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergenthein in Franconia, he put them in motion, and renewed hoſtilities. As three thouſand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themſelves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infeſt the neighbouring country of Heſſe, he marched towards that city, and laid ſiege to it in form. The briſkneſs of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches againſt the town, gave ſuch an alarm to the emperor, that he lent a favourable ear to the arguments

which his brother advanced in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it neceſſary to bend, and ſignified his diſpoſition to make conceſſions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his demands. Maurice, equally deſirous of an accommodation, complied with the propoſal, and after a long conſultation with his aſſociates, he ſigned, on the ſecond of Auguſt, the treaty of peace, of which the chief articles were—That before the twelfth day of Auguſt the confederates ſhall lay down their arms, and diſband their forces; that on or before that day, the landgrave of Heſſe ſhall be ſet at liberty, and conveyed in ſafety to his caſtle of Rheinfels; that a diet ſhall be holden within ſix months, in order to deliberate concerning the moſt proper and effectual method of preventing, for the future, all diſputes and diſſentions about religion; that, in the mean time, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, ſhall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to ſuch as adherred to the confeſſion of Augſburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion; that, in return, the Proteſtants ſhall not moleſt the Catholics, either in the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; that the Imperial chamber ſhall adminiſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, and Proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with the Catholics to ſit as judges in that court; that if the next diet ſhould not be able to terminate the diſputes with regard to religion, the ſtipulations in the preſent treaty in behalf of the Proteſtants, ſhall continue for ever in full force and vigour; that none of the confederates ſhall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the courſe of the war; that the conſideration of thoſe encroachments which had been made, as Maurice aſſerted, upon the conſtitution and liberties of the empire, ſhall be remitted to the approaching diet; that Albert of Brandenburg ſhall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt[22].

Such was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in the erection of which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and hereditary in his family; and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precarioufly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis.

The intereſts of Henry had been little attended to during the negociations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates having attained their object, diſcovered no great ſolicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they deemed overpaid for the aſſiſtance he had afforded them, by his acquiſitions in Lorraine. A ſhort clauſe which they procured to be inſerted in the treaty, importing that the king of France might communicate to the con-

[22] Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 261.

federates

ſederates his particular pretenſions or cauſes of hoſtility, which they would lay before the emperor, was the only ſign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their ſucceſs. But how much ſoever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they haſtened to make their peace with the emperor at his expence, he was perfectly ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep well with the Germanic body, than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reaſon he diſmiſſed the hoſtages which he had received from Maurice and his aſſociates, and affected to talk in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire.

The loſs of Metz, Toul and Verdun had made a deep impreſſion on the emperor, who, accuſtomed to terminate all his operations againſt France with advantage to himſelf, thought his honour was concerned in not allowing Henry the ſuperiority in this war, and in not ſuffering his own adminiſtration to be ſtained with the infamy of having permitted territories of ſuch conſequence to be diſmembered from the empire. His intereſt, too, was no leſs concerned than his honour in this caſe. As the frontier of Champagne was more defenceleſs, and lay more expoſed than that of any other province in France, he had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon it with great ſucceſs and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conqueſts, France would gain ſuch a formidable barrier on that ſide, as to be altogether ſecure where formerly ſhe had been weakeſt. On the other hand, the empire had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired, and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay expoſed to invaſion on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Charles was influenced by theſe conſiderations to attempt the recovery of the three towns which Henry had reduced; and the preparations which he had made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates, enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

The peace, therefore, was no ſooner concluded at Paſſau, than he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg, at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions which had been diſmiſſed by the confederates, and prevailed alſo on ſome princes of the empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French, ſo as to lead them to prepare for their defence, he gave out that he meant to march to Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations, who had engaged in an expedition againſt the Turks. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he had recourſe to new artifice, and ſpread a report, that he took this route in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg,

whose deſtructive incurſions and cruel exactions in that part of the empire, called loudly for his interpoſition.

But Henry immediately diſcerned the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the principal efforts of the Imperialiſts would be directed againſt Metz, by whoſe fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guiſe, to take the command of that city during the ſiege. The character and conduct of this nobleman fully juſtified his choice: the duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all the talents of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which eminently fitted him for ſo important a truſt. He was amply endowed with that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold undertakings, and aſpires to fame by ſplendid and daring atchievements. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him; while the martial genius of the French nobility, which led them to diſdain a life of inactivity, when an opportunity occurred for the acquiſition of honour, prompted great numbers to follow a leader, who was at once the darling and the pattern of every one who courted military fame. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers; among theſe were two of the duke's brothers, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior; Enghien, Condé, and la Roche-ſur-Yon; the conſtable's two eldeſt ſons, Francis de Montmorenci and Damville; Horatio Farneſe, ſon-in-law to the king; the duke of Nemours, of the houſe of Savoy; the Vidame of Chartres; la Rochefoucaud and Randan, two brothers; la Trémouille; Mortemar; du Châtelet; Levis; Biron; the two Maillis; Canaples; Martigues; Matignon; Gamaches; Fontrailles; Gondrin and Bethune. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the duke of Guiſe to employ, on every emergency, perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz; he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon of leſs zeal and intrepidity to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch was narrow, and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of Saint-Arnulph, in which ſeveral kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but, in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead, might expoſe him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy veſtments and utenſils, together with the bones of the kings, and other perſons depoſited in theſe churches,

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to be removed, they were carried, in ſolemn proceſſion, to a church within the walls, he himſelf walking before them uncovered, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands; the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to the moſt extreme fatigues, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part with them. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; burnt the mills, and deſtroyed the corn and forage, for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his art of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their eſtates, together with the havock which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of reſentment [23].

The emperor, meantime, having collected all his troops, continued his march to Metz. As he paſſed through the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of thoſe deſtructive depredations which Albert had committed in thoſe parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if it were his intention to join Henry, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops, which amounted to upwards of ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars between the princes of Chriſtendom [24].

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the marquis of Marignano, together with the moſt experienced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. Theſe officers repreſented the danger of beginning at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon—the month of October being nearly expired—a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. Charles, however, rejected their advice; and, relying on the ſtrength of his preparations, and the efficacy of his precautions, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, threw it into confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a great number of men. The place, notwithſtanding this check, was completely inveſted by the Imperialiſts, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

[23] De Thou, tom. xi. p. 387.—Salignac, Journal—Rabutin.—Hiſtoire de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet.—Fontanieu.

[24] Natalis Comes.—Robertſon.

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The attention both of the beſiegers and beſieged was turned, for ſome time, towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they ſtrove, with emulation, which ſhould gain that prince, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of reſolution natural to a man, who, being ſwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereſt. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial: the Imperialiſts made every promiſe which they thought would make an impreſſion upon him. After much heſitation, he was gained by the emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages more immediate and more permanent. As Henry, who began to ſuſpect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops, under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guiſe, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly, with ſuch vigour, that he routed them entirely, killed the viſcount of Rohan, la Chatre, and about two hundred gentlemen; Aumale himſelf was wounded, and, with d'Eguilli, d'O, and d'Aguerres, was taken priſoner. The three laſt were ranſomed; but Albert refuſed to releaſe Aumale, whom he determined to keep as an hoſtage for ſecuring any terms, which he might, at a future period, be led to exact from the French. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this ſervice, and the great acceſſion of ſtrength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all paſt offences, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the territories which he had violently uſurped during the war.

The duke of Guiſe, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He haraſſed the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in which his officers were ſo eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, that his authority being ſcarcely ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their courage, he was often obliged to ſhut the gates, and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood, and noblemen of the firſt rank, from expoſing themſelves to danger in every ſally. He repaired in the night whatever damage the enemy's artillery had effected during the day, or erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almoſt equal ſtrength. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward approaches againſt different parts of the town at the ſame time. But the art of attacking was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it attained towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The beſiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progreſs; and although breaches were effected by their batteries in various places, they were aſtoniſhed by the ſudden appearance of works, the demolition of which would require a renewal of all their dangers and fatigues. The emperor, enraged at the obſtinate reſiſtance which his army experienced, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and, though ſtill ſo infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that, by his preſence, he might animate the ſoldiers,

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and urge on the attack with greater ſpirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

The winter, however, had by this time ſet in with extreme rigour; the Imperial camp was alternately deluged with rain and covered with ſnow. Proviſions, too, were become extremely ſcarce, as a body of French cavalry hovered in the neighbourhood, and often intercepted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diſeaſes began to ſpread among the ſoldiers, eſpecially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to ſuch inclement weather; ſo that great numbers were rendered unfit for ſervice, and many died. At length, ſuch breaches being made as ſeemed practicable, Charles reſolved to hazard a general aſſault, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his generals, concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garriſon, conducted and animated by the moſt gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diſeaſes, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe, ſuſpecting the enemy's intentions from the extraordinary hurry he obſerved in their camp, ordered all his troops to their reſpective poſts. They immediately appeared on the walls and behind the breaches, with ſuch a determined countenance, ſo eager for the combat, and ſo well prepared to give the aſſailants a warm reception, that the Imperialiſts, inſtead of advancing to the charge, when the word of command was given, ſtood motionleſs, in a timid dejected ſilence. The emperor perceiving the impoſſibility of truſting troops whoſe ſpirits were ſo much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who no longer deſerved the name of men[25].

Deeply as Charles was mortified and affected by the conduct of his troops, he would not conſent to abandon the ſiege, though he perceived the neceſſity of changing the mode of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continued to rain or ſnow almoſt inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips; and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was equal to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles, finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with the rigour of the ſeaſon, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue with art; while, at the ſame time, a contagious diſtemper raged among his troops, and daily cut off great numbers of the officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſolicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat: "Fortune," ſaid he, "I now "perceive, reſembles other females, and chooſes to confer her favours on young men, "while ſhe forſakes thoſe who are advanced in years."

[25] De Thou, p. 397.—Robertſon.

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On the twenty-ſixth of October, Charles gave orders to raiſe the ſiege, and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning the enterprize, after having continued fifty-ſix days before the town, during which time he had loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, who died of diſeaſes, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guiſe, as ſoon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialiſts, took meaſures to moleſt them on their march, and ſent out ſeveral bodies of cavalry and infantry to inſeſt them on their rear, to pick up ſtragglers, and to ſeize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confuſion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the moſt cruel manner. But when they ſallied out, a ſpectacle preſented itſelf to their view, which extinguiſhed at once all hoſtile rage, and melted them into tenderneſs and compaſſion. The Imperial camp was filled with the ſick and wounded, with the dead and dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to eſcape, beyond their ſtrength, were left, when they could go no farther, to periſh without aſſiſtance. This they received from their enemies, to whom they were indebted for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guiſe immediately ordered proper refreſhments for ſuch as were dying of hunger; he appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded; he removed ſuch as could bear removal into the adjacent villages; and thoſe who would have ſuffered by being carried ſo far, he admitted into the hoſpitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own ſoldiers. As ſoon as they recovered, he ſent them home under an eſcort of ſoldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By theſe acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and animoſity than at preſent, the duke of Guiſe completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and ſucceſsful defence of Metz, and engaged thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name[26].

In Italy the Sieneſe threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themſelves under the protection of France, ſo that this was the moſt diſaſtrous year in the life of Charles the Fifth, and the moſt glorious in that of Henry.

A. D. 1553.] The king was too much intoxicated with his late ſucceſs to harbour any ſentiments of moderation, he cauſed a great number of medals to be ſtricken with ſymbolical figures and pompous inſcriptions, leſs honourable to himſelf than inſulting to his rival. He addreſſed a long manifeſto to the princes and free cities in Germany, in which he reminded them of the ſtate of abject ſubjection whence they had ſo recently extricated themſelves; exhorting them to the adoption of ſentiments worthy their origin; to demand juſtice for the acts of violence and rapine which had been exerciſed againſt

[26] Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. p. 392.—Natalis Comes.

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them, and, particularly, to re-eſtabliſh their rights, and reſtore, in its primitive vigour, their ancient conſtitution. In order to ſhew how favourable to their exertions the preſent opportunity appeared, he urged them to caſt their eyes on the emperor, who ſo lately, inflated with pride, inſolently dragged captive princes at his car, ſwallowed up crowns and ſceptres in his projects of ambition, and ſought to eſtabliſh a throne on the ruins of the univerſe; but now abject, depreſſed, and confuſed, he dared not meet the looks of his own officers, and was reduced to conceal his ſhame in the marſhes of the Netherlands: an eternal promoter of diſcord, deeply verſed in the perfidious art of making traitors, and ever attentive to hide his baſe proceedings beneath the ſacred veil of religion, though he had long enjoyed the feeble advantage of faſcinating the eyes and impoſing on the credulity of mankind; now that the maſk was thrown aſide, that his ſchemes were known, and that the facility of conquering him was proved by experience, he could not poſſibly appear a formidable opponent: for, admitting even that his exhauſted treaſures, his ruined credit, and his weakened and diſpirited army, ſtill left him ſome reſources, yet his habitual infirmities and broken conſtitution no longer entitled him to a place among the living. Henry promiſed the moſt effectual aſſiſtance to thoſe whom he ſtiled his hereditary allies and ancient kinſmen; though he had reaſon to complain of the conduct of a few, he did not, he ſaid, confound a whole nation, diſtinguiſhed for its ſincerity, and generally faithful to its engagements, with a few individuals, who appeared to have abjured their country: and the Germans would always find him ready to fly to their relief the moment he ſhould be called upon: he concluded by obſerving, that he made no demand on them, that he only invited them to reflect whether it would not tend as much to the promotion of their own intereſt as of his, that the French ambaſſadors ſhould be reſtored to the privilege they formerly poſſeſſed of aſſiſting at the diets of the empire, and whether it did not depend entirely upon themſelves to prevent the emperor from excluding them, by which conduct they would effectually deprive him of every temptation to infringe on their liberties a ſecond time.

Maurice and his aſſociates were inclined to liſten to the overtures of the king of France, from the perfidious conduct of the emperor at this period, who encouraged the deſtructive depredations and other violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburg.—That prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number; but the emperor, leſs from gratitude for his ſervices on that occaſion, than from his deſire to foment diviſions among the princes of the empire, having paid all the money due to him, he was enabled with that ſum to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The biſhops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg having ſolicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to ſign, that court unanimouſly declared all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, becauſe they had been extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and, if he

ſhould perſiſt in urging ſuch an unjuſt demand, exhorted all the princes of the empire to take arms againſt him as a diſturber of the public tranquillity. To this deciſion Albert oppoſed the confirmation of his tranſactions with the two prelates, which the emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and, in order to intimidate his antagoniſts, as well as to convince them of his reſolution not to relinquiſh his pretenſions, he put his troops in motion, that he might ſecure the territory in queſtion.

The Imperial chamber now iſſued its decree againſt this dangerous uſurper, and required the elector of Saxony, together with ſeveral other princes, to take arms in order to enforce its execution. Maurice, and thoſe aſſociated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this ſervice, ſince they were convinced that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and ſecretly afforded him aſſiſtance, that, by raiſing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make uſe of him to counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire[27].

Theſe conſiderations united the moſt powerful princes in Germany in a league againſt Albert, of which Maurice was declared generaliſſimo; and he had no ſooner accepted this office, than he addreſſed himſelf to the king of France, requeſting him to ſend, with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, ſome deputies to Metz, in order to conclude the terms of a new confederacy. Henry, accordingly, appointed the cardinal of Lenoncourt, biſhop of Metz; Francis de Scépaux, lord of Vieilleville, who had ſucceeded Gonnor, as governor of that city; and Marillac, biſhop of Vannes, his plenipotentiaries, with full powers to treat with the Saxon envoys[28]. But the concluſion of this treaty was prevented by an accident which gave a new face to affairs in Germany.

The confederacy formed againſt Albert wrought no change in his ſentiments; but as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many princes if he ſhould allow them time to aſſemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and, for that reaſon, marched directly againſt Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded moſt. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of ſuch abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inſpired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with greater rapidity than could have been expected, he was in condition to face Albert, before he could make any conſiderable progreſs.

[27] Sleidan, p. 585—Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 442—Arnoldi vita Mauritii apud Menken, tom. ii. p. 1242—Robertſon. [28] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 452.

Their

Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, met at Sieverhauſen, in the duchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animoſity againſt each other, which poſſeſſed the two leaders, did not ſuffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the ſame hoſtile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they ſought with the greateſt obſtinacy; and, as both generals were capable of availing themſelves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At laſt, victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand dead in the field; and their camp, baggage, and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their beſt troops ſuffered greatly; two ſons of the duke of Brunſwick, a duke of Lunenburgh, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were among the number of the ſlain. But all theſe were ſoon forgotten; for Maurice himſelf, as he led up to a ſecond charge a body of horſe which had been broken, received a wound with a piſtol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and in the ſixth after his attainment to the electoral dignity.

The emperor, meanwhile, impatient to efface the ſtain which his ignominious repulſe at Metz left upon his military reputation, took the field early in the ſpring, and entering the Low Countries with a powerful army, laid ſiege to Térouenne. Though the town was of ſuch importance, that Francis uſed to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might ſleep with ſecurity, the fortifications were out of repair, and the garriſon conſiſted only of one troop of light-horſe, under the command of the lord of Loſſes, who was governor of the place, and three companies of foot. The conſtable, jealous of the glory acquired by the duke of Guiſe in the defence of Metz, procured for his eldeſt ſon, Francis de Montmorenci, the appointment of lieutenant-general of Térouenne; and the celebrated d'Eſſé, who had ſignalized his courage and military conduct in the expulſion of the Engliſh from Scotland, was given him as an aſſiſtant in the arduous enterprize. D'Eſſé was afflicted with the jaundice, and when he went to take leave of the king, Henry expreſſed his concern at the languid and debilitated ſtate to which he ſeemed to be reduced; to which the gallant veteran replied—"*When your "majeſty ſhall receive intelligence of the reduction of Térouenne, you may ſafely affirm that "d'Eſſé is cured of the jaundice.*" D'Eſſé conducted a ſtrong reinforcement, and ample ſupplies, which entered the town without loſs or moleſtation; and from this firſt ſucceſs it was generally believed at court, that the emperor was preparing for himſelf at Térouenne the ſame affront which he had ſuſtained at Metz; though all thoſe who gave themſelves time to reflect on the difference of the ſeaſon, ſituation, and other circumſtances, foreſaw that the town muſt inevitably be taken, unleſs an army were levied ſufficiently ſtrong to compel the emperor to raiſe the ſiege.

After the enormous diſburſements of the preceding year, it became a matter of extreme difficulty to raiſe the neceſſary ſums for defraying the expences of the preſent campaign. A tax was impoſed on all deeds of conveyance, or gift; marriage contracts and wills: new offices of various kinds were created: the duties on goods imported into the city of Lyons were diſpoſed of to the Florentine bankers: ſeveral of the principal towns, ſuch as Paris, Rheims, Troyes, Châlons, Poictiers, and Mans, were compelled to purchaſe an exemption from the tax upon ſalt. All notaries were forbidden, under pain of forfeiting their employments, to draw up any deed of conveyance, till ſuch time as the king had collected all the money he wiſhed to borrow; by this means, joined to ſome meaſures of a ſtill more arbitrary nature, with regard to the diſpoſal of the domains of the crown, a ſufficient ſum was raiſed for carrying on the war.

The ſiege of Térouenne ſtill continued: d'Eſſé, when he entered the town, found the enemy's batteries completed, and all the poſts ſo well fortified that it was impoſſible to attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The trenches were opened, and extended to the very walls of the place: in vain did d'Eſſé make continual ſallies, by day and night; in vain did he effect a partial deſtruction of their works, and bring off in triumph ſeveral pieces of artillery which greatly incommoded the garriſon; theſe inconveniencies were ſpeedily remedied by the Imperialiſts: and the emperor had ſuch a prodigious quantity of artillery at his command, that one piece was no ſooner taken or deſtroyed, than three or four others appeared in its place, owing to the zeal of the Flemings, who were ſo anxious to have the town reduced, that ſooner than ſuffer the army to be in want of pioneers, they would have deſerted their cities, and left their fields untilled. A practicable breach being effected, the Imperialiſts, on the twelfth of June, delivered a general aſſault, which laſted four hours, when they were repulſed with the loſs of twelve or fifteen hundred men: the beſieged loſt only three hundred, but among the ſlain was their brave commander d'Eſſé, who cloſed a life of military toil in the field of honour. Young Montmorenci, who, though his equal in rank, had chearfully conſented to fight under his orders, now became commander in chief: he immediately aſſembled Loſſes, Fumel, Contai, Renti, Warti, la Chapelle, and all the principal officers, who unanimouſly agreed to follow the example of d'Eſſé, and bury themſelves beneath the ruins of the place. They were confirmed in this heroic reſolution by the unexpected arrival of three hundred arquebuſiers, ſent by the duke of Vendôme, and of thirty young noblemen, who had obtained permiſſion to ſerve as volunteers in this choſen band: among theſe gallant gentlemen, hiſtory has preſerved the names of Baugé, Dampierre, la Roue, Bailleul, Vieuxmaiſons, and Rambure[29]. But the moſt deſperate exertions of courage proved inſufficient to ſave the place; maſters of all the approaches, the enemy had

[29] Rabutin—Memoires de Villars—De Thou—Paradin—La Popliniére—Dépêches de Marillac—Cabinet de Fontanieu.

digged

digged mines under the principal towers, and, on the twentieth of July, they ſet fire to them, and effected two breaches more extenſive and acceſſible than the former one. All means of reſiſtance being thus removed, Montmorenci demanded to capitulate, but having neglected to ſtipulate a truce while the articles were preparing, he found himſelf ſuddenly attacked by the Flemings, and afterwards by the Spaniards, who ſoon repulſed the few troops that attempted to oppoſe them. The Flemings maſſacred, without mercy, all that came in their way; but the Spaniards, on the contrary, recollecting the humane treatment they had experienced from the French, after the ſiege of Metz, ſuffered the ſoldiers to eſcape, and only exacted from their leaders ſuch ranſoms as they choſe to fix on themſelves. Montmorenci, however, and ſome other officers, were preſented to the emperor, and confined in different priſons in the Netherlands. That Térouenne might not again fall into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itſelf to be razed, and the inhabitants to be diſperſed in the adjacent cities.

Elated with this ſucceſs, the Imperialiſts immediately inveſted Heſdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewiſe taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword were made priſoners. Charles entruſted the conduct of this ſiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occaſion, gave the firſt diſplay of thoſe great talents for military command, which ſoon entitled him to be ranked amongſt the firſt generals of the age, and facilitated his re-eſtabliſhment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis, in his expeditions into Italy, were ſtill occupied by Henry. Heſdin was levelled with the ground, and the place which now bears that name was built by the emperor, about a league from the ſpot where the old town ſtood, in a more advantageous ſituation.

The loſſes which France had ſuſtained, and by which the emperor had aſſumed his wonted ſuperiority in the field, were aſcribed to the extreme jealouſy and precaution of the conſtable, in refuſing to appoint a commander in chief of the troops, or to put the army in motion, till he had ſecured a deciſive ſuperiority[30]. The troops which the French kept in pay during the winter, were, at leaſt, equal in number and diſcipline to thoſe who had recently taken the towns of Térouenne and Heſdin by aſſault; but it was the conſtable's intention to reinforce them with a body of twelve thouſand Swiſs, and, in expectation of their arrival, he kept the national forces in a ſtate of inactivity. But the murmurs of the public, and the danger to which Dourlens was expoſed, a place of inferior ſtrength to Heſdin, and into which the Vidame of Chartres, and a great number of the nobility, had thrown themſelves, at length induced the conſtable to make a part of his

[30] Haræus, Annales Brabant—Rabutin—De Thou—La Popliniére—Belleforêt—Manuſc. de Bethune—Garnier.

cavalry

cavalry croſs the Somme. Detaching five hundred lances, under the conduct of the mareſchal de Saint André, and five or ſix troops of light horſe, under the prince of Condé and the duke of Nemours, he ordered them to lie concealed in a certain ſpot, which he pointed out, while Baptiſta Fregoſa and Saint-Gelais-Lanſac extended their incurſions within ſight of the enemy's camp, in order to court an attack: the plan ſucceeded to his wiſhes; three regiments of Imperial cavalry were ſent to cut off the retreat of Fregoſo's detachment, but, failing in that attempt, they purſued them on full gallop, and fell into the ambuſcade that was prepared for them. The enemy loſt four or five hundred men, among whom was the prince of Epinoi; and among the priſoners, who amounted to three hundred, was the duke of Arſcot.

This check rendered Emanuel Philibert, now duke of Savoy, more circumſpect: before the French army was in motion, he ſtrengthened the garriſon of Bapaulme, on the frontiers of Picardy; and then diſtributing the reſt of his infantry in thoſe places which were moſt expoſed to attack, he reſerved only a flying camp, in order to haraſs the enemy on their march. The Swiſs did not arrive in Picardy till towards the end of Auguſt, when the king placed himſelf at the head of his army, which conſiſted, independant of the houſehold troops, of eighteen hundred lances, two thouſand light horſe, twelve hundred horſe-arquebuſiers, fifteen thouſand French infantry, nine or ten thouſand Lanſquenets, twelve thouſand Swiſs, and three thouſand militia. Henry directed his march towards Bapaulme, which, being deſtitute of regular fortifications, muſt ſpeedily have ſurrendered, had the troops been able to remain before the place; but the impoſſibility of procuring water compelled them to retire, when they continued their route through the open country, which they laid waſte as they advanced, then, turning ſuddenly to the right, they encamped before Crevecœur, in the Cambreſis; after ſtaying there ſome time, during which the conſtable made a vain attempt to get poſſeſſion of Cambray by intrigue, they marched towards Valenciennes, under the walls of which town the duke of Savoy had pitched his camp; but it was ſo ſtrongly entrenched that it was deemed imprudent to attack it, and the army returning to Picardy was, ſoon after, put into winter quarters.

In Italy the French arms were more ſucceſsful: Charles having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medicis, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become maſter of that city; but inſtead of reducing the Sienneſe, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retire with precipitation, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatened the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject, at that time, to the Genoeſe.

The

The attention of Henry was now called to the ſtate of affairs in England, to the throne of which kingdom Mary, ſiſter to Edward the Sixth, had lately ſucceeded. The emperor, immediately after the queen's acceſſion, ſent a pompous embaſſy to London to congratulate her on that happy event, and to propoſe a marriage with his ſon Philip, in the hope of adding England to his other kingdoms. Mary, dazzled with the proſpect of marrying the heir of ſuch a powerful monarch; fond of uniting more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe had ever been warmly attached, and eager to ſecure the powerful aid which ſhe knew would be neceſſary towards the completion of her favourite ſcheme for re-eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in England, lent a favourable ear to the propoſal. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a ſanguinary zeal that exceeded the meaſure even of Spaniſh bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partizans of the reformation. The Engliſh could not think, without the utmoſt uneaſineſs, of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their councils, which the huſband of their queen would naturally poſſeſs. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spaniſh monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuſe ideas into the queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to aſſiſt her in any attempt againſt them.

A. D. 1554, 1555.] Henry obſerved the progreſs of the emperor's negociation in England with much uneaſineſs. The great acceſſion of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his ſon with the queen of ſuch a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. He eaſily foreſaw that the Engliſh, whatever precautions their fears might induce them to adopt, would be ſoon drawn to take part in the quarrels of the continent, and be compelled to act in ſubſerviency to the emperor's ambitious ſchemes. For this reaſon the king gave it in charge to Anthony de Noailles, his ambaſſador at the court of London, to employ all his addreſs in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propoſe to the queen as a huſband, he inſtructed him to co-operate with ſuch of the Engliſh as wiſhed their ſovereign to marry one of her own ſubjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation rendered all his endeavours ineffectual; ſhe cloſed with the firſt overtures of Philip, and all that Noailles could obtain was the inſertion of a clauſe in the marriage treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that, in conſequence of the marriage, England ſhould not be engaged in any war ſubſiſting between France and Spain, and that the alliance between France and England ſhould remain in full force[31].

But Henry, ſenſible that this condition would only be obſerved ſo long as the intereſts

[31] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 377, 393.—Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 498.

of

of the court ſhould continue ſubſervient to thoſe of the nation, determined to carry on his military operations both in the Low Countries and in Italy with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could ſurmount the averſion of her ſubjects from a war on the continent, and prevail on them to aſſiſt the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpoſe he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to have a numerous army early aſſembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands; and while one part of it, under the prince of Roche-ſur-Yon, laid waſte the open country of Artois, the main body, under the conſtable Montmorenci, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault, by the foreſt of Ardennes [23].

The duke of Nevers reduced and demoliſhed the fort of Jadines, with the caſtles of Orcimont, Beaurain, Fument, and Hierges; while the mareſchal de Saint André, with a detachment of ſix thouſand Swiſs and two thouſand cavalry, laid ſiege to Mariemburgh, a town which the queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low Countries, had fortified at a great expence; but being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, it ſurrendered in ſix days. Henry, elated with this ſucceſs, put himſelf at the head of his army, and inveſting Bouvines, took it by aſſault, after a ſhort reſiſtance. With equal facility he became maſter of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vaſt ſums which the emperor had remitted into England, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the leading men in his intereſt, with regard to the marriage of his ſon, had ſo exhauſted his treaſury, as to render his preparations at this juncture ſlower and more dilatory than uſual. He had no body of troops to oppoſe the French at their firſt entrance into his territories; and though he haſtened to collect all the forces in the country, and gave the command of them to the duke of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The duke, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chuſing his own poſts with ſkill, he put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence, or to attack him. Want of ſubſiſtence ſoon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country in the moſt cruel and licentious manner.

But Henry, unwilling to diſmiſs his army, without attempting ſome conqueſt adequate to his vaſt preparations and ſanguine hopes, inveſted Renti, a place then deemed of great importance, as, by its ſituation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incurſions into the latter. The town, which was ſtrongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a gallant defence; but being warmly preſſed by a powerful army, it could not be ex-

[23] Rabutin—Paradin—Belleforet—Haræus—De Thou—La Popliniére.

pected

pected to hold out long. The emperor, who, at that time, enjoyed a ſhort interval of eaſe from the gout, with which he was greatly afflicted, was ſo ſolicitous to ſave it, that although he could bear no motion but that of a litter, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his army, which, having received various reinforcements, was now ſufficiently ſtrong to approach the enemy.

The emperor had reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid a deciſive action, but, notwithſtanding all his precautions, a diſpute about a poſt, which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, which proved almoſt general. The object of diſpute was a wood, which commanded one part of the French camp, and in which the duke of Guiſe, foreſeeing the emperor's intentions, had judiciouſly poſted, in an advantageous ſituation, ſeveral companies of arquebuſiers, who ſucceſsfully repelled the firſt body of troops that was ſent to diſlodge them. Charles, however, being reſolved to carry his point, detached from his army three thouſand Spaniſh arquebuſiers, under the conduct of Gonzaga, whom he had lately recalled from Italy, and two thouſand light horſe, headed by the duke of Savoy: theſe troops were to march through the wood, while count Wolrad de Schwatzemberg advanced between the wood and the enemy's camp, with a ſtrong body of infantry, in order to form a junction with them at the farther end, where they would be ſufficiently ſtrong to make head againſt the French, till ſuch time as the emperor ſhould join them with the reſt of his army. The duke of Guiſe, thus overawed by a ſuperior force, withdrew the troops he had ſtationed in the wood, and ſent word to the king to prepare the army for action, while he endeavoured to retard the enemy's march as much as poſſible. Of this perilous commiſſion the duke acquitted himſelf with his accuſtomed intrepidity; and when he had accompliſhed his taſk, and ſecured the retreat of his own men, he placed himſelf at the head of his company of one hundred lances. The count of Schwatzemberg, meantime, continued to advance at the head of two thouſand foot, all veterans, who had ſerved under Albert of Brandenburg, and who, in order to frighten their enemies, had blackened their faces. This formidable corps was twice attacked by the French light horſe, under the conduct of the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who were ſpeedily repulſed; but Gaſpard de Saulx Tavannes, at the head of his company of fifty lances, charged them with ſuch fury, both in front and flank, that he made them give way, and then, by mixing among them, compleated their diſorder; being firſt ſupported by the duke of Guiſe, and afterwards by the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who, having rallied their men, returned a third time to the charge, he was enabled to purſue his advantage; and the Germans falling back on a regiment of Lanſquenets which had been ſent to their ſupport, fled for ſhelter to the wood. Meanwhile the admiral de Coligny, at the head of the French and Swiſs infantry, after receiving the firſt fire of Gonzaga's arquebuſiers, ordered his men to charge with their pikes, by which means the enemy were routed, and purſued to the farther extremity of the wood: Coligny took ſeveral ſtandards, and four field-pieces.

The emperor, during the engagement, had taken poſſeſſion of ſome heights which commanded the field, where he began to throw up entrenchments in order to ſecure his camp from inſult. In this action two hundred of the French were ſlain, and among them was the lord of Curton, ſon to the mareſchal de Chabannes: the loſs of the Imperialiſts amounted to fifteen hundred or two thouſand men [33]. Both armies paſſed the night under arms: that of the emperor, from the expectation that the conqueror would be induced to purſue his advantage; and that of Henry, becauſe, as they were ſituated in an open field, and deſtitute of entrenchments, they had every thing to dread from an attack during the night. It was alſo expected that Charles would ſeek to exact vengeance for the affront he had ſuſtained; but content with having ſecured a poſt which muſt force the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Renti, he continued to fortify his camp with all poſſible diligence. The conſtable, who went to reconnoitre it the next morning, declared the impoſſibility of attacking it with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and as it would have been extremely imprudent to make an aſſault upon the town of Renti, in ſight of a numerous army, it was determined, in a council of war, that the troops ſhould return to Picardy; and, in order that this retreat might not wear the appearance of a flight, the king ſent a herald to inform the emperor that he would wait for him the next day on the field of action, during four hours; and that, on his arrival at the firſt place where forage could be procured, he would again wait for him during four days.

The arms of France were ſtill more ſucceſsful in Italy. Peter Strozzi, who commanded the French forces in that country, was defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand men, near Marciano, by the marquis of Marignano, general to Coſmo de Medicis. The ſiege of Sienna was inſtantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for ten months, by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French garriſon; but the Sienneſe, ſuperior to the force of arms, were incapable of reſiſting the aſſaults of famine: the terms they obtained were, however, honourable; and Monluc, with the French troops, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. But the mareſchal de Briſſac, in Piedmont, ſupported the glory of his country, and juſtified the choice of his prince; though his troops were in number inferior to thoſe of the Imperialiſts, he not only baffled the attempts of the duke of Alva, who, with his uſual arrogance, had boaſted that he would ſoon drive him beyond the mountains, but even extended his incurſions into that part of the country which hitherto the emperor had preſerved; and would probably have rendered more important ſervices to his king, but for ſome overtures made, about this time, for a peace, which induced the miniſtry to withhold the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on his plan of operations.

The campaign of 1555 was neither conducted with ſpirit nor effect; both parties being

[33] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 522.

too

too much exhauſted to bring any conſiderable army into the field. But what Charles wanted in force he endeavoured to ſupply by a ſtratagem, the ſucceſs of which would have been equal to that of the moſt vigorous campaign. During the ſiege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciſcans in that city, had inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and favour of the duke of Guiſe, by his attachment to the French; and the duke, in return for the ſervices he had rendered him, in procuring intelligence of the motions and deſigns of the enemies, had ſtrongly recommended him to Vielleville, who was appointed to the government of Metz. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers, or from reſentment againſt the French, who had not rewarded him according to his own opinion of his deſerts, or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him to imagine that he might carry on and accompliſh any ſcheme with perfect ſecurity, formed a deſign of betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts.

He communicated his intention to the governeſs of the Low Countries, who approving, without any ſcruple, an act of treachery whence the emperor might derive ſuch ſignal advantages, aſſiſted the father guardian in concerting the moſt proper plan for enſuring its ſucceſs. They agreed that Leonard ſhould endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the deſign; that he ſhould introduce into the convent a certain number of choſen ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville ſhould march towards Metz in the night, with a conſiderable body of troops, and attempt to ſcale the ramparts; that while the garriſon was employed in reſiſting the aſſailants, the monks ſhould ſet fire to the town in different places; that the ſoldiers, who lay concealed, ſhould ſally out of the convent, and attack thoſe who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidſt the univerſal terror and confuſion, which events ſo unexpected would occaſion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialiſts might become maſters of the town. As a recompence for this ſervice, the father guardian ſtipulated that he ſhould be appointed biſhop of Metz; and ample rewards were promiſed to ſuch of his monks as ſhould be moſt active in co-operating with him.

Leonard accompliſhed, with great ſecrecy and diſpatch, every thing which he had undertaken to perform; but, happily for France, Vieilleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy, whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was making great preparations for ſome military enterprize. This intelligence having awakened Vieilleville's ſuſpicions, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans, and detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; the father-guardian was alſo ſeized, on his return from Thionville; and he, in order to eſcape the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy.

Vieilleville, not content with having fruſtrated the nefarious machinations of theſe traitors, was ſolicitous to avail himſelf of the diſcoveries which he had made, ſo as to be

revenged on the Imperialists. For this purpose, he marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and placing these in ambush near the road, by which the father-guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell with great fury upon the Imperialists, who, confounded at this sudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to surprize, made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among which were many persons of distinction, was killed or taken prisoners. Before next morning, Vieilleville returned to Metz in triumph.

During these transactions, the queen of England, at the instigation of cardinal Pole, had offered her mediation to the contending powers, and prevailed both on the emperor and the king of France to send their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. Pole himself, with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, repaired thither in order to preside as mediators in the conferences, which were to be holden for adjusting all the points in difference. But though each of the monarchs committed this negociation to some of their most able ministers, it soon became evident that they were neither of them actuated by a sincere desire of accommodation. Each proposed articles so extravagant, that they could have no hopes of their being accepted; and Pole, after exerting, in vain, all his zeal, address, and invention, in order to persuade them to relinquish such extravagant demands, and to consent to the substitution of more equal conditions, became sensible of the folly of wasting time, in attempting to reconcile those whom their obstinacy rendered irreconcileable, broke off the conference and returned to England[34].

On the twenty-third of March, this year, pope Julius the Third died, and was succeeded in the papal throne, by Marcellus Cervino, cardinal of Santa-Croce, who enjoyed his new dignity only twenty days. All the refinements in artifice and intrigue peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that which was holden for the election of a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the French and Imperial factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But, after a struggle of no long duration, though conducted with great warmth and eagerness, they united in chusing John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the sacred college, and the son of count Montorio, a nobleman of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Naples. In order to testify his respect for the memory of Paul the Third, by whom he had been created cardinal, he assumed the name of Paul the Fourth. The new pontiff, at the instigation of his nephews, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the king of France; that they should attack the duchy of Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples, with their united forces; and, if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of Henry's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be an-

[34] De Thou, lib. xv. p. 523—Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

nexed

nexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent and princely eſtabliſhment for each of the pope's two nephews.

The king, allured by theſe ſpecious projects, gave a moſt favourable audience to the papal envoy; and the cardinal of Lorraine was immediately ſent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert meaſures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain iſſue of all military operations, or through the addreſs of the Imperial ambaſſador, who had been at great pains to ſoothe him, had not only begun to loſe much of the ardour with which he commenced the negociation with France, but even diſcovered great unwillingneſs to continue it. His nephews, however, again interfered, and the treaty was accordingly concluded on the fifteenth of December: the conditions were much the ſame as had been propoſed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret until their united forces ſhould be ready to take the field.

During the negociation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened, which ſeemed to render the fears which had given riſe to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unneceſſary. This was the emperor's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip; together with his reſolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in buſineſs or the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude. At Bruſſels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himſelf the Imperial dignity, which, about a year afterwards, he relinquiſhed to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

A. D. 1556.] The few months which Charles paſſed in the Low Countries after his abdication, were devoted to the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing his ſon in his new dominions, and of facilitating the means of confirming that power which he had juſt reſigned to him. Senſible of the importance of peace, at the commencement of a reign, he was anxious to conclude an accommodation with Henry. Previous to his reſignation, commiſſioners had been appointed by the king and the emperor, in order to treat of an exchange of priſoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally propoſed for terminating hoſtilities between the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the ſubſiſtence of which, and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was in his poſſeſſion. Charles declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father.

Henry could not have heſitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together

gether with the important conqueſts which he had made on the frontiers of Germany. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements which he had recently contracted, by his late treaty with the pope. The conſtable Montmorenci, however, repreſented, in ſuch ſtrong terms, the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who was anxious to maintain his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authorized his ambaſſadors to ſign, on the fifth of February, a treaty of truce for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed[35]: but that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who he foreſaw would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſoothe him, took care that he ſhould be expreſsly included in the truce.

The count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the admiral Coligni to Bruſſels, the former to be preſent when the king of France, and the latter when the emperor and his ſon, ratified the treaty, and bound themſelves by oath to obſerve it. The ſudden and unexpected concluſion of the truce filled the pope with aſtoniſhment and terror. The cardinal of Lorraine durſt not encounter that ſtorm of indignation, to which he knew he ſhould be expoſed from the haughty pontiff, who had ſo good reaſon to be incenſed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the cardinal Tournon the difficult taſk of attempting to ſoothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully ſenſible of the perilous ſituation in which they now ſtood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer ſecret, they had highly irritated Philip, the violence of whoſe implacable temper they had reaſon to dread. The duke of Alva had advanced from Milan to Naples, and begun to aſſemble troops on the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, while they, if deſerted by France, muſt not only relinquiſh all the hopes of dominion and ſovereignty to which their ambition aſpired, but remain expoſed to the reſentment of the Spaniſh monarch, without a ſingle ally to protect them againſt an enemy with whom they were ſo little able to contend.

Under theſe circumſtances, Paul had recourſe to the arts of negociation and intrigue: he affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a ſtop to the effuſion of human blood: he expreſſed his warmeſt wiſhes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace: he exhorted the rival princes to open a negociation for that purpoſe; and he offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba, his nuncio to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public inſtructions given to both were the ſame; that they ſhould exert themſelves to the utmoſt to prevail on the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-eſtabliſhed, and

[35] Recueil de Traités—Ribier—De Thou—Belcarius—Matthieu—MS de Fontanieu—Relation de Coligni.

meaſures

meaſures taken for the aſſembling a general council. But Caraffa received a private commiſſion to ſolicit Henry to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy ſee; and he was empowered to ſpare neither entreaties nor promiſes, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This both the uncle and the nephew conſidered as the real end of the embaſſy; while the other ſerved to amuſe the vulgar, or to deceive the emperor and his ſon.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having preſented a conſecrated ſword to Henry, as the protector, on whoſe aid the pope relied in the preſent exigency, he beſought him not to diſregard the entreaties of a parent in diſtreſs, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he repreſented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of juſtice. As the pope, from confidence in the aſſiſtance and ſupport which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken ſuch ſteps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to ſuffer Paul and his family to be cruſhed under the weight of that reſentment which they had drawn on themſelves merely by their attachment to France. Having made this appeal to his generoſity, he next endeavoured to work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the moſt certain proſpect of ſucceſs, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spaniſh bands had periſhed in the wars of Hungary, Germany and the Low Countries; that the emperor had left his ſon an exhauſted treaſury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch ſcarcely ſeated on his throne, unpractiſed in command, odious to many of the Italian ſtates, and dreaded by all. He promiſed that the pope, who had already levied ſoldiers, would bring a conſiderable army into the field, which, when joined by a ſufficient number of French troops, might, by one briſk and ſudden effort, expel the Spaniards from Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conqueſt of which had been the great object of all his predeceſſors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

Theſe arguments made a deep impreſſion on Henry; but reverence for the oath, by which he had ſo lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles, together with the extreme old age of the pope, whoſe death might occaſion a total revolution in the political ſyſtem of Italy; kept him for ſome time in ſuſpence. The cardinal, however, had expedients ready for removing theſe obſtacles. To obviate the king's ſcruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope to abſolve him from the obligation of it; and by way of ſecurity againſt any danger which he might apprehend from the pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make ſuch a nomination of cardinals, as ſhould give Henry the abſolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a perſon entirely devoted to his own intereſt.

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The cardinal having had the art to ſecure in his intereſt not only the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, but even Catharine of Medicis and her rival, the ducheſs of Valentinois, they, by their united ſolicitations, eaſily ſwayed the king, whoſe ſecret inclinations were favourable to their deſign. The prudent remonſtrances of Montmorenci were treated with neglect; the nuncio abſolved Henry from his oath; and he ſigned a new league with the pope, which kindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

Philip, in his diſpute with the pope, though naturally haughty and inflexible, diſcovered uncommon moderation. The care of his education had been entruſted to Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, and he retained in a maturer age that ſuperſtitious veneration for the holy ſee which they had been ſtudious to inculcate. But in proportion to the moderation of Philip, the arrogance of Paul encreaſed, and the duke of Alva at length received orders to enter the eccleſiaſtical territories. The light troops of the Spaniards ſoon penetrated to the very gates of Rome, and the ſovereign pontiff, yielding to the fears and ſolicitations of the cardinals, propoſed a ceſſation of arms; and the Spaniſh general, ſenſible of his maſter's eagerneſs to terminate a war, in which he had engaged with infinite reluctance, cloſed with the overtures, and a truce was accordingly concluded on the nineteenth of November, 1556, for ten days, and was afterwards protracted to forty.

A. D. 1557.] Preparations, meanwhile, had been making in France for affording effectual aſſiſtance to Paul; and on the twenty-fifth of January the duke of Guiſe arrived at Turin[36]. Having taken a few towns in the vicinity, and ſtrengthened his army with fifteen hundred foot and three hundred light horſe, part of the forces commanded by the mareſchal de Briſſac, he proceeded to Regio, where he had a conference with the duke of Ferrara and the cardinal Caraffa, after which he accompanied the latter to Rome. On his arrival at that city he found the pope profuſe in profeſſions, but ſlow in the performance of his promiſes; neither the pecuniary nor military aids which he had engaged to furniſh, were ready; and the Italian ſtates either preſerved a ſtrict neutrality, or were openly united with Philip. The duke of Guiſe ſoon perceived that his hopes of ſucceſs muſt entirely depend on his own exertions: he took the field with an army conſiſting of five hundred men at arms; eight or nine hundred light-horſe, and from thirteen to fourteen thouſand foot[37]; he opened the campaign by the reduction of Campoli, which he reſigned to pillage, and then advancing to the Neapolitan frontiers, laid ſiege to Civitella. Twice he made a general aſſault on the town, and as often was repulſed; the neglect or treachery of the Caraffas had rendered him deſtitute of the means of prolonging the ſiege, and the unexpected approach of the duke of Alva compelled him to reſign all hopes of conqueſt, and to confine himſelf to the defence of the capital, whence he was, ſoon after, recalled to France.

[36] Mémoires de Boivin du Villars—La Popliniére—De Thou—Matthieu—Ribier—Manuſcrits de Bethune.

[37] Garnier.

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The admiral Coligny, who was now governor of Picardy, anxious to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome act of eclat, made an attempt to take by ſurprize the important fortreſs of Douai, on the frontiers of Flanders; but his plan being fruſtrated, he led his troops to Lens, which he pillaged, and after laying waſte the open country, retired to Peronne with a conſiderable booty. This was conſidered as an open declaration of war, and Philip immediately aſſembled an army of fifty thouſand men in the Low Countries. That prince alſo perſuaded his conſort, the queen of England, to enter into his views; her violent affection for Philip, though returned with coldneſs and diſdain, excited her to ſurmount the reluctance of her ſubjects, and to declare war againſt France. She accordingly levied a body of eight thouſand men, and ſent them, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, to join Philip's army.

To this army, which now amounted to nearly ſixty thouſand men, and which was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the beſt generals of the age, Henry could only oppoſe eighteen thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand horſe; but he imagined, that, by ſtanding on the defenſive, he ſhould be able to baffle all the efforts of the enemy, and to prevent him from obtaining any material advantage[38]. He was confirmed in this idea, when he found that the duke of Savoy directed his courſe ſucceſſively to Mariembourg, Rocroi, Mezieres and Mauberſontaine, without venturing to lay ſiege to either of thoſe places; or even to penetrate into Champagne, which was generally conſidered as the weakeſt ſide of the kingdom. But theſe movements were only calculated to deceive the French, and to induce them to draw their chief ſtrength to a quarter diſtant from the country which the duke deſtined to be the ſcene of action. As ſoon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, he turned ſuddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and ſending his cavalry, in which he was extremely ſtrong, before him, inveſted Saint Quintin, the capital of Vermandois. This was a town deemed in that age of conſiderable ſtrength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected, and it had but a weak garriſon, under the command of de Beuil, a gentleman of Brittany. Under theſe circumſtances, the duke of Savoy muſt ſoon have become maſter of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt ſaving a place of ſo much importance to his country, and which lay within his juriſdiction, as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant reſolution of throwing himſelf into it, with ſuch a body of men as he could collect of a ſudden. He left Ham towards the cloſe of the evening, with twelve hundred troops, which had orders to march by different roads, and to meet, at the ſame hour, at one of the gates of Saint-Quintin; but, ſome of them miſſed their way, through the darkneſs of the night, others were intercepted by the enemy, and the admiral only entered the town with four hundred and forty. The

[38] Relation de Coligny.—De Thou.—La Popliniére.—MS. de Bethune.

unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the garrison with fresh courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens, as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardour, seemed determined to hold out to the last.

The Spanish army, being so numerous and so well supplied with every thing requisite, carried on its approaches with great advantage against a garrison which was still so feeble that it durst seldom venture to disturb or retard the enemy's operations by sallies. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle, the constable, with his situation, and pointed out a method by which he might relieve the town. The constable, solicitous to save a place, the loss of which would give the enemy a passage into the heart of the kingdom; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation, in which zeal for his country had engaged him, resolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he desired. With this view, he detached two thousand foot, under the command of Coligny's brother d'Andelot, who was colonel-general of the French-infantry; but that officer executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. He missed the road that had been pointed out to him, and, falling in with the Spaniards, a part of his detachment was cut to pieces, and the rest were compelled to fly.

One part of the town of Saint-Quintin was defended by extensive marshes, filled with bogs and ponds of considerable depth, and generally covered with reeds and other aquatic plants; deeming the town inaccessible on that side, the enemy had contented themselves with placing a small detachment, in a windmill and some cottages at the head of the marsh, and in stationing some boats filled with soldiers in the different parts of the stream which ran through it. The admiral, however, sensible of the advantage to be derived from this marsh, had caused every part of it to be carefully sounded, and had established a secret path, by which he was enabled to maintain a correspondence with his uncle. He now apprized the constable, that, by advancing to the head of the marsh, with a body of troops sufficiently strong to dislodge the detachment of Spaniards posted in the mill, it would be an easy matter, by means of some boats which he would take care to have ready, to throw a re-inforcement into the town, without having any thing to fear from the enemy, whose quarters were so far distant from that spot, that the escort would be out of danger before they could possibly arrive. The constable having procured every necessary information, as to the position of the enemy, their distance from the head of the marsh, and the intervening obstacles, formed the bold design of relieving the town in the day-time, in presence of an army three times as strong as his own, and of leading his troops back, in good order, after having completed his object.

Every

Every preparation being made for this hazardous attempt, the conſtable marched from la Fere with his whole army, and twenty pieces of artillery, and reached the head of the marſh about nine in the morning[39]. The enemy were ſoon diſlodged from the mill, of which the prince of Condé took immediate poſſeſſion: while two companies of German infantry were ſtationed at the head of a narrow paſs, which formed the only road by which the Spaniſh army could advance; and theſe were ſupported by three companies of Gendarmerie, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers. On an eminence, which commanded the duke of Savoy's quarters, the conſtable placed his artillery, which he ordered to play upon the enemy, who were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and obliged to fall back on that part of the camp where the count of Egmont was ſtationed. Meanwhile the officers and men, who were deſtined to reinforce the garriſon, were employed in croſſing the water; which proved a work of greater time than had been expected, for the admiral had had ſuch ſhort notice, that he had been able to procure no more than five boats. The enemy, on their part, loſt no time; recovered from their firſt alarm, they made their cavalry advance by a cauſeway that led to the narrow paſs which the conſtable had ſecured; as ſoon as the prince of Condé perceived them, from the top of the mill, forming their ſquadrons as they entered the plain at the end of the cauſeway, he ſent a meſſenger to the conſtable to apprize him of the circumſtance, and to tell him that he muſt either advance immediately, in order to attack the enemy's horſe before they had time to form, or elſe retreat without delay. The conſtable, who was never fond of receiving advice unleſs he aſked for it, replied—That the prince was a very young man to think of inſtructing *him* in his profeſſion, who had been entruſted with the command of armies before the prince was born, and who hoped to be in a ſituation to give him leſſons twenty years hence. The conſtable's extreme confidence, on this occaſion, was founded on the information he had received as to the breadth of the cauſeway over which the enemy's cavalry were paſſing, and which, he had been aſſured, would only admit four men a-breaſt. Having made his calculations on this ſuppoſition, he concluded, that before the enemy could reach the head of the marſh, he ſhould have arrived at La Fere. The calculation was juſt; but the ſuppoſition on which it was founded proved to be erroneous; for, inſtead of four men a-breaſt, it was found that the cauſeway would admit thirty. This miſtake, however, would have been attended with no bad conſequence, if the conſtable, after two or three diſcharges, had ſent off his artillery, which could be of no farther uſe to him, then his infantry, and laſt his Gendarmerie; reſerving only, for the protection of the reinforcement, his horſe-arquebuſiers and light-horſe, who might have retarded the enemy's approach, and have eaſily effected their eſcape; but, convinced that he had as much time as he wanted, he refuſed to ſound a retreat, till d'Andelot had entered the town with five hundred ſoldiers, a body of canoniers, and a

39 D'Aubigné—Tavannes—Matthieu—La Poplinière—De Thou—Belleforêt—Montluc.

certain number of engineers, under the direction of the famous Saint-Remi, who had already displayed his talents in nine different towns, during the time they were beſieged, and who had greatly contributed to the gallant defence of Metz. When the conſtable had completed theſe operations, he retreated in the ſame order as he came, only that the cavalry now formed the rear-guard. The duke of Nevers, perceiving him move off, withdrew his detachment from the defile where he had been ſtationed, and joined the prince of Condé, who haſtened to overtake the army, which, by this time, had advanced a league on its return to La Fere. The enemy, on their arrival at the mill, finding nobody there, deſpaired of overtaking the conſtable, and would immediately have returned, if the count of Egmont's ſcouts had not deſcried the ſuttlers, valets, and a crowd of uſeleſs men who followed the army at a diſtance, and who, alarmed at the ſight of a few Spaniſh horſe, fled acroſs the fields in the utmoſt diſorder. This being reported to the count, he conjectured that the rear-guard was not far off; and he obtained permiſſion from the duke of Savoy to purſue them with all his cavalry; while the duke himſelf, at the head of the infantry, advanced to ſupport him. The conſtable, finding it impoſſible to avoid an action, drew up his troops in the beſt order the ground would admit of. The French cavalry, chiefly compoſed of nobility, ſuſtained, with great intrepidity, the firſt ſhock of the enemy, and continued to fight, till overpowered by numbers, and nearly diſabled, they were at length compelled to give way. The infantry, forming a ſquare battalion, repelled the attacks of the enemy's horſe, who, deſpairing to break their ranks, contented themſelves with ſurrounding them till ſuch time as the duke of Savoy came up, with the remainder of the army, and a numerous train of artillery. Some pieces of cannon which were now brought to bear on the centre of the French, threw them into ſuch confuſion, that the cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became univerſal. Authors differ as to the number of the ſlain; ſome make the loſs of the French amount only to two thouſand five hundred men; while others carry it to double that number. Among the killed were John de Bourbon, count of Enghien; Francis de la Tour, viſcount of Turenne; Claude de Rochechouart, lord of Chandenier; Nicholas Tiercelin, ſon to la Roche du Maine; Saint-Gelais; Goulaine; Rochefort, and about ſix hundred other gentlemen. Among the priſoners, who amounted to nearly four thouſand, were the conſtable himſelf, who had received a dangerous wound in the thigh, by a piſtol-bullet; the duke of Montpenſier, of the younger branch of the houſe of Bourbon; the mareſchal Saint-André; Eleonor d'Orleans, duke of Longueville; Lewis de Gonzaga, brother to the duke of Mantua; Gabriel de Montmorenci, lord of Montberon, the conſtable's fourth ſon; the Rhinegrave; Francis, count of Rochefoucaud; la Roche du Maine; Vaſſé; the baron de Curton; d'Aubigné; John de Gontaud, lord of Biron; la Chapelle-Biron; Saint-Seran; la Vernade; du Bellai; Fumel, and Monſallès.

Moſt of thoſe who eſcaped, amongſt whom were Lewis de Bourbon, prince of Condé; Francis, duke of Nevers; the count of Sancerre; Bourdillon, who by an uncommon

exertion

exertion of courage, had brought off two pieces of artillery; the lords of Piennes, Grammont, Crevecœur, and Eſcars, fled to La Fere, two leagues from the field of battle: they there choſe the duke of Nevers for their commander, and immediately ſent off a meſſenger to the king, with the news of their defeat. Many inhabitants of Paris, expecting to ſee the enemy at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the remoter provinces. Henry, by his preſence and exhortations, endeavoured to conſole and to animate ſuch as remained; he publiſhed letters-patent, by which every officer of his houſehold was enjoined, under pain of death, to repair, duly equipped for the field, to the town of Noyon; and all the nobility in the kingdom were ordered, under pain of degradation, to haſten, with all poſſible expedition, to the town of Laon, or elſe to ſend a proper perſon as a ſubſtitue, to ſerve in the companies of the Arriere-ban. The duke of Nevers, whom Henry confirmed, for the preſent, in the poſt to which he had been raiſed by his brother officers, appointed governors, and threw garriſons into all the frontier towns; and only retained ſix hundred light-horſe, under the prince of Condé, to watch the motions of the duke of Savoy.

Philip was at Cambrai when he received the news of a victory, the ſplendour of which obſcured the moſt brilliant atchievements of his father. Impatient to reap the fruits of this victory, he immediately repaired to the field of battle, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph, and where the duke of Savoy preſented him with fifty pair of colours, eighteen pieces of cannon, and ſo many priſoners, that he would have found no little difficulty in ſupplying them with food and lodging. The chief of them he confined in the different fortreſſes of the Netherlands, fixed a ranſom upon the others, and releaſed the private ſoldiers, after taking away their arms, and exacting an oath that they would not ſerve againſt him for the ſpace of ſix months. Theſe troops were of the utmoſt ſervice to the duke of Nevers, who immediately diſtributed them in thoſe towns which were at ſome diſtance from the frontiers, with the garriſons of which he ſtrengthened his army, that ſoon amounted to ſixteen hundred horſe, and from ſeven to eight thouſand foot, independent of the king's houſehold troops, and the Arriere-ban.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt the queen convened an aſſembly of the Pariſians at the hôtel-de-Ville, in which ſhe exhorted them to reſcue the kingdom, by the ſtrength and unanimity of their exertions, from the danger to which it was expoſed. The city accordingly granted a hundred thouſand crowns for the ſupport of ten thouſand men, on condition that the ſum ſhould be levied, as a poll-tax, upon all the inhabitants indiſcriminately. The other towns followed the example of the capital; and the ſums thus levied were deſtined to the pay of ten thouſand Swiſs, and four thouſand Lanſquenets; and to raiſe ſome new regiments of national troops. But as farther pecuniary aſſiſtance would be neceſſary, before the concluſion of peace, the king, by the advice of the cardinal

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of Lorraine, whose power and influence were now unrivalled, appointed an assembly of the states-general to meet in the month of January following.

Philip had been advised by his generals, after the battle of Saint Quintin, to march strait to Paris, but he rejected their council, and resolved to continue the siege. Though hopeless of relief, the admiral expressed his determination to defend the town to the last extremity; and having received a small reinforcement of one hundred and twenty arquebusiers, who made their way into the place by a ford which Coligny had lately discovered, he called a general assembly of the inhabitants, to whom he declared, that it was his earnest desire, if ever he should be heard to pronounce the word capitulation, that they would bind him hand and foot, and throw him into the fosse, as a coward unworthy of life; but, at the same time, he observed, that no one must think himself ill-used if, on the commission of a similar offence, he should meet with a similar punishment. De Coligny had little hopes of saving the town, but his object was to protract the siege, in order to deter the enemy from attempting any enterprize more dangerous to France. Such was the skill and perseverance with which he conducted the defence, and such the fortitude and patience he displayed in animating the garrison to uncommon exertions, that though the attack was carried on by the Spaniards, the Flemish, and the English, with all the ardour of national emulation, he held out seventeen days; at the expiration of which, *eleven* practicable breaches having been effected in the walls, the town was taken by assault. The French fought with extraordinary courage, and great numbers of them were slain on the breaches. The admiral was taken prisoner, together with Beuil, Jarnac, Rambouillet, la Garde, Saint Remi and Soleil. D'Andelot, brother to the admiral, had the good fortune to make his escape. Philip employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these he soon became master; and the reduction of two such petty towns, together with the acquisition of Saint-Quintin, constituted all the advantages which he derived from one of the most decisive victories gained in that century.

Henry, meanwhile, had recalled a part of the veteran troops which served under the mareschal de Brissac in Piedmont, and had sent repeated orders to the duke of Guise to bring back his army, with all possible expedition, to France. Alarmed at the progress of the enemy, he had ordered the citizens of Paris to take arms, and when they were reviewed by the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, they were found to amount to forty thousand men, properly equipped for the field[40]. Fortifications were also begun to be erected for the protection of the capital; but the arrival of the lord of Termes, a veteran officer, from Italy, put a stop to the works. After viewing the state of the frontiers, he was of opinion, that Paris was secure from insult, and that the money about to be expended there, might be

[40] Rabutin—Belleforet—La Popliniere.

better

better employed in Picardy. The metropolis was ſtill covered by three towns of great ſtrength; La Fére, Compiégne and Laon; and by an entrenched camp on the river Oiſe, capable of containing a hundred thouſand men, and in which the troops aſſembled by the duke of Nevers were ſuppoſed to be in greater ſafety than in any town in the kingdom.

The duke of Guiſe was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill-ſucceſs in Italy ſeemed to be forgotten, while his former ſervices, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praiſe; and he was welcomed in every city through which he paſſed, as the reſtorer of public ſecurity, who, after having ſet bounds, by his conduct and valour, to the victorious arms of Charles the Fifth, returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progreſs of Philip's power. The reception which he experienced from Henry was no leſs cordial and honourable: new titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to diſtinguiſh him. He was appointed lieutenant general in chief, both within and without the kingdom, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited, and little inferior to that which was poſſeſſed by the king himſelf. The duke of Nevers, who had, for a time, enjoyed the dignity of commander in chief, reſigned, without a murmur, his ſtation to his rival. He was a prince of ſolid virtue, ſuperior to the intrigues of a court, too honeſt to become the tool of a party, and influenced by no deſire but that of ſerving the ſtate, without any view to his own perſonal intereſt. After having, during ſeveral months, by his exertions, his prudence, and the voluntary ſacrifice of his property, ſuſtained the falling fortunes of the ſtate, he ſaw another preparing to reap the fruits of his labours; but, ſo far from being actuated by envy, he conſented to ſerve *under* the duke of Guiſe.

By the arrival of ten thouſand Germans, as many Swiſs, the veteran bands from Piedmont, and the troops which had ſerved under the duke of Guiſe in Italy, Henry had collected an army ſo formidable, he was reſolved it ſhould not remain inactive during the winter. A ſecret council was therefore called to ſettle the plan of operations, when Henry, to the ſurprize of all preſent, propoſed the reduction of the city of Calais. The duke of Guiſe at firſt exclaimed againſt the ſcheme as impracticable. Calais had been taken by the Engliſh, under Edward the Third, being the only place which they retained of their ancient and extenſive territories in France; and which opened to them, at all times, an eaſy and ſecure paſſage into the heart of that kingdom: their keeping poſſeſſion of it ſoothed the pride of the one nation, as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its ſituation was naturally ſo ſtrong, and its fortifications deemed ſo impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous ſoever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domeſtic ſtrength of England was broken and exhauſted by the bloody wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undiſturbed and unthreatened. Theſe conſiderations gave an appearance of abſurdity to the king's propoſal, and juſtified the

expreſſions

expreſſions of aſtoniſhment made uſe of by the duke of Guiſe. The plan, however, was not haſtily conceived, nor was Henry the author of it. Sénarpont, governor of Boulogne, a man of great knowledge in the art of fortifying towns and taking plans, had availed himſelf of the ſhort interval of peace between France and England, to viſit Calais, and to examine the fortifications as cloſely as he could, without laying himſelf open to ſuſpicion. What information he was unable to procure himſelf, he obtained by means of his emiſſaries. He had particularly obſerved that it was the cuſtom of the Engliſh to diſmiſs the greater part of the garriſon towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the ſpring, in order to ſave expence; and he judged, therefore, that the winter would be the only ſeaſon to make an attempt on it. Sénarpont had weighed every circumſtance with great judgment; and the reſult was, that the ſcheme was feaſible, and ought to be put in execution without delay [41]. The duke of Guiſe conſented to make the experiment, but without being anſwerable for the event, from the conviction, that in an operation ſo complicated, the ſmalleſt accident might overturn the whole plan.

A. D. 1558.] While the duke of Guiſe was employed in making preparations for his intended expedition, the ſtates-general aſſembled in Paris, and after ſome deliberation conſented to grant the king three millions of crowns of gold, one third of which the clergy agreed to advance as a free gift. The duke of Guiſe having, at length, aſſembled his troops, ſent the duke of Nevers, with the greater part of the army, towards Luxembourg, as if his intention had been to penetrate into that province; while he placed himſelf at the head of a ſecond diviſion, and took the road to Picardy, under pretence of viſiting the different towns, and reinforcing the garriſons. After amuſing the enemy with threatening ſucceſſively different places on the frontiers of Flanders, the two diviſions joined, when the duke of Guiſe ſuddenly turned to the left, and inveſted Calais with his whole army. As the country adjacent to the city was overflowed during the winter, the marſhes around it became impaſſable, except by one avenue, which the forts of Saint Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded. The duke, ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his enterprize depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he puſhed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on ſieges during that age. He drove the Engliſh from fort Saint Agatha at the firſt aſſault; he obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge, after defending it three days; he took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to ſurrender, as his feeble garriſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works.

[41] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 416, 417.

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The duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time to recover from the conſternation occaſioned by this blow, immediately inveſted Guiſnes, the garriſon of which, though more numerous, defended itſelf with leſs vigour, and, after ſtanding one briſk aſſault, gave up the town. The caſtle of Hames was abandoned by the troops poſted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of Saint Quintin had ſo depreſſed the ſanguine ſpirit of the French, that their utmoſt aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conqueſts on the enemy, the enterprizing valour of one man drove the Engliſh out of Calais, after they had holden it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom where their dominions had been once ſo extenſive. This exploit, at the ſame time that it gave an high idea of the power and reſources of France to all Europe, ſet the duke of Guiſe, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conqueſts with immoderate tranſports of joy; while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions which animate a high-ſpirited people, when any great national calamity is manifeſtly owing to the miſconduct of their rulers. Mary and her miniſters, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her ſevere and arbitrary adminiſtration could not reſtrain them from uttering execrations and threats againſt thoſe, who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was nowiſe intereſted, had, by their negligence or incapacity, brought irreparable diſgrace on their country, and loſt the moſt valuable poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh crown [42].

Henry imitated the policy of its former conqueror, with regard to Calais. He commanded all the Engliſh inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houſes to his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garriſon, under that gallant officer the mareſchal de Termes, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreſhment, and the uſual inaction of winter returned.

Mary, the young queen of Scots, had been affianced to the dauphin, Francis, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated, ſince that time, in the court of France, ſhe had grown up to be the moſt amiable, and one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of that age. Henry now demanded the conſent of her ſubjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament, which was holden for that purpoſe in Scotland, appointed eight commiſſioners to repreſent the whole body of the nation at that ſolemnity, with power to ſign ſuch deeds as might be requiſite be-

[42] Robertſon.

fore it was concluded. In ſettling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate, in order to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French uſed every art to ſecure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during the queen's life, and the ſucceſſion of the crown on the event of her demiſe. The young queen, indeed, was actually ſeduced to ſign a private deed, by which ſhe made over all her rights to the kingdom of Scotland to Francis, in caſe ſhe died without children[43]. The marriage was celebrated at Paris with pomp ſuitable to the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the moſt ſplendid in Europe.

By this event the duke of Guiſe acquired new conſideration and importance; but though the marriage of his niece to the heir apparent of the crown raiſed him ſo far beyond the condition of other ſubjects, as ſeemed to render the credit which he had gained by his ſplendid atchievements no leſs permanent than it was extenſive, yet he ſoon perceived the difficulty of inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of the king, which ſeemed to be monopolized by the conſtable. The faults and the misfortunes of Montmorenci, far from weakening Henry's eſteem and attachment for that miniſter, had only ſerved to give them additional energy. Never, perhaps, did ſo perfect an union ſubſiſt between a monarch and his ſubject; and as it is the characteriſtic of friendſhip to admit of no ſuperiority, ſo on peruſing the letters that paſſed between the king and the conſtable, one might be induced to believe that a change of ſtations had taken place between them, and that Montmorenci had become the ſovereign who diſpoſed of all things at his pleaſure, and Henry the ſubject who groaned in captivity, and ſighed for the hour of his releaſe. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that the conſtable diſplayed no ſmall portion of virtue, in reſiſting, for more than a year, the voice of nature and of friendſhip, and even the moſt poſitive orders of his ſovereign, who begged, entreated, and conjured him to purchaſe his liberty at any rate, and not to beſtow a thought on the magnitude of the ſacrifice that might be required for the accompliſhment of an object he had ſo much at heart. Henry even ſubmitted to the voluntary degradation of ſerving his friend in the capacity of a ſpy; informing him daily of every thing that was ſaid and done to his prejudice; of the oppreſſion to which thoſe were expoſed who perſevered in their attachment to him; of the treachery of others on whoſe friendſhip he relied, and who had ſacrificed that friendſhip to their intereſt; and of the ſecret meaſures adopted by the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guiſe for ſupplanting him in the favour of his ſovereign, and deſtroying his credit at court. The ducheſs of Valentinois, enraged at the conduct of the Guiſes, who began to treat her with diſdain, in order to obtain the good graces of Catharine of Medicis, ſupported, to the utmoſt of her power, the tottering faction of the conſtable, and contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the preſervation of his influence. Some letters, forming a part of this ſecret correſpondence, are ſtill extant

43 Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 471.

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in the royal library at Paris, written partly by the king and partly by the ducheſs, and ſubſcribed "*Your old and beſt friends, Diana and Henry*[44]."

When the campaign opened, however, ſoon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guiſe was placed at the head of the army, with the ſame unlimited power as before. Henry had received ſuch liberal ſupplies from his ſubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhauſted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to diſmiſs ſo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againſt the enemy. The duke of Guiſe did not loſe the favourable opportunity which his ſuperiority afforded him; urged by Vieilleville, governor of Metz, who had long entertained ſpies in the town, and obtained every neceſſary information, he inveſted Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France, by its vicinity to Metz; and notwithſtanding the obſtinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate on the twenty-ſecond of June, after a ſiege of three weeks. Vieilleville, the projector of the enterprize, was rewarded with the government of the town, with permiſſion to reſerve that of Metz alſo, where he appointed a lieutenant-governor. Mareſchal Strozzi, a gallant and experienced officer, was killed during the ſiege by a muſket-ball, as the duke of Guiſe was leaning on his ſhoulder.

But the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which it was expected would lead to other conqueſts, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The mareſchal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppoſition, with an army conſiſting of ſix hundred light-horſe, and from ſix to ſeven thouſand infantry[45], ſeized and pillaged the town of Bergue-Sainte-Vinoch, and then inveſting Dunkirk, took it by ſtorm, on the fifth day of the ſiege. The mareſchal perceiving that the ſoldiers, ſolely intent on preſerving the rich booty they had acquired, neglected all military diſcipline, took the precaution to ſend it to Calais; and at the ſame time wrote to the king, to inform him that Dunkirk, from its advantageous ſituation, might, in a ſhort time, and at a little expence, be rendered a place of importance. Unhappily for France, Henry had, at this period, no perſon near him with whom he could adviſe on the buſineſs; for the cardinal of Lorraine, who officiated as prime miniſter, was totally ignorant of all military concerns. At the expiration of twelve days the king's anſwer arrived, containing a permiſſion to the mareſchal to fortify Dunkirk, for which purpoſe the ſum of two thouſand crowns were remitted to him. But it was now too late; Lalain, lord of Bénicourt, had entered Gravelines with four

[44] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 475.

[45] La Popliniére—De Thou—Matthieu—Manuſ. de Bethune—Mem. de du Villars—Garnier.

thouſand men, while the count of Egmont, the moſt active of all Philip's generals, having received a regiment of cavalry from the duke of Savoy, and having aſſembled all the garriſons of the neighbouring towns, advanced to the banks of the river Aa, in order to cut off the retreat of the French. At this critical conjuncture de Termes was ſeized with a violent fit of the gout that nearly deprived him of the uſe of his limbs; he therefore gave up the command of the troops to John d'Eſtouteville, lord of Villebon, with orders to retreat along the ſea-coaſt, and to profit by the falling of the tide to ford the Aa, by which means he would get the ſtart of the count of Egmont, who lay in wait for him at that part of the river which the army had croſſed on their road to Dunkirk. The mareſchal, however, followed the next day in a litter, and overtook his troops juſt as the baggage and rear guard were paſſing the ſtream; but he had no ſooner gained the oppoſite bank than he deſcried the enemy, who, fearful leſt he ſhould eſcape them, had left all their artillery behind. Finding an action unavoidable, de Termes now drew up his army in the moſt advantageous manner; with the ſea at their backs, their right wing extended along the banks of the river, and their left covered by the baggage-waggons. In this poſition, the French ſuſtained the impetuous attack of an enemy whoſe numbers were double their own; repulſed, with conſiderable ſlaughter, their foremoſt battalions, and were on the point of obtaining a victory, when one of thoſe accidents which human foreſight cannot anticipate, nor human prudence avert, gave a different turn to the conteſt. A ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war, which were cruizing on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing towards the ſcene of action, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns againſt the right wing of the French with ſuch effect, as immediately broke that body, and ſpread terror and diſmay through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom aſſiſtance ſo unexpected and ſo ſeaſonable gave freſh courage, redoubled their efforts, that they might not loſe the advantage which fortune had preſented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation; and the rout of the French ſoon became general. Near two thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot; the reſt were taken priſoners, together with the mareſchal de Termes, Villebon, Annebaud, Morvilliers, and the count of Chaunes.

Impatient to revenge the affront they had ſuſtained in the reduction of Calais, the Engliſh had fitted out a fleet of one hundred and forty ſail, which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and carrying ſix thouſand land forces on board, were ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Brittany: the French having gotten intelligence of their deſign, were ſo well prepared to receive them at Breſt, that they did not think it prudent to attack that place; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with ſome adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit farther depredations, when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, fell upon them, put them to the rout, and drove them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs.

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The victory obtained by the count of Egmont over the mareſchal de Termes, obliged the duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy in that province. This diſaſter reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guiſe's army with ſo many Germans and Swiſs, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men, whom Guiſe encamped on the banks of the Somme, from Amiens to Pont-Remi. The enemy's army, after the junction of the count of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number, and they pitched their camp at the diſtance of ſix leagues from the French. Each monarch having joined his army, it was expected that a deciſive action would, at laſt, determine which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the determination of ſuch an important point to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous iſſue of a ſingle battle. *Who* made the *firſt* overtures for a peace, however, it is not known, nor is it of any conſequence to aſcertain. Commiſſioners met at the abbey of Cercamp, on the frontiers of either kingdom; thoſe, on the part of France, were the cardinal of Lorraine; the conſtable Montmorenci; the mareſchal de Saint-André; John de Morvilliers, biſhop of Orleans; and d'Aubeſpine, ſecretary of ſtate: on the part of Philip appeared the duke of Alva; William of Naſſau, prince of Orange; Rui Gomez de Silva; Granvelle, biſhop of Arras; and Ulric Viglius, Doctor of Laws. All military operations were immediately terminated by a ſuſpenſion of arms, and an agreement to diſmiſs the foreign mercenaries (which were extremely numerous) on either ſide. The plenipotentiaries of Spain, however, made ſuch high demands, in the name of Philip, that the conferences were likely to be protracted to a conſiderable length; and an event alſo happened which occaſioned an unavoidable delay in the negociations; about a month after the conferences had been opened, Mary of England ended her ſhort and inglorious reign, and her ſiſter Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed queen by the Engliſh. As the powers of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, who attended the congreſs, expired on the death of their miſtreſs, they could not proceed until they received a commiſſion and inſtructions from their new ſovereign.

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal ſolicitude. As during Mary's jealous adminiſtration, under the moſt difficult circumſtances, that princeſs had conducted herſelf with great prudence and addreſs, they had conceived a high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her ſiſter. Equally ſenſible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs ſet themſelves with emulation to court it, and employed every art, in order to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence. Each of them had ſomething meritorious, with regard

regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her ſiſter's violence ſhould force her to fly for ſafety out of England. Philip, by his powerful interceſſion, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the moſt fatal extremities againſt her. Each of them now endeavoured to avail himſelf of the circumſtances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth ſoon after her acceſſion, with the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. He repreſented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her huſband, and fond compliance with all his wiſhes. He entreated her to diſengage herſelf from an alliance which had proved ſo unfortunate to England, and to conſent to a ſeparate peace with him, without mingling her intereſts with thoſe of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to loſe his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of eſteem for Elizabeth, and in profeſſions of his reſolution to cultivate the ſtricteſt amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himſelf to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation from the pope to that effect.

Elizabeth weighed the propoſals of the two monarchs with all the attention that their importance deſerved. She gave ſome encouragement to Henry's overture for a ſeparate negociation, becauſe it opened a channel of correſpondence with France, which ſhe might find to be of great advantage, if Philip ſhould not diſcover ſufficient zeal and ſolicitude for ſecuring to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But ſhe ventured on this ſtep with the moſt cautious reſerve, that ſhe might not alarm Philip's ſuſpicious temper, and loſe an ally in attempting to gain an enemy. In order to give her time to come to a deciſion on this point, it was agreed to ſuſpend the conferences for two months, and to aſſemble, either at Cercamp, or at ſome more convenient place, towards the end of January.

Before the conſtable returned to his priſon in the Low Countries, whence he had been releaſed in order to attend the conferences, he had an interview with the king at Beauvais, who received him with the moſt flattering marks of regard, and convinced him, that abſence, inſtead of abating or extinguiſhing his friendſhip, had given it new ardour[46]. Evincing a deſire of ſettling his affairs, as if he expected to finiſh his days in priſon, he eaſily obtained, from a maſter who could refuſe him nothing he aſked, the reverſion of the office of grand-maſter of his houſhold, for his eldeſt ſon. Then returning to the Low Countries, he declared that he was tired of being deluded by a vain promiſe of liberty

[46] Tavannes—Montluc—Brantôme—Villars—MS. de Bethune.

which

which it was never intended to fulfil, ſince it was made to depend on a treaty of peace which could not poſſibly take place on the conditions attempted to be impoſed on France; that, for his part, he would die ſooner than adviſe the king to accede to them: that as his enemies had taken advantage of his weakneſs in accepting the office of plenipotentiary, unſuitable as it was to a priſoner, in order to ruin his reputation in the opinion of all who loved their country, he now renounced a function which he could not diſcharge without becoming an object of ſuſpicion; that he had ſettled his family affairs and made his will; that it now depended on the king of Spain either to fix a ranſom on him, or to aſſign him a priſon, in which he could paſs the remainder of his days in a chriſtian-like manner: that if the ranſom required was ſuch as a gentleman, like himſelf, could pay, he would do his utmoſt to raiſe the neceſſary ſum, and would afterwards endeavour, as far as he could conſiſtently with his loyalty and honour, to promote the concluſion of a peace; that were it, on the contrary, exorbitant, he would calmly wait the approach of death, which, at his age, could not be far diſtant. The Spaniſh miniſters, finding the conſtable fixed in his reſolution, and conſidering that, by prolonging the term of his captivity, they ſhould defeat their own purpoſe, ſince the negociation, on the part of the French, would, in that caſe, be left ſolely to the Guiſes, who were ſtrongly intereſted in the continuation of the war, they engaged Philip to releaſe him before it was too late. His ranſom was accordingly fixed at two hundred thouſand crowns, one half of which was to be remitted, in caſe a peace were brought about through his means.

Henry, in the courſe of this buſineſs, conducted himſelf with a degree of meanneſs and duplicity, wholly unworthy a monarch. The Guiſes, apprized by one of their emiſſaries of the tranſaction that had paſſed between the king and the conſtable, during their late interview at Beauvais, were enraged at the idea that a man, whoſe imprudence had brought the ſtate to the brink of deſtruction, ſhould reap the rewards which had been refuſed to thoſe whoſe conduct and courage had reſtored it to its former ſplendour: for the duke himſelf had been anxious to obtain the place of grand-maſter of the houſhold, which gave a conſiderable influence to the perſon who held it, by ſubjecting to his will almoſt all the principal officers of the court. Having reſolved to come to an explanation with Henry, he begged that monarch to believe that the humble requeſt which he was about to prefer was not, in the ſmalleſt degree, influenced by jealouſy; but that having been choſen, by his majeſty himſelf, to act as grand-maſter of the houſhold, on the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scotland, he could not but feel ſenſibly mortified at ſeeing any other perſon veſted with that dignity: that he had, therefore, experienced the moſt lively concern on hearing that his majeſty had promiſed it to the conſtable's eldeſt ſon, becauſe the whole kingdom would believe that nobody would have received a preference over himſelf, unleſs he had given cauſe for diſpleaſure, or had been deemed unworthy of the office. The king, extremely embaraſſed, at firſt denied that any converſation had paſſed between him and the conſtable on the ſubject; but obſerved,

that

that if the conſtable had aſked the place for his ſon, he was ſo ſtrongly attached to the young man, and his father had rendered ſuch eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, that he could with difficulty have refuſed him. The duke of Guiſe preſſed the matter no farther; and the king, after denying, in the moſt poſitive manner, that he had diſpoſed of the place in queſtion, did not dare to inveſt young Montmorenci with the promiſed dignity [47].

The conſtable, on giving ſecurity to the king of Spain for the payment of the ſum ſtipulated for his ranſom, was releaſed from priſon, whence he haſtened to court. During his captivity, he had formed the project of an alliance which was calculated to confirm his influence, and ſecure him a ſuperiority over his rivals: this was the marriage of his ſecond ſon, Danville, with Antoinette de la Mark, grand-daughter to the ducheſs of Valentinois. Danville, who had ſignalized his courage in the wars of Italy, whence he had been recalled after the fatal battle of Saint-Quintin, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of his intended bride, and had ſo far ingratiated himſelf with her relations, that, though a younger ſon, he obtained a preference over the moſt opulent noblemen who frequented the court, and even over ſome of the princes of the blood, who aſpired to obtain her hand. Apprized of theſe circumſtances, the conſtable went to ſign the marriage-contract, and to aſſiſt at the nuptials, which were celebrated at his caſtle of Ecouen.

The Guiſes, on their ſide, availing themſelves of the favour they now enjoyed, and for the poſſeſſion of which they were ſolely indebted to their recent ſervices, preſſed the concluſion of the marriage of Charles the Third, duke of Lorraine, the head of their family, with the princeſs Claude, ſecond daughter to the king: the young duke, who, for the laſt ſeven years, had been brought up with the dauphin, received, as a marriage-portion with his wife, the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns, and the town of Stenay, one of the keys of the province of Champagne, which formerly belonged to the dukes of Lorraine.

But amidſt theſe diſputes between the rival factions, the intereſts of the ſtate were not wholly forgotten, and the council ſkilfully availed themſelves of an opportunity, afforded by the whimſical pertinacity of the pope, to keep poſſeſſion of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Three Biſhopricks. After the reſignation of the Imperial crown, by Charles the Fifth, at Francfort Ferdinand, the new emperor, ſent Guſman, his chancellor, to acquaint the pope with the tranſaction, to teſtify his reverence to the holy ſee, and to ſignify that, according

[47] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 549.

to

to form, he would ſoon diſpatch an ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with his holineſs concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor diſappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to ſuch a moderate ſtandard as ſuited the genius of the times, refuſed to admit the envoy into his preſence, and declared all the proceedings at Francfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the pope, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, was entruſted with the keys both of celeſtial and terreſtrial government; that from him the Imperial juriſdiction was derived; that though his predeceſſors had authorized the electors to chooſe an emperor whom the holy ſee confirmed, this privilege was confined to thoſe caſes when a vacancy was occaſioned by death; that the inſtrument of Charles's reſignation had been preſented in an improper court, (the college of electors), as it belonged to the pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a perſon to fill the Imperial throne; that, waving all theſe objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects which alone were ſufficient to render it void, for the proteſtant electors had been admitted to vote, though, by their apoſtacy from the catholic faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; and Ferdinand, by ratifying the conceſſions of ſeveral diets in favour of heretics, had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was inſtituted for the protection, not for the deſtruction, of the church. But, after thundering out theſe extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condeſcenſion, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Francfort, make profeſſions of repentance for his paſt conduct, and ſupplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's reſignation, as well as his aſſumption to the empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodneſs. Guſman, though he had perceived conſiderable difficulties in his negociation with the pope, little expected that he would have revived thoſe antiquated and wild pretenſions; which aſtoniſhed him ſo much, that he hardly knew how to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controverſy concerning the nature or extent of the papal juriſdiction, and confining himſelf to the political conſiderations which ſhould determine the pope to recognize an emperor already in poſſeſſion, he endeavoured to place them in ſuch a light, as, he imagined, could ſcarcely fail to ſtrike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own intereſt. Philip ſeconded Guſman's arguments with great earneſtneſs, by an ambaſſador whom he ſent to Rome on purpoſe, and beſought the pope to deſiſt from the aſſertion of claims ſo unſeaſonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the princes of the empire, but furniſh the enemies of the holy ſee with a new reaſon for repreſenting its juriſdiction as incompatible with the rights of princes, and ſubverſive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any conſideration ſuggeſted by human prudence or policy, when he thought himſelf called upon to aſſert the prerogatives of the papal ſee, remained inflexible [43], and, at an interview with the biſhop of Angoulême,

[43] Godleveus de Abdicatione Caroli Quinti—Palavicini—Ribier—Robertſon.

he even intimated a wiſh that Henry would, in imitation of Francis the Firſt, offer himſelf as a candidate for the Imperial dignity[49].

A. D. 1559.] At any other conjuncture, Henry would not have reſiſted ſuch a temptation; but, ſince the defeat of Saint-Quintin, the ſole object of his wiſhes appears to have been the releaſe of the conſtable, and the reſtoration of peace. Paying, therefore, much leſs attention to the inſidious offers of the ſovereign pontiff, than to certain expreſſions which dropped from the cardinal of Augſburg, one of Ferdinand's principal miniſters, in a converſation with the cardinal of Tournon, he ſent an extraordinary embaſſy, compoſed of Marillac, archbiſhop of Vienne, and Bourdillon, lieutenant-governor of Champagne, to the diet which Ferdinand had recently aſſembled at Augſburg, where they publickly acknowledged that prince for emperor; in return for which, they received ſecret aſſurances, that the reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, would not be ſtrongly inſiſted on.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, had inſtructed the Engliſh plenipotentiaries to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no ſtep until they had previouſly conſulted with them. But though ſhe deemed it prudent to aſſume this appearance of confidence in the Spaniſh monarch, ſhe knew preciſely how far to carry it; and diſcovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary propoſal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The Engliſh had expreſſed ſo openly their deteſtation of her ſiſter's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to exaſperate them by a renewal of that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harſh and imperious temper, to think of him for a huſband: nor could ſhe admit a diſpenſation from the pope to be ſufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine of Arragon, and acknowledging, of conſequence, the nullity of her mother's marriage, and the illegitimacy of her own birth. But, though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; and ſhe returned an anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe concealed her ſentiments and intentions with regard to religious concerns, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed, on the ſixth of February, to Cateau-Cambreſis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many princes, required the

[49] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 551.

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examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as ſpun out the negociations to a great length. But by the indefatigable exertions of the conſtable Montmorenci, who alternately repaired to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, the chief points in diſpute were at length adjuſted.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard the treaty. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais, in the moſt peremptory terms, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by this manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her ancient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negociation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures, not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate. From that period his interpoſitions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from regard to decorum, or from the conſideration of remote political intereſts. Elizabeth, having reaſon to expect ſuch an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it; but as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconſiſtent with her ſchemes of domeſtic adminiſtration, than the continuance of war, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmitting to ſuch conditions as the ſituation of her affairs impoſed, and that ſhe muſt reckon upon being deſerted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if ſhe did not ſpeedily reduce her demands to what was moderate or attainable. She accordingly gave new inſtructions to her ambaſſadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators between the French and them [50], an expedient was ſuggeſted, which, in ſome meaſure, juſtified Elizabeth's departure from the rigour of her firſt demand with regard to Calais. All inferior articles were ſettled without much diſcuſſion or delay: Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the Engliſh, inſiſted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and him. The one was accordingly ſigned on the ſecond day of April, the other on the third.

Pending the negociation, the mareſchal de Briſſac, who commanded in Piedmont, apprized of the ſacrifices which France was about to make, and fearful of being deprived of

[50] Forbes, vol. i. p. 59.

his government, ſent his ſecretary, Boivin, to the king: he obſerved to Henry, that the country propoſed to be ceded to the enemy was equal in value to any one of the beſt provinces in his dominions; and would, in time of peace, produce a revenue of five hundred thouſand crowns, three hundred thouſand whereof, or even more, would be paid into the treaſury, every year; that the finances of the Spaniſh monarch were in ſuch a deplorable ſtate, that the continuance of the war for another year would ſuffice to make him alter his tone, and ſubmit to ſuch conditions as France might chooſe to exact; that the nation was not ſo impoveriſhed but that it could yet ſupply the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns; that the mareſchal himſelf would contribute five-and-thirty thouſand, and, ſhould it be neceſſary, would even ſell a part of his eſtates; that if, from motives which he was unable to divine, the king ſhould be led to reject the mareſchal's advice, he earneſtly entreated his majeſty to baniſh, by ſound of trumpet, him and all who ſhould embrace the ſame cauſe, and to leave him to oppoſe, as well as he could, all thoſe who ſhould attempt to drive him out of his government; that ſhould he be overpowered by numbers, he would periſh like the laſt conſtable de Bourbon, by a glorious death, while France would loſe nothing but what ſhe had voluntarily conſented to reſign; if, on the contrary, fortune ſhould favour his efforts, he ſhould ſecure to his country the poſſeſſion of provinces which ſhe had purchaſed with the blood of her children, and render the king the moſt powerful monarch in Europe. Henry, confuſed at ſuch a propoſal, replied, that he conſidered the mareſchal's advice as that of a man who had given him the moſt unequivocal proofs of his zeal and attachment; that, thank Heaven! he was not reduced to ſuch a ſituation as would juſtify the adoption of deſperate meaſures; and that he ſtill poſſeſſed courage and reſources ſufficient to inſpire the enemy with greater dread than it was in their power to make him experience. "Do not be offended, Sire,"—ſaid the duke of Guiſe, who was preſent at the time—"if I declare that the conduct you are made to purſue "proves the contrary; and that a ſingle ſtroke of your pen is about to take from you more "than you could poſſibly loſe by an unſucceſsful war of thirty years. Put me in one "of the weakeſt places which you are adviſed to reſign, and let your enemies diſlodge me "if they can. In the offer I now make, I ſhall be joined by hundreds of your ſervants, "as well on this as on the other ſide the Alps." Henry remained ſilent, and exhibited evident marks of confuſion; and the duke believing him to be ſhaken, told him to truſt to his brother and him for providing the requiſite funds for raiſing and ſupporting an army of equal ſtrength to that of the preceding year; that they would even, he ſaid, ſave him the trouble of convening the ſtates-general a ſecond time, having already opened a negociation with certain bankers who had conſented to advance as much money as would be wanted; and he had formed a plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, the ſucceſs whereof appeared to him to be infallible, and would put him in a ſituation to give law to the enemy.

Theſe offers, from a man who had always been accuſtomed to perform more than he promiſed,

miſed, ſeemed to decide the king; who, to give an apparent ſatisfaction to the duke of Guiſe, immediately diſpatched Boivin with orders to his plenipotentiaries to exerciſe their powers with great diſcretion; but, in a private letter which he ſent, at the ſame time, to the conſtable, he gave him an account of this converſation, which he repreſented as a new ſcheme of the Guiſes in order to keep the reins of government in their own hands; and he therefore urged Montmorenci to accelerate the concluſion of the treaty as much as poſſible [51].

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no article of real importance, but that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated, that Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that, at the expiration of that term, he ſhould reſtore it to England; that in caſe of non-performance, he ſhould forfeit five hundred thouſand crowns, for the payment of which ſum ſeven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his ſubjects, ſhould grant ſecurity; that five perſons of diſtinction ſhould be given as hoſtages until that ſecurity were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; that if they, or the French king, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; that, on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry, and the king and queen of Scots, were abſolved from all the engagements which they had contracted by this treaty.

Notwithſtanding the ſtudied attention with which ſo many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the reſtitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly poſſible that ſhe could maintain, during the courſe of eight years, ſuch perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry ſome pretext for alledging that ſhe had violated the treaty. But even if that term ſhould elapſe without any ground for complaint, Henry might then chooſe to pay the ſum ſtipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of aſſerting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth ſatisfied her ſubjects of every denomination; ſhe gave men of diſcernment a ſtriking proof of her addreſs, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent; and amuſed the multitude, to whom the ceſſion of ſuch an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with the proſpect of recovering in a ſhort time that favourite poſſeſſion [52].

The expedient employed by Montmorenci for the purpoſe of facilitating the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negociating two treaties of marriage, one

[51] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 567. [52] Robertſon.

between

between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. Henry having, by this means, ſecured an honourable eſtabliſhment for his ſiſter and his daughter, granted, in conſideration of theſe marriages, terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between Henry and Philip were, that a ſincere and perpetual amity ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two crowns and their reſpective allies; that the two monarchs ſhould labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progreſs of hereſy, and reſtore unity and concord to the Chriſtian church; that all the conqueſts made by either party on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war, in 1551, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly belonging to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion until his claims on that prince, in right of his grand-mother, ſhould be heard, and decided in courſe of law; that as long as Henry retained theſe places in his hands, Philip ſhould be at liberty to keep garriſons in the towns of Vercelli and Aſti; that the French king ſhould immediately evacuate all the places he held in Tuſcany and the Sienneſe, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; that he ſhould reſtore the marquiſate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; that he ſhould receive the Genoeſe into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the iſland of Corſica; that none of the princes or ſtates, to whom theſe ceſſions were made, ſhould call their ſubjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but ſhould bury all paſt tranſactions in oblivion. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the king and queen of Scots, and almoſt every prince and ſtate in Chriſtendom, were comprehended in this pacification, as the allies either of Henry or of Philip[53].

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in Europe. All the cauſes of diſcord which had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had tranſmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, ſeemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated. The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious miniſter, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful miſtreſs, that ſhe might gratify her reſentment, had ſeduced their too eaſy monarch. They exclaimed loudly againſt the folly of giving up to

53 Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 287.

the

the enemies of France an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low Countries or in Italy, in return for the three inſignificant towns of Saint-Quintin, Ham, and Catelet. They conſidered it as an indelible ſtain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce, in one day, territories ſo extenſive, and ſo capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wreſt them out of their hands, after many years of victory and ſucceſs.

Soon after the concluſion of the treaty, the duke of Savoy repaired, with a numerous retinue, to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's ſiſter. The duke of Alva was ſent to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, in the name of his maſter the king of Spain; the ceremony was performed, on the twenty-ſixth of June, by the cardinal of Bourbon, at the church of Notre Dame. The greateſt rejoicings and feſtivities took place on this occaſion, and on the twenty-ninth of June a grand tournament was holden in the Rue Saint-Antoine, at which the king bore away the palm of victory. But as he was retiring from the circle, he perceived two lances at one end of the liſts which were yet unbroken; one of theſe he took himſelf, and the other he ſent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards, a man eminently ſkilled in all martial exerciſes, inviting him to break it with his ſovereign in honour of the ladies. Montgomery heſitated for ſome time, and even twice refuſed to obey the ſummons; the queens of Scotland and France too, who were preſent, ſent to entreat the king to content himſelf with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no farther riſk; Henry, however, perſiſted, and, at length, ſent a poſitive order to Montgomery to prepare for the aſſault: he obeyed; the attack was violent; their lances were ſhivered in pieces: but the king's vizor having been deranged by the ſhock, one of the broken pieces of his adverſary's lance pierced his forehead, juſt above the left eye, and he fell ſenſeleſs on the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace, and the ſurgeons, after examinining the wound, declared it, though dangerous, not incurable; but an abceſs having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmoſt ſkill proved ineffectual, and, on the tenth of July, Henry expired, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The character of this monarch may be traced in a few words: he had more in his diſpoſition of the warrior than the ſtateſman; active and intrepid in the field, but weak and irreſolute in the council: better formed for obedience than command, a culpable facility of temper ſubjected him to perpetual impoſition, and betrayed him into ſituations by which he was not only degraded as a monarch, but diſgraced as a man. The *beſt* feature in his character was his conſtancy in friendſhip, and the *worſt*, his cruelty in religion.

The doctrine of the Reformers began to ſpread with great celerity in France, during the reign of Henry the Second; and from a principle, juſtly applied to religious ſectaries, in whom

whom oppoſition begets perſeverance, the perſecuting ſpirit of that monarch, who piqued himſelf upon the orthodoxy of his religious tenets, far from ſtemming the torrent it was intended to check, only ſerved to encreaſe the rapidity of its progreſs. The French reformers indeed being chiefly Calviniſts, and their principles, of courſe, being farther removed from thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, than the principles of the more moderate Proteſtants, could not fail to be highly diſguſting to ſuch as were firmly reſolved to adhere to the religion of their country. As this was the caſe, and as the monarch, a zealous bigot himſelf, was generally under the influence of men enjoying high dignities in the church, and hoſtile, as well from principle as intereſt, to thoſe *levelling* doctrines, which aimed at the extirpation of epiſcopacy, and the total abolition of all religious forms and ceremonies, a determination was ſpeedily adopted to cruſh theſe innovators with the ſtrong arm of power.

A ſyſtem of perſecution was accordingly entered upon and purſued with unrelenting ſeverity, by Henry and his principal miniſters, who publickly declared war againſt heretics of every denomination. The cognizance of the crime of hereſy had been ſometimes entruſted to the parliaments, and ſometimes to the biſhops' courts; and theſe rival juriſdictions had, from a ſpirit of jealouſy, generally contrived to thwart the operations of and impoſe a reſtraint upon each other. With a view to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from this jealouſy, and to enforce the execution of the laws againſt heretics, Henry the Second, in the year 1551 [54], iſſued the famous edict of Châteaubriand, by which the two courts were ſtrictly enjoined, in all ſimilar proſecutions, to act in conjunction, and to afford each other all poſſible aſſiſtance. The *preſidials*—tribunals eſtabliſhed in the different provinces during this reign—were empowered to decide definitively in matters of hereſy, and even to pronounce ſentence of death on the perſons convicted of that crime, provided not leſs than ten judges were preſent at the time; and, in order to effect the total expulſion of the reformers from the kingdom, all *lords high-juſticiaries* were ſtrictly enjoined to inform againſt ſuch as were *ſuſpected* of hereſy, throughout their reſpective lordſhips, and to ſend their informations to the neareſt preſidial, that the culprits might be proceeded againſt without delay.

The king being informed that ſeveral of the magiſtrates having themſelves imbibed the principles of the reformation, though they did not dare publickly to avow them, ſecretly favoured thoſe who endeavoured to propagate them, and either prevented them from being arreſted, or facilitated the means of their eſcape, it was ordained, that every man who ſhould offer himſelf as a candidate for any office in the courts of juſtice, ſhould produce, beſides the uſual atteſtations with regard to the purity of his life and manners, a certificate, importing that he was a good Catholic; and that the tribunals might be purged of all mem-

54 Recueil des Ordonnances.

bers

bers who were infected with heretical principles, the attornies-general were ordered, with regard to the conduct of the inferior courts, to take private information of the seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, or lieutenant-provosts; and with regard to the superior courts, to convene them every three months, when every judge should be bound to answer all questions that were proposed to him on matters of faith. Similar precautions were used with regard to the education of youth. The edict prescribed the measures to be observed by all who enjoyed the privilege of electing principals of colleges, regents, and school-masters, in order to confer those offices on such only whose religion and doctrines were exempt from suspicion: a similar injunction was issued to corporations, with regard to their mayors and aldermen, and, in case of non-observance, they were to be prosecuted as *encouragers of heresy:* the same severity was to be exerted, not only against all such as received heretics into their houses, or contributed, directly or indirectly, to their evasion from the pursuits of justice, but even against those who, after their apprehension, should intercede, or present a petition, in their favour.

Many of those who favoured the new doctrines, and were afraid of being exposed to the dangers of a trial, attended with every circumstance of prejudice and partiality, fled to Geneva or to Switzerland, after transferring their property and estates to their friends, who remitted them the produce thereof. Some, indeed, really sold their estates at a very inferior price, from the idea that it was better to save a part than to run the risk of losing the whole. All the property belonging to these fugitives was ordered to be seized; and if the officers employed in executing this commission met with any obstacle from persons who pretended to have purchased such property, the judges were strongly enjoined by the edict to investigate, with the utmost rigour, the validity of their titles, and, in case they should discover any collusion between the purchaser and vender, not only to seize the property in dispute, but to impose a heavy fine on the purchaser: whoever gave information, and substantiated such information by proof, that any of the king's subjects sent money to Geneva, was entitled to a third of the amount: any person informing against a heretic was also entitled to a third of his property, but, in some measure to check the abominable oppressions which such a regulation would necessarily occasion, it was decreed that if the informer failed to convict the person he accused, he should be subjected to the same punishment as that person would have incurred, had his guilt been confirmed.

In order to stop the circulation of the numerous pamphlets, dogmatical, polemical, and satirical, which were introduced into the kingdom from Geneva, and reprinted at Paris, Poitiers and Bourdeaux, the importation of books, of every denomination, as well from Geneva, as from any town or country whose inhabitants had seceded from the church of Rome, was prohibited, by this edict, under pain of confiscation of property, and corporal punishment: the officers of justice were enjoined to pay frequent visits to the shops and warehouses of printers and booksellers: all printers and booksellers were

forbidden to work in any other place than their own houſe; to expoſe any work to ſale without putting their own name, and that of the author, on the frontiſpiece, under pain of being puniſhed as men guilty of forgery; to receive any manuſcript on the Bible or any theological ſubject, unleſs ſanctioned with the approbation of two doctors of divinity; to ſell any work that was not inſerted in the catalogue, which they were obliged to ſend to the officers of the police; to open any package of books coming from any foreign country, but in the preſence of two divines; and to ſell any book, by auction, which had not been previouſly inſpected by proper perſons.

The executions, in conſequence of this rigorous and oppreſſive edict, were numerous; but ſtill the number of proteſtants, as well in the capital as in the provinces, continued to encreaſe. Enraged at the inefficacy of their meaſures, and ſtimulated by the proſpect of confiſcations, the produce whereof the king had reſigned to his favourite courtiers, the cardinal of Lorraine, and ſeveral others of the miniſtry, repreſented to Henry, that the magiſtrates were themſelves infected with the new opinions, and far from enforcing the execution of his edicts, acted in concert with the proteſtant miniſters: that the preſidials, through fear of being engaged in a diſpute with the ſovereign courts, ſeldom exerciſed the power which had been conferred on them of trying heretics in dernier reſort: that the eccleſiaſtical tribunals in vain cauſed the culprits to be apprehended and proceeded againſt with becoming ſeverity, ſince, by means of an appeal which the judges were compelled to reſpect, they were taken from their juriſdiction, when the ſecular judges always diſcovered ſome mode of clearing them from the accuſation: that religion would be deſtroyed in France, unleſs reſource were had to the only remedy which preſerved it pure and unpolluted, throughout Spain, and the greater part of Italy: that for this purpoſe, it was only neceſſary to make two alterations in the edict of Châteaubriant, which the calamity of the times rendered indiſpenſable; that the firſt of theſe alterations conſiſted in putting a ſtop to all appeals from the ſentences of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which ought to be ſent to the neareſt ſecular judge, who ſhould be compelled to enforce their execution: the ſecond, in confiſcating the property of all perſons, indiſcriminately, who ſhould leave the kingdom, through the dread of perſecution, in order to ſettle in foreign countries; and in ſeizing ſuch property, for the king's uſe, wherever it might be found, even though it were in poſſeſſion of a perſon who had given a valuable conſideration for the ſame. As ſoon as this reſolution had been adopted by the council, a ſecret conference was holden at the houſe of Bertrand, keeper of the ſeals, at which certain magiſtrates, who were ſworn enemies to the new doctrines, were invited to attend; and two new edicts were there drawn up, which were preſented to the parliament to be regiſtered, at a time when moſt of the judges were abſent. This attempt, however, being foiled, the matter was argued on the eleventh of September; when Denis Riant, advocate-general, in ſupport of the edicts, obſerved, that they were the reſult of the deliberations of the moſt *enlightened* men in the kingdom; that the king had been led to paſs them from the conviction that there was no other preſervative to be found againſt the progreſs

of

of a contagion which infected the capital and ſpread over the provinces: that if any objection could be raiſed againſt the edicts, it was the too great extenſion of the juriſdiction of the ſpiritual courts, by ſubjecting to them, indiſcriminately, all orders of citizens: but it could not be denied that it was highly expedient with regard to apoſtate monks, and other fanatics, who, aſſuming the right of dogmatiſing, perverted the conſciences of his majeſty's ſubjects, and diffuſed trouble and confuſion throughout the realm: that the court, as might be proved from the regiſters, did not diſapprove of the inquiſition, provided it were directed by the rules laid down in the canons: that he was therefore juſtified in his expectation, that the court would, after making ſuch reſtrictions as it might think proper with regard to the too great extenſion of the power of the ſpiritual tribunal, proceed to regiſter the edict in queſtion. It was however decided in the parliament, by a very conſiderable majority, that the edict ſhould not be regiſtered, but that the court would addreſs the king, and indicate ſome other means of promoting the extirpation of hereſy, more conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity.

Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of October, 1555, the preſident Séguier, and the counſellor Dudrac had an audience of the king at Villers-Coterets, when the former thus addreſſed his majeſty, in the name of the parliament:

"Sire, The difficulties naturally attending the commiſſion with which we are entruſted, are conſiderably augmented by the ſiniſter impreſſions which your majeſty has been led to encourage againſt your parliament. Were the ſole object of our commiſſion the juſtification of thoſe by whom we are ſent, it would ſuffice to obſerve that the edict which they have refuſed to regiſter is preciſely the ſame as that which was rejected by a part of the court ſome months ago; and that it would be impoſſible to act otherwiſe without making your parliament fall into a contradiction with itſelf, and without introducing into the kingdom, and into the ſame ſanctuary of juſtice, two tribunals oppoſed to each other. But this reaſon, powerful as it is with regard to ourſelves, is not that which we mean to employ, ſince it would only juſtify us at the expence of our brethren, and would rather conſtitute an excuſe than form an apology. In fact, it is not, becauſe the edict has before been rejected that we have thought proper to reject it alſo, but becauſe, after a cloſe examination, it appeared to us, as it did to our brethren, that it could not be admitted without depriving your ſubjects of their liberty, and your majeſty of the nobleſt rights of that ſovereignty which we are conſtitutionally bound to defend and protect. But before I enter on the reaſons by which our conduct has been influenced, let me be permitted to offer one previous reflection.

"Your parliament, Sire, is compoſed of one hundred and ſixty magiſtrates, who were not admitted as members of the court, until they had furniſhed ſatisfactory proofs of their capacity, and ample atteſtations of the purity of their lives and manners; who

" are, in ſhort, men of that deſcription, that your majeſty would ſcarcely find it poſſible " to replace them throughout the whole extent of your dominions: what mortal, then, " can be ſo preſumptuous as to oppoſe his private judgment to that of ſo large a body " of men, devoted, from their infancy, to the ſtudy of the laws, and employed, from " morning to night, in diſtinguiſhing what is juſt and lawful, from what is unjuſt and " prohibited? As for me, I have formed ſo high an opinion of the integrity and knowledge " of that auguſt ſenate, that if it had pronounced a ſentence of death againſt me, I " ſhould be led to doubt my own innocence, and, in ſome degree, to reject the teſtimony " of my conſcience. Thoſe men who wiſhed to perſuade your majeſty to eſtabliſh the " inquiſition, were aware they could only ſucceed in their attempt, by rendering the re- " ligion of your magiſtrates ſuſpected; by repreſenting them either as heretics in diſ- " guiſe, or as men floating between error and truth, and perfectly indifferent on the " article of faith. That, Sire, is an accuſation, ever eaſy to hazard, but which no " honeſt man would ever advance unleſs he were able to ſubſtantiate the charge by clear " and convincive proofs. The orthodoxy of your magiſtrates has been proved, and they " are all obliged to give a certificate with regard to the ſtability and purity of their faith; " it muſt, therefore, be ſuppoſed, either that they have been perverted ſince their recep- " tion, or that they have given falſe certificates: if a door be once opened to ſuſpicions " of that nature, what man will be free from them, or in whom can you place your " confidence? we know our brethren much better than thoſe who ſpeak of them with " ſuch diſreſpect; and if your majeſty will give credit to our oaths, we ſhall not heſi- " tate to ſwear by all that we hold ſacred, that we have never perceived any thing in " the conduct of the parliament, that could poſſibly occaſion or juſtify ſimilar ſuſpicions. " Not that we would pledge ourſelves that, in a ſociety ſo numerous, there are no fan- " taſtical nor whimſical minds, which entertain peculiar ſentiments on the article of " faith; God is the ſole judge of men's conſciences; and it would be wonderful indeed " if, in an age when the rage for reaſoning is become an epidemic diſorder, not a ſingle " man could be found among us who, impelled by prejudice and preſumption, had ſtrayed " from the right road; but we will venture to aſſert, that we do not know any one magi- " ſtrate but what profeſſes and practiſes the true religion: in ſhort, I ſhould ſooner be made " to believe that anti-Chriſt is arrived, and that the world is juſt at an end, than to give " credit to any of the abſurdities which have been related to you. It is you, Sire, who " appoint magiſtrates: when you choſe the preſent members of your parliament, you " deemed them worthy your confidence; to that confidence, then, they have an undoubt- " ed right, until it ſhall have been proved that they deſerve to loſe it; and you cannot " deprive them of it, either wholly or partially, without prejudice to your own au- " thority and power. For how can their deciſions be reſpected by the inferior judges, " and by the reſt of your ſubjects, if it be ſuſpected that they are the deciſions of " men of doubtful characters, and who are themſelves acting in oppoſition to the laws " of the realm? it is evident, therefore, that the perfidious and malicious inſinuations

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" which have been conveyed to you have a direct tendency to ſubvert all order, and to " expoſe your authority to contempt.

" We have been accuſed of betraying an extreme dread of the Inquiſition. If our " accuſers mean to apply this obſervation to us, in our private capacities, they are in a " groſs error; not one of us dread it: we are aware that this violent remedy may be " employed with ſome hope of ſucceſs in the deſperate diſorders of the ſtate, and when " every other remedy has failed; and it might poſſibly be of ſome uſe in common " caſes, were it always to be adminiſtered by men devoid of prejudice, and endowed " with the moſt enlightened minds. We learn from hiſtory that the Roman emperors " had recourſe to it in order to ſtifle Chriſtianity at its birth; but we alſo learn from " thence that the wiſeſt among them, ſuch as Trajan and Marcus-Aurelius, though " zealous pagans, rejected it with horror, declaring that it were infinitely better to wait " till the public conduct of the Chriſtians ſhould afford ground for proſecution, than to " favour the progreſs of calumny, and to ſow terror and miſtruſt in the hallowed ſhades " of domeſtic retirement: ſuch is our opinion, as individuals, with regard to the Inqui- " ſition. As magiſtrates, that is to ſay, as men appointed by your majeſty to prevent " oppreſſion, and to render to every man what is his due, we dread, it is true, or, rather, " we abhor, the eſtabliſhment of a bloody tribunal, where informations are admitted as " proofs, where the parties accuſed are deprived of all natural means of defence, and " where no one form of juſtice is obſerved. We have advanced nothing but what, were " it required, we could prove from recent examples: ſeveral perſons, condemned by the " officers of the Inquiſition, have appealed to the parliament, and in reviſing the " proceedings againſt them, we have found them ſo replete with abſurdities, that though " charity forbids us to impute the conduct of the judges to fraud or wickedneſs, it allows " and even enjoins us to deplore their ignorance and preſumption: yet it is to ſuch " judges, Sire, that you are adviſed to deliver up your faithful ſubjects, in a ſtate of " bondage, by taking from them the reſource of appeal: but, could you be brought to " give your conſent to this meaſure, have you the right to enforce it? The ſame ties " which unite them to you, bind you to them; if they be obliged to pay you taxes " of various deſcriptions, in return it is your duty to afford them ſecurity and protec- " tion, and the very loweſt of them has the indiſputable right of appealing to you " whenever he thinks himſelf oppreſſed; for you are always ſuppoſed to preſide at your " ſovereign courts; our ſentences are delivered in your name, and bear the ſignature of " *Henry*. What then do the promoters of the new edict adviſe you to do?—to diſown " your people, to alienate the affections of your ſubjects, and to break the contract in vir- " tue of which you hold your throne.

" Hitherto we have acknowledged only one king of France; and his authority, " though often obſcured and always oppoſed by another ſpurious authority, has tri- " umphed

" umphed over the lures and ſnares of ſuperſtition. But, by compelling us to regiſter " the edict in queſtion, you would deſtroy the work of four or five centuries; you would " give riſe to new convulſions in the ſtate, for you would then ceaſe to be the only le- " giſlator in your kingdom; juſtice would no longer be adminiſtered by your judges, nor " in conformity with your ordonnances; in ſhort, you would raiſe up a rival who would " ſoon become your maſter.

" Such, Sire, are the real motives by which we have been deterred from paying obe- " dience to your orders, and we never doubted but that, as ſoon as we ſhould be per- " mitted to explain them to you, they would make the ſame impreſſion on your mind " as on our own. Your parliament laments the rapid progreſs of hereſy, and has long " perceived the neceſſity of oppoſing it with ſtrength and efficacy; but cannot this be " done without ſhaking the foundations of the monarchy? Grant, if you will, per- " miſſion to the biſhops and Inquiſitors to inflict capital puniſhments on men of their " own profeſſion—though even with regard to them it would be infinitely more juſt to " leave open the way of appeal—but never ſuffer your lay-ſubjects to be tried except by " your own tribunals, and by men who hold of you alone their commiſſions and their " powers. To this firſt expedient, ſuggeſted by the court, another muſt be added, of " much greater efficacy.

" Confine not your paternal cares to the cutting off from the body politic the parts " which are already corrupted; but extend them to prevent the corruption of ſuch " parts as are yet in a ſtate of ſanity. The meaſures to be adopted for this deſirable " purpoſe have nothing of violence in them; they conſiſt only in recalling the clergy " to their primitive inſtitution; the religion, Sire, which you wiſh to maintain in your " dominions, was not planted there by fire and ſword; on the contrary, it reſiſted, dur- " ing three centuries, the utmoſt efforts of thoſe dreadful inſtruments, and encreaſed " by the very means employed for its deſtruction, becauſe it was announced by pious " prelates, by vigilant paſtors, who reſided in the midſt of their flocks, quenching their " thirſt with the word of God, edifying them by their example, and defending them, with " intrepid courage, from the ſnares and fury of the wolves. Since, then, it was planted by " theſe means, ſince by theſe means it increaſed, by theſe means alone can it be made to " regenerate, and acquire additional vigour. No longer, therefore, delay to ſend the bi- " ſhops and curates to diſcharge the duties of their reſpective ſtations; order them, un- " der the ſevereſt penalties, to reſide in the midſt of their flocks, to adviſe and inſtruct " them, and to watch day and night in order to preſerve them from the attacks of the " enemy: you will thereby impoſe on them no painful taſk, no new obligation: there " are ſtill extant two celebrated conſtitutions of the emperor Juſtinian, by which bi- " ſhops are forbidden, under the penalty of forfeiting their temporalities, to appear " at court, and to abſent themſelves from their dioceſes. If that emperor, who was " no devotee, and whoſe tenets were not the moſt orthodox, deemed it neceſſary to

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"paſs an ordonnance thus ſalutary and holy, on what pretence could the Moſt Chriſtian "king, the eldeſt ſon of the church, think himſelf exempted from the neceſſity of re- "newing it? Nay, it is not by human conſtitutions alone, by Imperial reſcripts, that "the reſidence of biſhops is enforced, but by formal texts in Scripture, by the canons "of general councils; it is enforced by divine law, and the man who would dare to ad- "vance a contrary opinion would be a greater heretic than Luther himſelf. Begin, "then, Sire, by the promulgation of an edict, which will not cover your kingdom with "piles, which will neither be wetted with the blood, nor with the tears of your ſub- "jects. At a diſtance from your throne, bending beneath the weight of their ruſtic la- "bours, or abſorbed in buſineſs and occupations of various kinds, they are wholly igno- "rant of the ſnares which are now laying for them; they do not ſuſpect that, at this "moment, you are thinking of ſeparating them from you, and of depriving them of "their natural ſafeguard. It is for them, it is in their name, that the court addreſſes "its moſt humble remonſtrances, and its moſt ardent ſupplications to your majeſty.

"As for you, gentlemen," addreſſing himſelf to the miniſters and courtiers who were preſent, "who liſten to me with ſo much tranquillity, and who think, probably, that "the matter does not concern you, it is proper that you ſhould be undeceived. As long "as you are in favour, you wiſely make the moſt of your time; honours and rewards are "laviſhed on your heads; you are reſpected by all who approach you; and no one thinks "of attacking you: but the higher your ſtation, the nearer you are to the thunder, and "a man muſt be ignorant of hiſtory not to know on what trivial circumſtances the diſ- "grace of a courtier frequently depends. Formerly, however, when this diſaſter befell "you, you could, at leaſt, retire with a fortune, that conſoled you, in a certain degree, "for the loſs you had ſuſtained, and that enabled you to enrich your heirs. But were "this edict to paſs, from that moment your ſituation would be altered; you would, as "before, be ſucceeded by needy men, of hungry minds, who, knowing not how long "they may remain in office, will burn with the deſire of making a ſudden fortune, and "will find it a very eaſy matter to gratify that deſire: certain of obtaining from the "king the confiſcation of your property, it will only be neceſſary to ſecure in their in- "tereſt one Inquiſitor and two witneſſes, and though you were ſaints, you would be "burned as heretics."

At theſe words, the conſtable Montmorenci, who had not forgotten his own diſgrace, in the preceding reign, knitted his brows and changed colour; and all the other miniſters ſhuddered with horror. The king himſelf exhibited evident marks of confuſion, and thanking the parliament for their remonſtrances, promiſed to pay attention to them. Nothing farther, however, was done in the buſineſs, till the year 1557, when the number of Calviniſts having conſiderably encreaſed, the king, by his letters-patent, enjoined all prelates to repair to their dioceſes, and either to diſcharge the duties of their office in perſon, or to appoint grand-vicars of approved virtue and rigid principles, who were worthy

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to act as their ſubſtitutes: in caſe of diſobedience, the king authorized the parliament to proceed againſt them, by ſeizing their temporalities, and applying the produce thereof to the purpoſe of paying enlightened miniſters who might preach the Word of God to the people; it was farther ordained that all the parliaments in the kingdom ſhould depute a certain number of commiſſioners, to viſit, in company with the biſhops or their vicars, all the provinces within their reſpective juriſdictions, and to proceed, in a ſummary manner, againſt heretics and all perſons ſuſpected of entertaining heretical principles, on whom they were even empowered to paſs ſentence of death. The parliament of Paris, however, regarding theſe regulations as the means of introducing the Inquiſition, refuſed to truſt ſuch unlimited powers to a few individuals, though members of the court. The biſhops, too, contrived to avoid the obligation of reſidence, without incurring the penalties inflicted by the law. Some of the prelates were members of the council, others were employed as ambaſſadors, and a great number of them were at Rome: while many enjoyed three or four biſhopricks at the ſame time, and of courſe could not reſide at them all.

In the year following, after the return of the cardinal of Lorraine from Rome, a bull was publiſhed, by which Paul the Fourth, at the king's requeſt, eſtabliſhed an Inquiſition in France, after the model of that which ſubſiſted at Rome; and the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Châtillon, were appointed preſidents of this new tribunal, with the power of chuſing vicars, either from among the biſhops, or doctors of divinity; conferring, as well on theſe inquiſitors, as on their delegates, a full power to arreſt, impriſon, and condemn all perſons, of whatever rank or quality, convicted or ſuſpected of the crime of hereſy. The king, by his edict for enforcing the execution of this bull, ſubjected the grand inquiſitors to the neceſſity of preſenting their vicars and delegates to the council; where they were to ſwear that they would, in no inſtance, deviate from the rules eſtabliſhed by the canons, in the courſe of their proceedings, which were open to reviſion by a ſupreme tribunal, to be inſtituted in every dioceſe, conſiſting of ten judges, ſix of whom muſt be members of a ſovereign court. The parliament were compelled to regiſter the bull and the letters-patent, though with certain reſtrictions: they made a diſtinction between the clergy and the laity, abandoning the former to the tribunals of the Inquiſition, but, with regard to the latter, confining thoſe courts to the receiving informations, and to the ſimple declaration that the parties accuſed were heretics; leaving ſuch parties at liberty to appeal to their natural judges. This reſtriction, however, would have proved of little avail, but for the perilous ſituation to which the kingdom was, at this time, reduced by the number of its foreign enemies; and for the number and quality of the partizans of the new doctrines, among whom was one of the inquiſitors appointed by the pope. Theſe circumſtances proved an effectual obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of that iniquitous tribunal.

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This attempt to eſtabliſh the Inquiſition had been preceded, though not influenced, by a tumult in the Rue Saint-Jacques, where about four hundred Calviniſts had aſſembled, in a private houſe, in order to perform divine ſervice[55]: the neighbours, alarmed, or pretending to be ſo, at this unuſual aſſemblage of people, at ſuch a late hour—for it was night—ſurrounded the houſe; and, having collected a mob, aſſailed the congregation, on their attempt to leave the place after ſervice was over, with ſtones and other miſſile weapons. The Calviniſts held a conſultation among themſelves, and as they knew that death muſt be their portion if taken, the boldeſt of them reſolved to cut their way through the mob, ſword in hand. This they eaſily effected; the cowardly rabble fled before them; but they were no ſooner out of danger, than they ſpeedily re-aſſembled, and prepared to vent their rage on the old men, women, and others, who had been reſtrained by fear from following their companions. The timely arrival of the miniſters of juſtice ſaved the unhappy victims—among whom were ſeveral females of high diſtinction—from immediate aſſaſſination; though, as they were conducted to priſon, they were expoſed to the blows and licentious inſolence of a brutal populace. To complete the miſery of their ſituation, by adding calumny to perſecution, a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that, immediately after the celebration of their infernal orgies, the Calviniſts extinguiſhed the lights, and, mixing together indiſcriminately like brutes, each man ſeized, as the partner of his crimes, the firſt woman he could lay hold of, even though ſhe were his mother, daughter or ſiſter. Theſe atrocious calumnies were repeated from the pulpit[56], and the king, prone to credulity, gave eaſy credit to tales that flattered his religious prejudices. Muſnier, a man of infamous character, who had been convicted of ſubornation of perjury, was appointed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, to try the culprits, but the parliament remonſtrated with ſuch warmth on the inſult offered to them by that appointment, that the cognizance of the cauſe was left to themſelves. Five of the wretched Calviniſts were publickly burned at the Place de Grève, but the judges purpoſely prolonged the trials of the reſt, and, by that means, afforded them an opportunity to eſcape.

Such of the Calviniſts as had cut their way through the mob in the Rue Saint-Jacques, together with the friends and relations of the priſoners, exerted their utmoſt influence to avert the ſtorm that threatened them. Alarmed at the imputations which had been thrown out againſt them, they drew up a kind of apology, addreſſed to the king, in which they maintained that their aſſemblies could be reproached with nothing with which thoſe of the early Chriſtians had not been reproached by the Pagan emperors: that reduced, like them, by the rage of their perſecutors, to the neceſſity of concealing themſelves, and of worſhipping God in private, they might have expected to become objects of calumny and detraction: that if it pleaſed his majeſty to inveſtigate the nature of their religious prin-

55 Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniére. 56 Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 406.

ciples, and either to interrogate, himſelf, or ſuffer to be interrogated by others, in his preſence, ſome of the Calviniſts who were now detained in captivity, he would ſoon diſcover how little credit their detractors deſerved: that the meaſure they propoſed to him, ſo far from being unworthy of his rank, was, on the contrary, a duty annexed to his ſtation—a duty, which even the pagan emperors, Trajan and Marcus-Aurelius, thought themſelves compelled to diſcharge: that the pains he had taken, at the inſtigation of his cardinals and prelates, to exterminate the Calviniſts, had ſucceeded ſo ill, that, from the aſhes of one martyr, a thouſand converts ſprang up; and that their number had already encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that, could his favourite ſyſtem of deſtruction be accompliſhed, his kingdom would be converted into a deſart: that the arm of the Almighty had fallen heavy on their perſecutors, a truth of which he might eaſily be convinced, by enquiring into the fate of a Duprat, a Lizet, and an Oppéde: that the conſtable, who, when he ſet out on his laſt expedition, had made a ſacrilegious vow, if he returned victorious, to attack Geneva, in perſon, during the winter, and reduce that city to aſhes, had himſelf been defeated and taken priſoner: that his majeſty exhibited, in his own perſon, a ſtriking example of divine juſtice, ſince ſo long as he had defended the proteſtants againſt the pope and the emperor, God had loaded him with glory and wealth; whereas the moment he became the ally of the pope, by accepting a bleſſed ſword as a pledge of his devotion to the church of Rome, he had fallen into an abyſs, whence he would, with difficulty, extricate himſelf: that if, docile to the warnings of Heaven, he ſought for the true means of preſerving his kingdom from total ruin, he ought to begin by ſtripping the Romiſh clergy of all thoſe vain decorations, and thoſe immenſe riches, which only ſerved to nouriſh their pride, their luxury, and lewdneſs: that ſo long as the miniſters of the Goſpel had remained poor, the church had flouriſhed, and the evangelical doctrine been preſerved in its original purity, becauſe, bound by no ties of intereſt, they had the glory of God, and the ſalvation of their flock, continually before their eyes: that, on the contrary, ſince the popes had been in poſſeſſion of principalities, and had ſeated themſelves on the throne of the Ceſars, they had perverted and corrupted, by vain comments and falſe interpretations, the true ſenſe of the ſcriptures, and had arrogated to themſelves honours and powers which belonged to God alone: that there was no doubt but that his majeſty might lawfully employ the property of the clergy, firſt, for procuring a moderate ſubſiſtence for the true miniſters of the goſpel; ſecondly, for paying the ſalaries of the magiſtrates who now gratuitouſly rifled his treaſury; thirdly, for the foundation of colleges for the diffuſion of knowledge among his ſubjects; and that, the reſidue, which would be immenſe, he might devote to the purpoſe of ſupplying the wants of the ſtate, and relieving the poor, who alone bore the weight of the taxes, though leaſt able to ſupport it: that, by an arrangement thus ſimple, he would be enabled to provide for one-third of the nobility, who now led a life of indolence and obſcurity, and would have amply ſufficient to reward thoſe who ſhould really ſerve the ſtate: that there was not a ſingle captain but would rather procure a penſion of five or ſix hundred livres for himſelf, than obtain a living of ten thouſand for one of his relations, who ſpent it

it on dogs, horſes, and proſtitutes: that the ſecond remedy which they thought themſelves obliged to point out, conſiſted in the convocation of a council, not ſuch as had formerly aſſembled, governed by a pope, and entirely compoſed of his creatures, but a free council, at which the monarch, as ſovereign magiſtrate, ſhould preſide in perſon, and to which the papiſts ſhould only be admitted, in order to defend, if they could, their practices and doctrine by texts from ſcripture, the ſole rule of the Calviniſtic faith, and the touchſtone of truth: that he might then eaſily diſtinguiſh on which ſide the error lay, and puniſh thoſe who pertinaciouſly refuſed to open their eyes to the light of the Goſpel: that ſhould he, on the contrary, perſiſt in requiring them to abjure their creed, before it was proved in what that creed was erroneous, they wiſhed him to know, that neither fire nor ſword, nor puniſhments of any kind, would be ſufficient to enforce compliance with ſuch a requiſition, becauſe their Divine Maſter had warned them that there would be perſecutions, in order that they might be prepared before-hand, and not be aſtoniſhed when they ſhould come to paſs.

Some parts of this remonſtrance are ſpirited and proper; but others ſavour too much of that puritanical cant, and that ſpirit of inſubordination, which have, almoſt invariably, marked the followers of Calvin. To inveigh againſt the wealth of the regular clergy, and yet to aim at the acquiſition of that wealth for themſelves, was an inconſiſtency, proceeding from a very natural cauſe, by which the reformers of France and Scotland were, at this period, equally diſtinguiſhed; nor can we even diſcover much patriotiſm in an anxiety to provide for the neceſſities of the *ſtate*, by the ſeizure of property that belongs not to ourſelves. *Perſecution* muſt be an object of abhorrence to all who are poſſeſſed of the common feelings of humanity; but, convinced as we are of the wiſe policy, if not of the neceſſity, of an eſtabliſhed church, we cannot but conſider all attempts to overthrow it—to ſwallow it up, as it were, in the gulph of innovation—as having a pernicious tendency, hoſtile to the peace and welfare of ſociety. To ſecure the eſtabliſhment, by the impoſition of proper reſtraints on its enemies, is an act of wiſdom in the partiſans of ſuch eſtabliſhment; the endeavour to obtain, by lawful means, a *toleration* of that mode of worſhip which their conſcience bids them purſue, is highly juſtifiable in ſectaries of every deſcription; but, as in the former inſtance, no pretext whatever can ſanction oppreſſion, ſo, in the latter, the failure of efforts, however moderate or rational, can afford no poſſible excuſe for acts of violence, oppoſition to the laws, or inſidious attempts to ſubvert that faith and thoſe regulations which the majority of the nation have thought proper to adopt. But, unfortunately, both the partiſans of the old and of the new doctrines, diſdained to regulate their conduct by ſuch moderate principles; they often fell into extremes, and though the former were infinitely more culpable, yet the latter were certainly not blameleſs.

The remonſtrance, which was rather intended as an appeal to the public, than as an

addreſs to the king, produced but little effect: but the unhappy priſoners found more able advocates in the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, and the elector palatine, who ſolicited their releaſe with uncommon earneſtneſs; and the king, who was, at that time, raiſing troops in their dominions, did not think it prudent to reject their application. The calm, however, which enſued on their releaſe, was but of ſhort duration. Many princes of the blood, who favoured the new doctrines, and among others, Anthony of Bourbon and his conſort Jane d'Albret, king and queen of Navarre, with the prince and princeſs of Condé, having repaired to Paris, to be preſent at the marriage of the dauphin with the young queen of Scotland, frequented the private aſſemblies of the Calviniſts, careſſed their miniſters, and encouraged them to redouble their zeal and activity.

Calvin had, for ſome time paſt, reproached them, in his letters, with their timid circumſpection, or rather puſillanimity; and, convinced that any exploſion muſt prove advantageous to the propagation of his doctrine, which had already taken ſuch deep root in the kingdom, that it was deemed impoſſible to eradicate it, he inceſſantly exhorted them to act with firmneſs and deciſion, and boldly to publiſh their profeſſion of faith wherever they went[57]. Piqued at theſe reproaches, and encouraged by the preſence and exhortations of the princes of the blood, they appointed two or three ſucceſſive meetings, in a meadow, called Le Pré aux Clercs, where three or four thouſand perſons aſſembled, and ſang the Pſalms of Marot, ſet to muſic: they then marched in proceſſion through ſeveral of the ſtreets in the ſuburbs of Saint-Germain, attended by a great number of armed gentlemen, who threatened to cut down all that ſhould attempt to oppoſe their paſſage. The magiſtrates, alarmed at this unexpected tumult, ordered thoſe gates to be ſhut which led to the univerſity and the ſuburb of Saint-Germain, and ſent their officers to take informations on the ſpot. The biſhop of Paris immediately ſent the particulars of this tranſaction to the king, without, however, naming the principal perſons concerned in it. Henry, having compared this intelligence with the notice which Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, had recently given to the cardinal of Lorraine, of a conſpiracy on the point of breaking out, diſpatched, without delay, the cardinal Bertrand, keeper of the ſeals, with three maſters of requeſts, to inveſtigate the buſineſs. Bertrand, after he had read the informations already taken by the officers of the Châtelet, went to the parliament, where he obſerved, that the cardinal of Lorraine, having had a freſh conference with the biſhop of Arras, prime miniſter to the king of Spain, on the ſubject of peace, had received intelligence from that prelate of a conſpiracy then forming by the proteſtants, which would ſoon break out: that the day after the cardinal's return to court, the king had received a letter from the biſhop of Paris, in which he was informed that ſome of the inſurgents had been heard to ſay—"*That they would do as they pleaſed in "ſpite of every body:—they cared not who diſapproved of their conduct—it would ſoon be ſeen*

57 Beze, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—Reg. du Parlement—Calv. Epiſt

"*who*

"*who was the ſtrongeſt:*"—that there could be no doubt but this inſolent challenge was addreſſed to the king, and announced a regular plan for overthrowing the ſtate: that the king, who was of the ſame opinion, would have come, in perſon, to inveſtigate this myſtery, had not his preſence been neceſſary at the army: that having received his majeſty's orders for that purpoſe, he had examined the few informations which had been taken by the officers of the Châtelet, in ſome of which it was declared, that men of ſuch high rank had been concerned in the tranſaction, that the witneſſes neither dared nor would expoſe themſelves to the danger of incurring their reſentment: that it was the duty of the parliament, who poſſeſſed ſufficient authority, to compel thoſe witneſſes to explain themſelves more clearly: that it was very well known that there were, and ever would be, perſons diſcontented at not enjoying ſo great a ſhare in the government as their ambition led them to aſpire to, and who, for the gratification of their own private intereſt, would favour any plan for the diſſemination of diſcord, and the ſuſcitation of general anarchy; but that there was every reaſon to believe that, in the union of the true Chriſtians, and of all thoſe who were attached to their country, they would experience an inſurmountable obſtacle to the accompliſhment of their pernicious deſigns: that the king, who, on his acceſſion to the throne, had found the catholic religion eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, was firmly reſolved to maintain it, and would conſider as an enemy and a traitor every man—without excepting even his own ſon—who, departing from the faith of his anceſtors, ſhould favour the new doctrines: that he was well aware that many abuſes had crept into the diſcipline of the church; that the clergy in general were depraved; and that, from the higheſt to the loweſt, not one of them diſcharged his duty[58]. That the cauſe of all theſe diſorders would be found in the too long interval ſuffered to elapſe between the general councils, which ought to be convened every three years: that the king propoſed to remedy this evil, whence aroſe his extreme anxiety to conclude a peace; that, meanwhile, he ordered the parliament to diſcover the authors of the ſedition, and to employ their utmoſt attention in ſtopping the evil at its ſource.

The firſt preſident, Le Maitre, replied, that the little lights which they had been able to procure on the ſubject, rather reſembled intelligence imparted in confidence, than evidence delivered on oath, becauſe the witneſſes had no ſooner evinced a diſpoſition to enter into explanations, than they had been threatened by perſons in diſguiſe to be maſſacred in the ſtreets, or to have their houſes reduced to aſhes; fear, therefore, had rendered them ſilent: that Truth was the daughter of Time, and as ſoon as it was known that the king would ſpare none of the criminals, however elevated their rank in life, depoſitions would flow in apace: that, if it was intended to trace the evil to its ſource, it would be found to originate in the Concordate; and that the people had only been led aſtray ſince they had ceaſed to hear the voices of their lawful paſtors: that, at that time,

[58] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 491.

there

there were forty biſhops at Paris, who did nothing but excite diſguſt: that, formerly, at leaſt, they never appeared in public but in their canonicals, whereas now they ſtrutted about the ſtreets in court dreſſes: that the edict, publiſhed at the requeſt of the parliament, for compelling biſhops and curates to reſide, had been ſpeedily abrogated: that all the abbies in the kingdom were ſucceſſively expoſed to the degradations of the commendataries, who laid waſte the woods, ſuffered the buildings to go to ruin, and endeavoured to aboliſh the little regularity which ſtill ſubſiſted in the monaſteries.

A few days after this diſcuſſion, an edict was publiſhed, ſtrictly enjoining, under ſevere penalties, all maſters and ſtudents to go to church regularly, and to receive the ſacrament; nothing, however, was done with regard to the late tumult, for the keeper of the ſeals having learnt the names of the principal inſurgents, did not think it prudent to puſh his enquiries any farther.

About the ſame time d'Andelot, nephew to the conſtable, was accuſed of favouring the new doctrines, and of founding proteſtant churches in Brittany. In conſequence of this accuſation he was ſummoned to appear at court; but the king, who was averſe from proceeding to extremities againſt one of the braveſt men in his dominions, who was, alſo, ſo nearly allied to his friend, Montmorenci, gave ſecret advice to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, of all the queſtions which he meant to propoſe to him, in order that he might be prepared with proper anſwers. The precaution, however, proved of little utility; d'Andelot was a man who aſpired to the title formerly enjoyed by the brave Bayard, of *The Knight without Reproach*, and he was reſolved not to forfeit his pretenſions by the ſmalleſt deviation from truth. He attended Henry while he was at ſupper at Monceaux, a houſe belonging to Catharine of Medicis, and the king, after reproaching him with his attachment to a turbulent ſect, proſcribed by the laws of the realm, and reminding him of the favours which he had conferred on him, deſired him to declare, before the company, what he thought of the maſs. D'Andelot, in reply, expreſſed his ſenſe of the obligations he was under to his majeſty, but obſerved, that although he had devoted his life to the ſervice of his king, his ſoul belonged to God alone; that having had the good fortune to be enlightened by the light of the Goſpel, and believing that he had diſcovered the truth in that religion which his majeſty perſecuted, without knowing what it was, he ſhould think himſelf unworthy of life were he to betray his conſcience and deceive his majeſty; that ſince he was forced to explain himſelf with regard to the maſs, he frankly declared that he conſidered it as a horrid profanation. He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than the king flew into a violent paſſion, ordered him to be immediately conveyed to priſon, and deprived him of the poſt of colonel-general of the infantry. His impriſonment, however, was of ſhort duration; the king, from friendſhip to his family, ſoon ordered him to be releaſed; while the zealous Catholics, finding themſelves unſupported by government, reſolved to take the taſk of vengeance into their own hands, in which reſolution

tion they were publickly encouraged by ſome of their fanatical preachers [59]. The parliament, far from being able to repreſs this licentiouſneſs, were no longer in a condition to enforce the execution of their own ſentences: they had condemned Muſnier, a magiſtrate of infamous character, to ſtand in the pillory, for perjury and ſubornation of perjury; but he was reſcued by the people, (who knew him to be a zealous perſecutor of the Calviniſts) as the officers of juſtice were conducting him to the market-place, and he ſoon after obtained his releaſe. About the ſame time, a ſhoemaker, ſentenced to be hanged for theft, was reſcued by the mob from the hands of the executioners, becauſe he was a *good Catholic* [60]; and a Calviniſt, condemned to die for the crime of hereſy, was reſcued in a ſimilar manner, but from a different motive—that the mob might aggravate his puniſhment, and become his executioners themſelves.

Still the doctrines of Calvin continued to be propagated with great ſucceſs; the parliament themſelves were divided in their ſentiments; for while the *Grand Chamber*, preſided by Le Maitre, Saint André, and Minart, conſigned to the flames almoſt every heretic that was brought before them, the chamber of the *Tournelle*, preſided by Harlai, de Thou, and Seguier, generally contrived to acquit them, or, at moſt, made them pay a trifling fine: an event, however, occurred, in the laſt year of the reign of Henry the Second, which made a great noiſe, and was productive of much perſecution.

Four ſtudents of irreproachable character, but firmly attached to the new doctrines, having been ſentenced to die by the inferior courts, had appealed to the parliament, though fully reſolved never to ſubmit to the diſgrace of a retractation. Their friends and relations, dreading the ſeverity of the Grand Chamber, had contrived to have them tried before the chamber of the Tournelle. Seguier, the preſiding judge, after having, in private, endeavoured but in vain to extort from the priſoners at leaſt an apparent diſavowal, charitably warned them to be reſerved and circumſpect in their anſwers: they were at firſt queſtioned on various points, on which the doctrines of Calvin differed but little from the Catholic belief; but they were, at laſt, aſked what they thought of the real preſence in the ſacrament? they acknowledged the real preſence, without explaining whether they meant a *carnal preſence*, ſuch as the Catholic church admits, or a *ſymbolic and ſpiritual preſence*, as admitted by the Proteſtants. Moſt of the judges appeared ſatisfied with this anſwer, but one, more difficult and more bigotted than the reſt, inſiſted on knowing their opinion of the maſs, and whether they would attend the celebration of it? Compelled to anſwer, they ſimply ſaid that they would not attend it. They were then aſked what were their objections, but as it was foreſeen that their anſwer would prove fatal to them, Seguier, wiſhing to give them time for reflection, granted them a delay of four-and-twenty hours. Convinced that they could not, without betraying God and their

[59] Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 501. [60] Idem, p. 502.

conſciences,

conſcience, have recourſe to a ſubterfuge on this fundamental article of their creed, they recalled to their minds all that they had ever read or heard on the ſubject, and, dividing the labour between them, compoſed, in that ſhort ſpace of time, one of the moſt violent invectives that had yet been publiſhed againſt the maſs. They fully expected that death would be the conſequence of their temerity, but, to their great aſtoniſhment, the judges found a means of ſaving their lives. Laying it down as a principle that the ſentence of death pronounced by the laws againſt all who denied the actual preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, could not be applied to the priſoners, who had publickly acknowledged the real preſence, and who were only guilty of having ſpoke irreverently of the auguſt ceremony of the maſs, they only baniſhed them the kingdom, and ordered the doors of their priſon to be immediately opened.

This indulgence excited an univerſal clamour throughout the capital, and the crown-lawyers received inſtructions to remonſtrate with the court on the impropriety of their conduct, and to convene one of thoſe meetings—called *Mercuriales*—at which every member of the parliament was compelled to anſwer all queſtions that ſhould be put to him on religious matters. The parliament accordingly met, at the beginning of June, in a great room in the convent of the Auguſtine friars, when they ſpoke with ſo much force and vehemence, that the firſt preſident, alarmed at the commotion which prevailed in the court, ſent word to the miniſters, that the king muſt either diſſolve the aſſembly, or repair thither in perſon, in order to preſerve a proper decorum. Accordingly, on the tenth of June, at an hour when he was leaſt expected, Henry entered the room, accompanied by the cardinals of Lorraine and Guiſe; the princes of Montpenſier and La Roche-ſur-Yon; the dukes of Guiſe and Montmorenci; and Bertrand, keeper of the ſeals. As ſoon as he was ſeated, he ſaid, that ſince it had pleaſed God to grant him a durable peace, he thought he could not make a better uſe of his time than in endeavouring to put a ſtop to thoſe diſſentions which began to prevail among his ſubjects with regard to religion: that knowing his parliament had been engaged in this buſineſs for ſome days, he came to inveſtigate the matter, and to confirm, by his preſence, the reſult of their deliberations, which he, therefore, ordered them to continue.

If, on the one ſide, this ſudden appearance of the king, and the number of his guards, who had taken poſſeſſion of the doors, alarmed the judges; on the other, the ſerenity of his countenance, the tone of impartiality he had aſſumed, and more than that, the undoubted right which every member of the court enjoyed to deliver his ſentiments without reſtraint or moleſtation, encouraged the moſt timid. Some of thoſe who favoured the Proteſtants inſiſted on the neceſſity of allowing them ſix months, in order to procure inſtruction, and to return to the right path, which if they failed to do, they ſhould then be baniſhed the kingdom; while others voted for the convocation of a council, which ſhould be authorized to decide on all points of controverſy, and for ſuſpending, till the deciſions of the council

council ſhould be known, all proſecutions againſt thoſe who were improperly called *heretics*, ſince they had neither been tried nor even heard in their own defence. This laſt opinion was broached by Lewis Dufaur and Anne Dubourg; the former an eminent lawyer and ſtateſman; the latter a good divine and a pious chriſtian. Dufaur, tracing all civil puniſhments to their ſource, and laying it down as a principle that they could only be juſt and uſeful ſo long as they were proportioned to the nature of thoſe diſorders which it was the intereſt of ſociety to repreſs, deſired to know by what ſubverſion of ideas the crimes of homicide and adultery, which ſap the very foundations of ſocial order, came to be puniſhed with leſs rigour in France, and excited public cenſure in a leſs degree, than a few ſpeculative opinions, which were almoſt indifferent to the ſupport and welfare of ſociety? why men, branded with thoſe crimes, were received, and even honoured, both at court and every where elſe, while Inquiſitors were paid, and every ſpecies of cruelty exerciſed, in order to torture a few unhappy men, who injured no one, who practiſed the precepts of the Goſpel, and ſerved God according to the dictates of their own conſciences? That, being at a loſs to account for this rage, he had aſked thoſe who perſecuted them with the greateſt virulence, what they had to reproach them with; and the only anſwer he had ever received was, that they were peſts to ſociety, though how or in what they had never been able to explain to him. That it might be expected the Calviniſts would anſwer their perſecutors, as a prophet formerly anſwered king Ahab—"*'Tis thou who trou-*" *bleſt Iſrael.*"—After returning thanks to God for having inſpired the king with the reſolution to enquire into the merits of the queſtion, and to act in conformity to the rules of juſtice, he obſerved, that the only mode of forming a juſt opinion of a thing, was to conſider it by itſelf, laying aſide all thoſe collateral circumſtances with which prejudice and paſſion were apt to clog it; that, in purſuing this plan, it would be acknowledged that, for a century paſt, the church had ſtood in great need of a reform; that this was evident from the reiterated complaints of the moſt enlightened companies in the kingdom; the requeſts of the ſtates general, as often as they had been aſſembled; the fruitleſs demands of ſo many ſovereigns, and even the oath which it was uſual to exact from the Roman pontiff before his coronation, to aſſemble a council as ſoon as poſſible: that while thoſe who profited by ſuch diſorders had recourſe to various ſubterfuges, in order to put off the reform, and the monarchs, intent on other ſchemes, loſt ſight of it, certain courageous men had made the attempt, taking for the baſis of their proceedings and the rule of their conduct, the word of God, as contained in the ſcriptures, and enforced by the diſcipline of the church, in the early ages of Chriſtianity: that ſuch a bold undertaking would deſerve the higheſt commendations, were it certain that it had been faithfully executed; that this, however, it was permitted to doubt, ſince the reformers themſelves had not ventured to aſſert it, ſince they neither laid claim to inſpiration nor infallibility, and had conſtantly offered to correct whatever was contrary, either in their writings or their inſtitutions, to the doctrines of the Goſpel, and the practice of the primitive church: that it appeared, that ſuch an offer, had it been accepted, muſt have been productive of great advantage to Chriſtianity, ſince every body would have profited by what

was uſeful in their labours, and the faults, which might have eſcaped them would have been attended with no dangerous conſequences: but that, inſtead of purſuing this prudent plan, attempts had been made, in Germany and ſome other countries, to check the new doctrine in its birth, by means of proſcription and puniſhments, and laſtly by the force of arms, without conſidering that the Father of all Truth had made the minds of his creatures independant of the will of tyrants, and that an opinion well confirmed could only be removed by the conviction of an oppoſite truth: that, by the adoption of a ſimilar ſyſtem, France would become a ſcene of blood and carnage, and, after all, be compelled to change her mode of proceeding: that his advice, therefore, was to ſupplicate the king to convene, with all poſſible expedition, a general council; or, if it were not in his power to do that, to aſſemble the moſt pious and moſt enlightened men in his dominions, who, diſmiſſing all prejudice, all party-ſpirit, might labour to promote, ſubject to his orders, a ſalutary reform; and that all proſecutions and executions, for religious concerns, ſhould be ſuſpended for the preſent; for it was a matter of no ſmall conſequence to conſign to the flames numbers of unfortunate men, who had committed no crime, who really believed what they profeſſed, and who, in the midſt of torments, invoked the name of God.

The preſidents Seguier, Harlai, and de Thou, juſtified the conduct of the parliament, without entering into the merits of the queſtion: Minart voted for the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt heretics; and the firſt-preſident, Le Maître, in ſupport of the ſame opinion, quoted the example of Philip Auguſtus, who, in one day, had cauſed ſix hundred heretics to be burned in his preſence, and beſtowed the greateſt eulogies on the various cruelties which had been exerciſed, at different times, againſt the Vaudois[59].

The king retired, with the princes of the blood and the noblemen who had accompanied him, into an adjoining apartment, where he ordered the liſt to be brought to him, on which were inſcribed the names and opinions of all the judges who had ſpoken before his arrival. After he had read it he returned to his ſeat, and ſaid—That it was but too true, though he had hitherto refuſed to believe it, that there was a great number of heretics in his parliament; that though he had a right to puniſh the whole body, for having ſo long ſuffered them to remain on the bench, yet he would not confound the innocent with the guilty. The conſtable, after approaching the throne to receive the king's orders, ſeized Dufaur and Dubourg, and delivered them over to the captain of the guards, who conducted them to the Baſtille: orders were iſſued for the apprehenſion of ſix other judges, who had delivered their opinions with candour and freedom; three only were taken, Anthony Fumée, Euſtache de la Porte, and Paul de Foix: the others, having received timely notice, effected their eſcape. This violent exertion of power excited an univerſal alarm; and though the king had certainly acted a part unworthy of his dignity, the prejudice and hatred againſt the

[59] Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniére—La Place—De Thou—Regiſtres du Parlem.

Proteſtants

Proteſtants were ſo ſtrong, that he was loaded with praiſes and benedictions. The pope was ſo highly delighted, that he told the French ambaſſador, that the king his ſon had juſtified, in a glorious manner, the tender attachment he had ever entertained for him: that the ardour he had diſplayed in avenging the cauſe of God, would draw down the benedictions of heaven upon his head; and he expreſſed his hope that he would continue to deſerve more and more the titles of Moſt Chriſtian King and Eldeſt Son of the Church, by aiming his blows at the chiefs of that peſtilential race, which would be the only means of purging his dominions of them.

The remedy adviſed by the pontiff would have proved as inefficacious as it was violent; for at the very time that the Proteſtant-party was ſuppoſed to be entirely cruſhed, the miniſters and deputies of the churches in the iſle of France, Normandy, the Orleanois, Aunis, and Poitou, held, at a houſe in the ſuburb of Saint Germain, their firſt national ſynod, and reduced into forty articles the conſtitutions which were intended to maintain an union and uniformity of diſcipline among the different ſocieties which were independant of each other. When they had ſettled this point, they endeavoured to procure the releaſe of the priſoners, for which purpoſe they had again recourſe to the interceſſion of the elector palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg; but peace being now concluded, the king was no longer anxious to oblige thoſe princes, and their application only ſerved to encreaſe his rage. He appointed commiſſioners, aſſiſted by the biſhop of Paris and the inquiſitor Démocharés, to try the priſoners, and he ſwore, in his wrath, that he would himſelf ſee them expire in the flames: but death put an end to all his projects of revenge.

Every kind of vice is ſaid to have reigned at the court of Henry the Second [60], and murders and theft were daily committed in the metropolis; to remedy, in a certain degree, this latter evil, which was generally aſcribed to the multiplicity of ſtout beggars that infeſted the ſtreets, workhouſes were erected, in which ſuch as were able were compelled to earn a ſubſiſtence; while the ſick and infirm were ſupported in the hoſpitals by a poor's-rate, impoſed and levied on the inhabitants by the ſole authority of the parliament [61].

Some ſumptuary laws were enacted at the commencement of this reign, with a view to check the progreſs of luxury, but to little purpoſe, as the vanity of the Pariſians appears always to have riſen ſuperior to reſtraint.

The public revenue, in the year 1548, amounted to eight millions, five hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven livres, equal (eſtimating each livre at ten pence) to three hundred and fifty ſix thouſand, one hundred and forty-nine pounds and ten pence, ſterling. The expenditure amounted to nine millions, four hundred and eighty-

[60] Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 138. [61] Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 62, 63.

ſeven thouſand livres, or three hundred and ninety-five thouſand, two hundred and ninety-one pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence ſterling. The deficit was ſupplied by the new taxes which we have before noticed.

By an edict, publiſhed in 1557, at the inſtigation of the conſtable Montmorenci, whoſe ſon had contracted a marriage, in oppoſition to the will of his father, it was enacted, that all children of diſtinction, under the age of thirty, if males, and under twenty-five, if females, who ſhould marry in a clandeſtine manner, againſt the will and conſent of their parents—excepting only the caſe in which the father was dead, and the mother married again—ſhould forfeit their inheritance; and it was left at the option of the parents to make any or no proviſion for them; all ſuch marriages were likewiſe declared null, unleſs conſummation had taken place.

Another edict, leſs oppreſſive in its nature, and more ſalutary in its effects, though ſtill too rigorous and ſevere, was publiſhed about the ſame time. Young women and widows, who had ſacrificed their honour to the gratification of their paſſions, in order to conceal their diſgrace, not unfrequently delivered themſelves in private, and put the wretched offspring of their illicit amours to death as ſoon as it was born; if they were apprehended and proſecuted, they did not fail to alledge that the infant had given no ſigns of life, and provided they did not contradict this declaration, when applied to the rack, they were acquitted, and, emboldened by their eſcape, often repeated the ſame crime. To remedy this evil, any girl or woman, duly convicted of having concealed her pregnancy and delivery, and who ſhould fail to produce her child, on being ſummoned ſo to do, was, by this edict, declared guilty of murder, and puniſhed accordingly.

FRANCIS

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MUSEUM

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CATHARINE or MEDICIS.

Publish'd as the Act Directs by C. Lowndes 6. April 1793.

FRANCIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 1559.] HENRY was ſucceeded by his ſon, Francis the Second, who, though the eldeſt of ſeven children, had but juſt entered his ſixteenth year, when he was called to the throne. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or deſign, but from neceſſity; for frequent ſickneſs and an habitual langour rendered him equally unfit for mental exertions, and for thoſe martial exerciſes which, by invigorating the body, give ſtrength and energy to the mind. His mother, Catharine of Medicis, had remained ſterile for a conſiderable time after her marriage, and ſhe was in danger of being divorced on that account, when the ſkilful efforts of Fernel, a celebrated phyſician, effected an alteration in her conſtitution, and removed the cauſe of her ſterility; but the violent remedies ſhe employed, as well before as during the period of her pregnancy, had a fatal effect on her firſt offspring, who exhibited, at his birth, every ſymptom of debility, and never enjoyed more than a paſſive exiſtence: without deſires, without vices, without virtues, pronounced of age by the law, but condemned by nature to a perpetual minority, he was deſtined to become a blind inſtrument in the hand of the firſt perſon who ſhould take poſſeſſion of him.

Under theſe circumſtances, Catharine of Medicis might juſtly urge her ſuperior pretenſions to power; but as the times were turbulent and unſettled, requiring uncommon exertions of firmneſs, prudence and ſagacity, ſhe deemed it proper to aſſociate with her in the adminiſtration men of active and vigorous minds, who would take upon themſelves the chief burden of the ſtate. Though no friend to the Guiſes, ſhe preferred their aſſiſtance, in the preſent inſtance, to that of the princes of the blood, who, having claims independent of her own, might, ſhe thought, be induced to diſpute her authority, and of the conſtable, whoſe ſevere and deſpotic diſpoſition could ill-brook contradiction. No ſooner were the eyes of Henry

cloſed

cloſed by death, than the Guiſes entered the dauphin's chamber, accompanied by the duke of Ferrara, their brother-in-law, and the duke of Nemours, and hailed him as their ſovereign. They then conducted him to his mother's apartment, who was eaſily perſuaded to remove him from the palace of the Tournelles to the Louvre, where he received the deputies from the parliament, to whom he announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands, aided by the advice of his mother, and aſſiſted by the experience of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, to the former of whom he had aſſigned the military department, and to the latter the finances.

Diana of Poitiers, the ſucceſsful rival of Catharine of Medicis, did not ſuffer her pride to be humbled by the loſs of her lover; the queen, impatient of revenge, ſent to aſk her for the jewels of the crown, and the keys of the king's private cabinet. "Friend,"—ſaid Diana, to the man charged with this commiſſion,—"is the king dead?" "No, madam," —replied the meſſenger,—"but he cannot live many hours." "Return then,"—ſaid ſhe —"to thoſe who ſent you, and tell them from me, that ſo long as he lives they have no right "to command me; when he is gone they will have time enough to revenge themſelves; "but then, whatever they may do, will give me but little uneaſineſs, for after having loſt "my ſovereign good, the only tie which attaches me to life, how trifling will every thing "elſe appear!" Catharine would willingly have perſecuted her, but the powerful families to which ſhe was allied, interceded in her behalf, and convinced the queen that the gratification of her reſentment would only be productive of diſgrace to herſelf.

Bertrand, the keeper of the ſeals, was diſmiſſed from his office, and retired to Rome; but the mareſchal de Saint André, who had amaſſed an immenſe fortune during the laſt reign, courted the friendſhip of the duke of Guiſe, and ſecured it by marrying his only daughter and heireſs to one of the duke's younger ſons. The conſtable Montmorenci ſeemed better entitled to reſpect, and better calculated to give uneaſineſs to the new miniſtry: independent of a property ſuperior to that of almoſt any ſubject in France, and the degree of conſideration which long ſervices command, he oppoſed to the Guiſes, through himſelf and his numerous relations, a maſs of power which it appeared difficult, and infinitely dangerous to attack. Grand maſter of the houſehold, and conſtable of France; uncle to the admiral, and to the colonel general of the infantry; he held, either by himſelf, his children, or his nephews, the four beſt governments in the kingdom—Languedoc, Provence, Picardy, and the iſle of France; the laſt of which included the capital: twenty regular companies, which formed more than one half of the national forces, were commanded by himſelf or relations. Senſible, however, that he muſt no longer expect to hold the firſt place in the adminiſtration, he determined to raiſe up a formidable rival to the Guiſes, whoſe ſuperior birth and quality would juſtify his own acceptance of a ſubordinate ſtation. As ſoon, therefore, as the king was given over by his phyſicians, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, to offer him his ſervices, and to preſs him to haſten to court, in order to aſſume, in the council and in the government, that rank which

which was due to the firſt prince of the blood; but before that monarch could be prevailed on to comply with his requeſt, Montmorenci received a viſit from the ſecretary of ſtate, Aubeſpine, who, in the king's name, deſired him to deliver up the *private ſeal* which Henry had entruſted to his care. Although this meſſage ought clearly to have convinced him that his reign was at an end, yet he could not reſiſt the temptation of having auricular conviction of the king's diſpoſition towards him; rather chuſing, if he found it unfavourable, to take a voluntary leave, than to wait for his diſmiſſion. Having, accordingly, aſſembled his ſons and nephews, he went with them to the palace before the king had riſen from table; Francis took him by the hand, and led him to his cloſet, whither he was followed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, who never loſt ſight of him. The conſtable preſenting his family to the king, expreſſed a wiſh that his majeſty would confirm them in the poſſeſſion of their places, and continue to favour them with the ſame ſpecial protection with which they had been honoured by his father: as he was proceeding to explain his wiſhes with regard to himſelf, the king, who was better tutored than Montmorenci had ſuppoſed, ſuddenly interrupted him, and ſaid—That he was well apprized of the merits and ſervices of thoſe whom he had recommended to his protection, wherefore he confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective offices, and would certainly employ them, whenever an opportunity ſhould occur, in preference to all others: that being equally ſenſible of the length and utility of his own ſervices, in the two preceding reigns, and of the perfect confidence repoſed in him by his father, he ſhould ſettle all his ſalaries and penſions on him for life; but that wiſhing to ſave him for particular occaſions, and to releaſe him, in his old age, from the cares of government, he had divided the adminiſtration between the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guiſe, to the former of whom he had entruſted the management of the revenue, and to the latter the military department: that all he had to requeſt of him was, that he would aſſiſt him with his knowledge, and attend, as often as he could, at the council, where he ſhould preſerve his ancient rank.

To this the conſtable replied, that the favour his majeſty had voluntarily offered, of releaſing him from the cares of ſtate, he had come purpoſely to ſolicit; but that, as his great age rendered it abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould be wholly unmoleſted in his retirement, he muſt farther requeſt that his majeſty would diſpenſe with his attendance at the council. He then quitted the king, and repaired to the apartment of the queen-mother, in order to inform her of what had paſſed. Catharine, conſidering the diſdain with which the conſtable refuſed the ſeat that had been reſerved for him at the council board as an affront offered to the king and to herſelf, adviſed him to act with more caution and prudence; and, in a tranſport of paſſion, reproached him with the artifices he had employed in order to deprive her of her huſband's confidence, and particularly with one expreſſion, ſo imprudent, that it is inconceivable how a man of Montmorenci's ſagacity could have ſuffered it to eſcape him: he had aſked the king how it happened that none of his children reſembled him except Diana, his natural daughter, who was widow to the duke of Caſtres, and had afterwards married the conſtable's eldeſt ſon. Montmorenci, however, ſtrongly denied the fact, and

begged

begged the queen to recollect that he had a great number of enemies, who were the more anxious to promote his ruin, as they flattered themſelves with the hope of dividing his fortune among them—"*But that*," ſaid he, "*will be a more difficult matter than they may* "*imagine.*"

Mortified with the reception he had experienced, the conſtable haſtened to complete the preparations for Henry's funeral, and after he had attended the corpſe of his late ſovereign to the royal vault at Saint Denis, he followed the court to Saint Germain, ſtill uncertain whether he ſhould purſue the advice of Catharine of Medicis, or adhere to his firſt reſolution; but here his mortification was encreaſed, for the young monarch did not even deign to ſpeak to him. Enraged at a treatment to which he had been ſo little accuſtomed, he reſolved to retire without farther delay; and that the foreign ambaſſadors who had witneſſed the inſult might be convinced that though his credit was loſt at court, his influence with the nobility remained undiminiſhed, he ſet out from Saint Germain with ſuch a numerous train of friends as gave to his retreat the appearance of a triumph, and left the court almoſt wholly deſerted that day.

The queen-mother was highly diſpleaſed with the conſtable's retreat, for although he was no favourite of her's, ſhe could have wiſhed to keep him in the council, in order to reſtrain and balance the authority of the Guiſes. She began to be apprehenſive that the power which ſhe had been compelled to entruſt to thoſe princes, might be turned againſt herſelf; and that, ſupported by their niece, Mary Stuart, whoſe ſweetneſs of temper and perſonal charms had given her a perfect aſcendancy over her huſband, they might be tempted to deprive her of the ſhare which ſhe had reſerved in the adminiſtration: ſhe thought, therefore, that the ſureſt mode of removing ſuch temptation would be to introduce a rival of conſequence into the council, who would be always ready to replace them. Conſidering, moreover, that the ſtate was already divided into factions, ſhe could have wiſhed to keep terms with all parties, and to inſinuate herſelf into the confidence of the different leaders, were no other advantage to be reaped from thence than the diſcovery of their deſigns, which would always exempt her from the danger of being taken by ſurprize. As ſhe had loſt the conſtable, ſhe had recourſe to his nephews, the Châtillons, whoſe diſpoſitions, more conciliating than that of their uncle, ſympathized better with her own, and who poſſeſſed too great talents and conſequence to be neglected by any party, and not to hold a ſuperior ſtation in that which they eſpouſed. The Châtillons joyfully conſented to a plan of which they were to reap the whole advantage, becauſe they knew Catharine much better than ſhe knew them. As to the Guiſes, they were well pleaſed at being rid of the conſtable, who could not but have reſtrained or retarded their operations; and, in order to render his ſeat at the council more diſagreeable to him, in caſe he ſhould be induced to change his reſolution, they recalled the cardinal Tournon from Italy, the confidential miniſter of Francis the Firſt, who had been ſacrificed to the jealouſy of Montmorenci, on the acceſſion of Henry the Second.

Of

Of the Guiſes, who acted ſuch a conſpicuous part during this reign, there were ſix brothers—the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, the cardinal of Guiſe, and the grand prior—but the two firſt only appear in the foreground of the political picture. The duke had ſecured the attachment of the troops, by the repeated proofs he had given of his ſkill and courage in the field; while his liberality, magnificence, and courteſy endeared him to the people. The cardinal was chiefly indebted for the extent of his influence to the ſtrength of his oratorical talents, and the orthodoxy of his religious principles: his authority over the clergy was unbounded, for they conſidered him as the champion of their faith againſt the attacks of the heretics, and the defender of their property againſt the encroachments of the civil power. The diſpoſitions of the two brothers, however, were very different; the duke was moderate, equitable, and intrepid in the hour of danger; the cardinal choleric, vindictive and enterpriſing, too readily elated by ſucceſs, and too eaſily depreſſed by defeat [1].

The Guiſes having ſucceeded in removing the conſtable, next directed their attention to the princes of the blood, who, though long accuſtomed to humiliation, might now reaſonably be expected to ſtand forward as candidates for power, and aſſert the ſuperiority of their claims. In order to keep them at a diſtance from the court, the moſt honourable commiſſions were aſſigned them: Lewis, prince of Condé, the moſt formidable of them all, was ſent to the Low Countries, to be preſent when the king of Spain ſwore to obſerve the laſt treaty of peace: the duke of Montpenſier was appointed to carry Philip the collar of the order of Saint Michael; and the cardinal of Bourbon, and the prince of la Roche-ſur-Yon, were fixed on to conduct the princeſs Elizabeth, who was betrothed to Philip, to the frontiers of Spain.

Still the king of Navarre remained, and, as the firſt prince of the blood, he was indiſputably entitled to the firſt ſeat at the council, and, in caſe the king were incapable of holding the reins of government in his own hands, he might have preferred well-founded pretenſions to the high poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The conſtable, aware of this, had offered him his ſupport; but Anthony, conſidering him as a ſworn enemy to the princes of the blood, doubted his ſincerity, and paid no attention to his propoſal. Naturally timid and irreſolute, he was long at a loſs how to act; but finding the Guiſes aimed at a monopoly of power, he, at length, determined to repair to court. The news of his departure excited a general commotion in all the ſouthern provinces: men of the firſt families mounted their horſes, and attended by their neighbours, their relations and friends, met him on the road, and offered to accompany him. But they ſoon became ſo numerous, that, through fear of alarming the Guiſes, he was compelled to reject their offers, at the ſame time thanking them for their zeal, and requeſting them to reſerve it for a

[1] Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 152, 153.

future opportunity. The reformed, who, ſoon after this period, began to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Huguenots*, and who already formed a powerful body in the ſtate, regarding Anthony as their guardian angel, becauſe he frequented their aſſemblies, and had often promiſed them his protection, ſent to him their principal miniſters, who pointed out the obligations he was under to God, and the deſigns of Providence, which having deſtined him, from all eternity, to make the purity of the Goſpel triumph over the profanations of the Romiſh church, had miraculouſly raiſed him from the ſtate of oppreſſion under which he had long laboured, in order to entruſt him with the exerciſe of the ſovereign power; exhorting him to fortify his boſom with a degree of firmneſs and courage worthy the cauſe he was called upon to defend, leſt the Almighty, who rejects all lukewarm votaries, ſhould puniſh him for having made an ill-uſe of his gifts. Then telling him he might diſpoſe of them, and of thoſe who ſent them, without reſerve, they required, as a confirmation of their union, that he would begin by aboliſhing the maſs and other remains of idolatry and ſuperſtition which were ſtill practiſed at his houſe, ſince it was not proper to bargain with God, nor to ſet a ſcandalous example to his neighbour; they alſo demanded, that he would procure the extinction of the piles, which had been burning for forty years, by obtaining an edict, which would allow the free exercise of the reformed religion.

Anthony complied with the ſecond article, which was the moſt eſſential point, but the execution of which by no means depended on himſelf: with regard to the firſt, he declared that, had he only liſtened to the dictates of his zeal, he ſhould have prevented their remonſtrances, by forbidding the celebration of maſs, and all other papiſtical ceremonies in his palace; but that it had ever appeared to him that the intereſt of the Proteſtant church rendered it neceſſary for him to diſſemble ſome time longer, becauſe the reaſons he meant to alledge in the council, in order to obtain the edict they deſired, would have much greater weight if he appeared to be ſolely actuated by motives of juſtice, and a concern for the welfare of the ſtate, than if every body were convinced that he was pleading his own cauſe.

Anthony had appointed a general rendezvous of all who were diſcontented with the preſent government at Vendôme, the chief city of his appanage. They accordingly attended on the appointed day, except the conſtable, who ſent Dardois, his confidential agent, to repreſent him. As ſoon as the king of Navarre propoſed the ſubject for deliberation, every body agreed in conſidering the domination of the Guiſes, whom they called foreigners, as an inſult not only to the princes of the blood, but to the whole order of French nobility, whoſe honour and whoſe privileges were materially affected thereby; but though they were unanimous on this point, they differed eſſentially as to the means of repreſſing the uſurpation of which they complained. The moſt violent, ſuch as the prince of Condé, d'Andelot, and the count of La Rochefoucaud, obſerved that, there were but two means eſtabliſhed by nature for one man to obtain of another the object

object of his desires—persuasion and force;—the first of which ought undoubtedly to be preferred, and always to be tried, whenever you had to deal with men who were just and enlightened; but, that with men of a different disposition, such a mode of proceeding would only be productive of shame, ridicule, and contempt: were the mode of persuasion to be adopted, they asked to whom were they to apply:—certainly either to the Guises themselves, to the king, or to the queen-mother: could any one suppose then, that by proving clearly to the Guises that they were usurpers, he could persuade them to resign that authority which they had disputed with so much violence during the preceding reign, and which they had just taken such pains to secure? By applying immediately to the king, the risk of degradation would be avoided, but another inconvenience would be incurred: every body knew that more weak in mind than body, his own senses lay dormant, and he could neither see nor hear but by the eyes and ears of the Guises; that they only imparted to him what they thought proper, and dictated all his answers: it was therefore to be expected either that their request would not be delivered to the king, or else be delivered together with the comments of the parties interested in its rejection, who would not fail to treat it as a defamatory libel: that the queen mother, who had joined the Guises in their persecution of the princes of the blood, would take to herself every reflection that might be cast on her associates; that all that could be expected from her, would be a declaration of her willingness to enter into an explanation; and that, conformably to the genius of her nation, she would amuse them by insidious negociations, and conclude by sowing dissention among them: that, on the contrary, by having recourse to force, and suddenly arming, as they were incontestibly authorized to do, since the same laws which called the head of the family to the throne, likewise called his nearest relations to take upon them the management of public affairs, when that head was notoriously incapable of governing himself, one of two things must happen—either the Guises, thrown into consternation by an unexpected attack, would enter into an accommodation, and resign one half of their power in order to preserve the other, or else would attempt to oppose force by force: in the first instance, they would become subordinate, and, in a short time, subjected to the princes of the blood, who would be able to diminish, and, finally, to annihilate the authority of their rivals: in the second, they would be under the necessity of summoning the nobility to their aid, and, excepting a very small number indeed, who had been seduced by pensions or places, the whole order would not fail to declare, in favour of the princes of the blood, against foreigners, and would, at least, demand the convocation of the states-general, which the Guises would never accord so long as their conduct exposed them to the censure of the nation: that, above all, it should be remembered that the success of all great undertakings generally depended on the manner in which they were begun: that celerity was essentially requisite, and that they should be particularly careful not to suffer the first ardour of their adherents to cool; that if the principal leaders appeared uncertain how to act, or allowed themselves to be amused by negociations, discouragement and mistrust would take posses-

ſion of their followers, for every man would be anxious to negociate after their example, or elſe would abandon the enterprize.

In oppoſition to theſe arguments it was urged by the admiral and Dardois, that celerity was not more requiſite in the execution of a great undertaking, than prudence and deliberation in the formation of a ſcheme: that thoſe who had juſt adviſed them to fly immediately to arms, evidently acted on two ſuppoſitions, which appeared, at leaſt, doubtful:—firſt, that the Guiſes would be taken by ſurprize; ſecondly, that almoſt the whole order of nobility would eſpouſe the quarrel of the princes with the ſame ardour by which they themſelves were actuated: that, by this calculation, they ran an evident riſk of being deceived both as to their friends and their enemies: that all who knew the Guiſes had a right to complain of their pride, their ambition, and injuſtice; but they could not reproach them with neglect, imprudence, or incapacity: that they might be aſſured, that, in a matter which affected them ſo nearly, they had compared the attacks to which they were expoſed, with their means of defence: that the king's houſehold troops, alone, of which they had the ſovereign command, would ſuffice to diſconcert any project that could then be attempted againſt them: that the princes could not poſſibly aſſemble their friends without their being immediately informed of it, and three hours would be ſufficient for the court to repair to Paris, where they would have nothing to fear: that they had at their diſpoſal diſciplined troops, fortified towns, artillery, and ammunition, and that, deranged as the finances indiſputably were, they would ſtill be able to procure money enough to carry on the war for two or three years; whereas the princes and their friends, by their utmoſt exertions, would be unable to procure the neceſſary ſum for raiſing and maintaining a body of ten thouſand men during three months: that they ought to conſider that the majority of them poſſeſſed but a moderate fortune, part of which conſiſted in ſalaries or penſions, paid out of the royal treaſury, of which a ſimple ſuſpenſion of payment would deprive them, and the remainder in eſtates, which might, by a ſentence of the parliament, be confiſcated to the king; that the greater part of the nation, exhauſted by preceding wars, and ſighing for repoſe, far from eſpouſing their quarrel, as they ſeemed to flatter themſelves, would not eaſily forgive them for re-engaging them in a civil war, on account of private intereſts by which they were but indirectly affected: that there were, at preſent, only two claſſes of men in the kingdom who were anxious to promote troubles; firſt, military men who had no property, and were accuſtomed to the licentiouſneſs of camps; and ſecondly, all thoſe who, profeſſing the reformed religion, experienced in the midſt of peace all the horrors of war: that the former, to whom all parties were alike, and whoſe only object was pay, would give the preference to the Guiſes, who had the treaſury at their diſpoſal: that the latter moſt cordially hated the Guiſes, who had placed themſelves at the head of their perſecutors, and would willingly ſacrifice one part of their fortune in order to preſerve the other; but as they only required the ceſſation of barbarous puniſhments, and the liberty of ſerving God according to their conſciences, the moment they obtained theſe two points, they would lay down their arms, and it was

not

not to be presumed that government, if reduced to extremities, would refuse them that gratification: that, under these circumstances, it appeared to them that the consequence of flying immediately to arms, would be inevitable destruction; and that as force, therefore, could be productive of no possible advantage, recourse should be had to the mode of persuasion, which was by no means so desperate as had been represented, provided it was used with patience and address: that the Guises, all audacious as they were, had not dared to deprive the princes of the blood of their seats in the council, nor of the rank they were destined to hold there: that there was nothing, then, to prevent the king of Navarre from taking his seat, and from presiding in the king's absence: that whatever pains might have been taken to exclude from the council all who were hostile to the Guises, yet Anthony would still find the great officers of the crown, and other secret partisans, by whose means he would be enabled to form a party: that by opposing all the violent and destructive projects that would be proposed, he would render the present administration unpopular, and would himself secure the esteem of the people, who would soon begin to consider him as their protector: that should he succeed in gaining over to his side the queen-mother, her assistance would alone turn the scale in his favour, and smooth every difficulty: that they saw no reason why she should not be gained; the displeasure she had shewn at the constable's retreat, and the advances she had made to his nephews, proved that she had not influenced, as much as was supposed, the choice of the new ministers, at least that she did not repose an entire confidence in them: that, in short, it was the more adviseable to try this plan, as, after it had failed, it would still be time enough to have recourse to more violent methods: that, in the mean time, they might sound their friends, watch their enemies, and avail themselves of all the faults that might escape them.

This last opinion met the approbation of the king of Navarre, inasmuch as it corresponded to his natural indecision, and differed but little from the advice he had previously received from his own ministers: he accordingly repaired to Saint-Germain, where the court then was, but having received the most pointed insults, as well from the Guises as from the king himself, he did not dare to take his seat at the council, but departed, with precipitation, for the capital. In concert with the prince of Condé, and others of the same party, he there endeavoured to secure the parliament in his favour, but their attachment to the religion of their ancestors prevented some of the judges, while the severities exercised against the protestants, towards the conclusion of the late reign, deterred others from acceding to their proposals. The Guises, meanwhile, apprized of their attempts, perceived the necessity of sending the princes from the capital, as soon as possible; they therefore hastened the preparations for the king's coronation, which ceremony was performed at Rheims on the twelfth of October, by the cardinal of Lorraine. Emboldened by the presence of the great officers of the crown, the king of Navarre now ventured to take his seat at the council; and his suggestions began to meet with attention,

tention, when an artifice of the Guiſes again made him change his reſolution. They read, in his preſence, a letter from Philip the Second to Francis, in which that prince offered, in conſequence of the information he had received that ſome turbulent men had formed a plan for overthrowing the adminiſtration which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and for encroaching on the authority of the king, although he was of age, and perfectly in a condition to govern his kingdom, to ſend him, as his friend and brother-in-law, an army of forty thouſand men, which he might diſpoſe of at his pleaſure for the purpoſe of reducing the inſurgents to obedience. Anthony, hearing, at the ſame time, that Philip, after ſettling his affairs in the Low Countries, intended to embark for Spain, began to tremble for his principality of Bearn: reſigning all his projects of grandeur, he only ſought for an honourable pretext for retiring; and this his adverſaries were careful to afford him, by propoſing that he ſhould, himſelf, execute the commiſſion which had been entruſted to his brother the cardinal of Bourbon, and his couſin the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, and conduct the princeſs Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain. He was afterwards detained in Bearn, with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negociation, with which he was amuſed by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

But though the Guiſes ſucceeded in their attempt to degrade the king of Navarre in the eyes of his own party, yet had they little reaſon to triumph, ſince, in lieu of a chief, negligent, puſillanimous, and irreſolute, they had now to deal with one who was active, vigilant, and intrepid, and the more dangerous from having little to loſe [2]. Lewis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, whom Anthony, at his departure, had appointed his ſubſtitute, concealed, beneath an ungraceful and diminutive form, and beneath an appearance of gaiety, thoughtleſsneſs and diſſipation, a mind deep, ardent and aſpiring, which no difficulties could intimidate nor misfortunes depreſs. From his earlieſt youth he had been accuſtomed to court all the dangers of war, and his proweſs in the field had been repeatedly diſplayed at the head of a troop of light-horſe, but more frequently as a ſimple volunteer; yet his high and determined courage had paſſed unrewarded, and, in common with the other princes of the blood, he had been conſtantly excluded by the miniſtry from that rank and promotion to which his birth and his ſervices afforded him ſo fair a title. In vain had he courted the favour of the conſtable by marrying Eleanor de Roye, niece to the admiral; the only poſt he had hitherto been able to procure was that of colonel of the Piedmonteſe bands, an inferior poſt, which he only accepted that he might not be totally deſtitute of employment in the ſtate. The Guiſes, indeed, had entruſted him with an honourable commiſſion at the court of Spain, but their only object in that appointment was to remove him from court, where his preſence embarraſſed them. Their

[2] La Planche—La Popliniére—Brantome—De Thou.

conduct,

conduct, indeed, in this very inſtance, ſufficiently explained the motives by which they were actuated; for knowing the extreme narrowneſs of the prince's income, they ought either not to have given him an appointment that muſt neceſſarily be attended with very conſiderable expence, or elſe have ſupplied him with money ſufficient to enable him to make ſuch an appearance as his birth required: yet the cardinal of Lorraine, under pretence that the treaſury was exhauſted, had only given him a thouſand crowns, by which means he had reduced him to the cruel neceſſity, either of rendering himſelf contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, or of contracting freſh debts. If, after this, the prince could have entertained any doubts as to the ſentiments of the Guiſes with regard to himſelf, another tranſaction which occurred about the ſame time muſt totally have diſpelled them.

While the court were at Rheims, the duke of Guiſe, in a private converſation which he had with the admiral, told him in confidence that a man, whoſe name he would not mention, but who paſſed for a friend of Coligni's, wiſhed to deprive him of the government of Picardy, by repreſenting that the inceſſant care and attention which the adminiſtration and defence of a frontier province required, were wholly incompatible with the duties of an admiral. Coligni could not miſtake the perſon to whom the duke alluded, becauſe the prince of Condé had been his competitor for the poſt, and he alone could form pretenſions to an office which had been ſucceſſively holden by his father and elder brother; he therefore entered into an explanation with the prince on the ſubject, and after expreſſing his concern, in the moſt affectionate manner, at his having applied to any other than himſelf, in order to obtain what he was juſtly entitled to, he offered to give up the government to him immediately. Condé proteſted, with great truth, that he had no concern whatever in the buſineſs, nor could he eaſily forgive the admiral for having thought him capable of an action ſo dark and treacherous. Coligni, however, ſtill perſiſted in his determination to reſign his poſt; for conſidering that he ſhould be unable to keep the frontier towns in a proper ſtate of defence, if the cardinal of Lorraine, who had the ſole management of the finances, ſhould refuſe him the neceſſary ſupplies for that purpoſe; and that he ſhould thereby run the riſk of receiving an affront, either from the enemy in caſe of a war, or from the king himſelf, on his viſit to the provinces, he rather choſe to anticipate his adverſaries, than to wait till they choſe to diſmiſs him. He therefore gave in his reſignation, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the queen-mother, and ſtrongly recommended the prince of Condé as his ſucceſſor, whoſe pretenſions to that office were, he ſaid, anterior to his own, and whom he never would have conſented to deprive of it, but for the deference which he owed to the commands of the late king. But his recommendations were diſregarded, and the government of Picardy was conferred on the mareſchal de Briſſac; while the duke of Guiſe ſucceeded to the office of maſter of the houſhold, which the conſtable was perſuaded, by the promiſe of an adequate compenſation to his ſon, to relinquiſh.

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The prince of Condé was juſtly offended at the preference given, under ſuch circumſtances, to a private gentleman over a prince of the blood: and his reſentment on this account probably induced him to pay greater attention to the ſuggeſtions of his mother-in-law, the lady of Roye, and to his wife, the princeſs of Condé, who being ſtrongly attached to the new doctrines, and ſurrounded by enthuſiaſtic miniſters, had long exhorted him to open his ears to inſtruction, and to take under his immediate protection the numbers of unhappy men who were perſecuted on account of their religious principles. The prince not only adopted the creed of the reformers, but publickly profeſſed it, refuſing to take any of thoſe precautions, which the king of Navarre, from irreſolution, and the admiral, from prudence, had thought it neceſſary to obſerve. Impatient to aſcertain what were the real views of the reformed, what they expected from him, and what he might expect from them, he appointed a meeting of the principal Hugonots at his eſtate at Ferté, in Champagne.

This party was in a very different ſituation from that to which it had been reduced but a few years before: it no longer conſiſted of a few fortuitous aſſemblies of obſcure individuals, whom the publication of an ordonnance, or the ſight of a commiſſary, put to flight, and frequently diſperſed never more to meet: it now formed an immenſe corporation of citizens of all ranks and conditions, who held aſſemblies *political* and religious[3], and who began to calculate their ſtrength: From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Breſt to Metz, France was crouded with churches, whoſe enthuſiaſtic miniſters, long accuſtomed to brave the dangers of impriſonment and torture, inſpired their proſelytes with the ſame degree of audacity, and the ſame reſolution; connected together by one common danger, they maintained a cloſe correſpondence with Calvin, and through his means, with ſome of the Swiſs cantons, the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, who having embraced the ſame religion, thought themſelves intereſted in procuring its ſolid eſtabliſhment in a neighbouring kingdom. If, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the Hugonots ſtill continued to keep themſelves concealed, and to hold their aſſemblies in the night, even in thoſe places where they were nearly as numerous as the Catholics, indignant at the reſtraint impoſed on them, they took proper precautions for repelling any violence that might be offered them, and clearly evinced, by their conduct, that they only waited for a leader to make them act in concert with each other, in order to extort a toleration which they regarded as their right, but which they knew would never be voluntarily granted. The prince of Condé, who enjoyed but little credit at court and in the council, naturally inclined to the adoption of violent meaſures, but to this mode of proceeding an obſtacle occurred, which, at firſt, they knew not how to ſurmount. Calvin, whoſe deciſions were generally holden ſacred, wiſhing to exempt himſelf from the

[3] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 58.

reproach

reproach he had frequently incurred, of ſowing anarchy and rebellion wherever his doctrine prevailed, had declared, in expreſs terms, that every Chriſtian owed a paſſive obedience to the magiſtrates aſſigned him by Providence, even when they made an ill uſe of their authority, by encouraging extortion, injuſtice and cruelty; and, in ſupport of this declaration, he quoted the example of the early Chriſtians, who had, without a murmur, obeyed a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian[4]. The ſynod, or national council, which had lately aſſembled in France, laid down the ſame principle as a fundamental point of their confeſſion of faith: Calvin, too, and his principal diſciples, agreed in conſidering any error in matters of faith as a capital crime, and enjoined the magiſtrates to puniſh with death ſuch heretics as ſhould refuſe to renounce their errors. It was therefore ſuppoſed that Calvin, in conformity with his own principles, would never countenance ſubjects in taking up arms againſt their ſovereign; or even, admitting that his zeal for the propagation of his doctrine would make him overlook ſo glaring an inconſiſtency, it was dreaded that ſome one of the numerous miniſters who governed the different churches in France, might exclaim againſt a prevarication thus manifeſt, and diſconcert

[4] The reproach urged againſt Calvin was indiſputably founded in juſtice; and though, at Geneva, where he had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his ſway, and where, of courſe, he had but little oppoſition to dread, he might be induced to publiſh ſuch a *pacific* declaration, in order to take off a part of that odium which his followers had incurred by their violence, it is certain that his diſciples, in other countries, paid no obedience to it, and that he himſelf was never anxious to enforce it; where it could tend to check the propagation of his doctrine, or to repreſs that ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution, political and religious, by which the Calviniſts were, in general, diſtinguiſhed. In Scotland, Knox, the friend and pupil of Calvin, ſo far from ſeeking to enforce reſpect for the laws, and obedience to his ſuperiors, publickly preached, from the pulpit, SEDITION, REBELLION, and REGICIDE. (See Keith, p. 422.) In conſequence of this, the people began openly to entertain doubts, whether they were bound to pay any civil or political obedience to the queen, whom he called an idolater. Nor were theſe infamous attempts confined to Knox alone; "inferior preachers"—ſays Dr. Stuart—"adopting the ſentiments and language of this reformer, circulated "them over the kingdom, and kept up and increaſed the ferments and diſſatisfaction of her ſubjects." (Knox, p. 315. Keith, p. 197—202.) In ſhort, "*The rebellious turbulence*, and the *ſacrilegious violence* of the *Reformed*" in Scotland, are juſtly repreſented by Mr. Whitaker, (Vol. III. p. 54.) as having greatly contributed to retard the progreſs of the reformation; and indeed the diſguſt and indignation which their conduct muſt naturally have excited in all moderate and rational minds, could ſcarcely have failed to produce ſuch an effect. "They broke through all "engagements. They trampled upon all honour. They ſet all Chriſtendom and Heaven at defiance. And they "eſtabliſhed the reformation in Scotland with ſuch a profligate contempt of God and man, as muſt make the cheek "of an *honeſt* Proteſtant to burn with ſhame, and the heart of a *real* Chriſtian to tremble with abhorrence." Id. 478.

Bayle, in his Dictionary, ſpeaking of *Buchanan*, who was a rank Calviniſt, ſays, "I have heard a Scotch lord ſay, "that when Buchanan was aſked on his death-bed, whether he did not repent of what he had written *againſt Kings*, "and, in particular againſt the honour of Mary, queen of Scots, he anſwered, I am going to a place where there are "no kings." This anecdote, indeed, is a forgery, but unleſs the character of Buchanan had juſtified its application, it would never have been framed. Baxter, a man of much greater honeſty than Buchanan, but entertaining the ſame ſentiments on particular points, is ſaid to have made a new verſion of the Lord's Prayer in part, and to have altered the paſſage—"Thy KINGDOM come," into this—"Thy COMMONWEALTH come!"—which has properly been termed, The laſt Extreme of Republican Infanity!

the enterprize at the moment of execution: and, having a ſuperior force to contend with, no ſucceſs could be expected, without the moſt ſtrict union, and the moſt inviolable ſecrecy among the confederates. As the utmoſt addreſs and diſcretion were requiſite in their conduct to the members of the reformed church in France, ſo was it equally neceſſary to conſult the ſcruples and delicacy of thoſe foreign powers, who had embraced the ſame communion with themſelves, in order that they might not have to reproach themſelves with engaging in a conteſt which their conſcience reprobated: theſe conſiderations clearly proved, that the intereſts of religion, notwithſtanding their vaſt influence over the minds of the multitude, could not be alledged as the direct and principal cauſe of an inſurrection, and that, if they pretended to make uſe of them, it was only with the view to ſupport a political reaſon, drawn from the laws and conſtitution of the realm[3]. No better could be found than the uſurpation and tyranny of the Guiſes: ſome were of opinion that thoſe miniſters ſhould immediately be declared enemies to the ſtate; but others, obſerving that an aſſembly conſiſting only of twelve or fifteen perſons, without any public character or any ſpecific powers, was wholly incompetent to publiſh a ſimilar declaration, propoſed a mode of proceeding, which, though it would occaſion a greater delay, was certainly more legal, and more reſpectable: this was to write down a certain number of queſtions to be ſubmitted to the examination of the moſt profound divines and the moſt celebrated lawyers, as well natives as foreigners, in order that, if their deciſion ſhould prove uniform, and ſuch as they expected it would, it might be uſed to faſcinate the eyes of the multitude, and to make them conſider the leaders of the enterprize as the avengers of the laws, and the ſaviours of their country.

It was firſt aſked—Whether, when a ſovereign, either from extreme youth, or any other natural defect, was rendered incapable of governing, it did not belong to the nation to form a council of adminiſtration? and whether they who, without conſulting the nation, had, by ſtratagem, taken poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, and meant to maintain it by force, might not be regarded as uſurpers and plunderers?

II. Whether the principal nobility of the kingdom, headed by one or more of the princes of the blood, had not a right to demand a convocation of the ſtates-general, and to procure from the three orders, by lawful means, the liberty of aſſembling? What were the means which it was lawful to employ for that purpoſe, as well with regard to the ſovereign, as to the other orders of the ſtate?

III. Whether, if convinced that their humble requeſt and their juſt complaints could not reach the ears of the king, without exciting the rage and provoking the reſentment

[3] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 62.

of

of thoſe violent men who ſurrounded his throne, and impoſed on his youth and inexperience, and without expoſing the lives of their deputies to extreme danger, they would not be authorized in ſending with them an eſcort of armed men, not for the purpoſe of attacking nor even of threatening any one, but merely to guard their deputies from all violence, as well on the road, as during their reſidence at court?

IV. Whether the proviſional regulations which this aſſembly might be induced to adopt, would not have the force of law until the aſſembly of the ſtates-general ſhould meet, when they ſhould be duly examined?

V. In what manner they ought to conduct themſelves towards the oppreſſors of public liberty, and whether it was permitted to kill them, in caſe they could not ſeize their perſons and bring them to a formal trial?

Such were the principal queſtions which the Hugonots wiſhed to be propounded, before they proceeded to the execution of their plan. The prince of Condé was appointed their leader; and John de Barri, lord of La Renaudie, of an ancient family in the Perigord, but of a ruined fortune, was choſen for his lieutenant and repreſentative. This man had been caſt in a law-ſuit, and thrown into priſon at Dijon for having produced fictitious titles; and, but for the protection of the duke of Guiſe, governor of the province, who favoured his eſcape, he would have been ſubjected to the degradation of corporal puniſhment. He then retired to Switzerland, where he imbibed the doctrines of the reformation; and, among his exiled countrymen, acquired an high and juſt character for intrepidity, eloquence, ſagacity, and that ſpirit of enterprize ſo peculiarly requiſite in the leader of a conſpiracy. He became the general agent of the party: under the feigned name of Laforêt, and, in diſguiſe, he traverſed the different provinces of France, exploring the hopes and inflaming the reſentments of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religious principles with himſelf, and preparing their minds for a revolution. It was, probably, to the efforts of this ſectary that Granvelle alluded, when, in a conference with the cardinal of Lorraine, in the preceding reign, he had told that prelate that his maſter would ſoon have to ſuſtain both a civil and foreign war at the ſame time. The death of Henry, far from producing any alteration in the projects and deſigns of La Renaudie, increaſed the ſtrength of his hopes, and the activity of his endeavours. Author of the plan which had been juſt adopted by the Hugonots, he was entruſted with the execution of it, the aſſembly only appointing ſix adjuncts, whoſe advice he was to take as often as he could.

The Guiſes knew nothing of this tranſaction; content with watching the king of Navarre and the conſtable, and thinking themſelves rid of them, at leaſt for a time, they laboured, in concert with the chancellor Olivier, to repair the diſorders which had crept

into the adminiſtration, and to reſcue the ſtate from the ruin which ſeemed to threaten it. Though the treaſury was exhauſted, the nation conſiderably in debt, and demands were daily encreaſing, yet the dreadful ſituation to which the farmers and peaſants were reduced, rendered a conſiderable diminution of the taxes a matter of neceſſity. This being the caſe, it became of courſe neceſſary to diminiſh the expenditure in proportion: a matter not eaſy to accompliſh, and the more diſagreeable to the Guiſes as it could not fail to encreaſe the number of malecontents, as well as of their perſonal enemies.

They began by reducing the intereſts of the ſums which had been borrowed of the bankers, as well in France as in other countries, during the late reign; and thoſe bankers were compelled either to reimburſe, or carry to account, all the money they had received above the rate of intereſt as now arbitrarily ſettled[*]. This meaſure was both unjuſt and impolitic: unjuſt, as it violated, without the conſent of one of the parties, an engagement voluntarily contracted and ſolemnly confirmed: and impolitic, ſince it ſhut up thoſe ſources to which the nation had been accuſtomed to apply in the hour of diſtreſs.

They next proceeded to reduce the king's houſhold, by ſuppreſſing all ſuch places as were not abſolutely neceſſary; thoſe who held them received a penſion, amounting, in ſome inſtances, to a third, in others to one half of their ſalary. After this ſuppreſſion, money was ſtill wanted to pay the few officers who were retained, becauſe the domain of the crown, which had been originally deſtined for that purpoſe, was reduced almoſt to nothing by the numerous alienations by ſale, and indiſcreet liberalities of Francis the Firſt and Henry the Second. The king, therefore, publiſhed an edict, by which he revoked all the conceſſions and gifts of his predeceſſors, excepting only the appanages of the princes of the blood, and the dowers of the princeſſes. Great numbers of the courtiers, whom this edict deprived of a conſiderable part of their fortune, vowed an eternal enmity to the Guiſes, although thoſe miniſters repreſented that they were not themſelves exempted from the general law; it was, nevertheleſs, ſuſpected either that the reſtitutions they made were fictitious, or that they had ſome ſecret means of making themſelves amends for ſuch a ſacrifice. The conſtable, who had a great deal to loſe, demanded an exemption on the plea of long ſervices, and of his dignity as firſt officer of the crown: he entruſted this negociation to the cardinal of Châtillon, his nephew, a prelate of inſinuating manners, who was, at that time, regarded as the favourite of Catharine of Medicis. Whatever repugnance the cardinal experienced at ſoliciting an exception which he thought unjuſt, if the law were general, and odious if the conſtable's fortune were conſidered, he knew, on the other hand, that all his remonſtrances would have no effect on the mind of his uncle, and that he muſt even ſerve him according to

[*] Piguerre—La Planche—Villars—La Popliniére—Manuſcrits de Fontanieu—Ordon. de Fontanon.

his

his will: he ſucceeded in his application through the credit of the queen-mother, who would ſometimes inſiſt on attention being paid to her advice and recommendation.

One half of the officers of finance were ſuppreſſed, and the other half were compelled to reimburſe them the money they had paid for their places, which ſums they were to repay themſelves by *imperceptible degrees* [7]. With regard to the maſters of requeſts, preſidents, and inferior judges, in all the courts throughout the kingdom, an edict was publiſhed, by which the king declared, that on the death of the preſent poſſeſſors they ſhould be reduced to the ancient number, that is, to the number which ſubſiſted on the acceſſion of Francis the Firſt to the throne. By this edict the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, with regard to ſuch places, was deſtroyed. About the ſame time, an edict appeared, forbidding any perſon to carry fire arms, or to wear any dreſs favourable to the concealment of ſuch weapons; a prohibition which had become abſolutely neceſſary; for the high roads were filled with thieves; and robberies and aſſaſſinations were committed, in broad day, at the very gates of the capital.

But the moſt difficult, and not the leaſt neceſſary taſk, yet remained to be accompliſhed; viz. The reduction of the army. It had been reſolved in the council, after the treaty of Cateau-Cambreſis, to reduce the national forces to fifteen hundred lances, and ſix or ſeven thouſand infantry; but many obſtacles occurred to the execution of this plan. During the war, which had continued for nearly thirty years, a new generation of men had been formed, who knew no other profeſſion than that of a ſoldier, and no other patrimony than their pay, and the contributions they levied: by ſuddenly depriving them of their ſituation in life, without affording them any other means of ſubſiſtence, the government would almoſt reduce them to the neceſſity of living by plunder. Nor was the ſituation of the officers much better than that of the ſoldiers: moſt of them were gentlemen, born with ambition, who had abandoned the care of their domeſtic concerns, and ſacrificed the greater part of their fortune, in order to obtain promotion in the ſervice, and to procure rank or penſions. Theſe were not only debarred any kind of recompence for the loſs they ſuſtained by the reform, but were even deprived of their ſalaries for ſeveral quarters that were due to them: this violent and unjuſt plan had been adopted towards the concluſion of the laſt reign, and was purſued under the preſent. The commiſſioners appointed to ſuperintend its execution had been expoſed to the greateſt danger: in order to get rid of the ſoldiers, they had divided them into different corps, arming thoſe who were retained againſt thoſe who were diſbanded, and cutting to pieces ſuch companies as were moſt untractable: numbers of them entered on board the fleet which Philip was

[7] Garnier.

fitting

fitting out againſt the ſtates of Barbary. The officers inſiſted on being treated with greater delicacy and reſpect; and it was not poſſible to call in queſtion their right to make a direct application to the king and his miniſters, in order to ſolicit what was lawfully due to them: they accordingly repaired in crowds to Fontainbleau, where the court then reſided. The duke of Guiſe, to whom they addreſſed themſelves, liſtened to their remonſtrances with all the reſpect and attention to which they were entitled; and as he had no money to give them, he did juſtice to their valour and their ſervices, promiſed to recommend them to the king, and pledged himſelf that they ſhould not be forgotten; but he begged them to conſider that the finances were ſo far exhauſted, and the king's revenue ſo deeply mortgaged, that his majeſty was frequently in want of common neceſſaries; he exhorted them, therefore, to have patience, till ſuch time as an opportunity ſhould occur for making them ample amends, and for giving them employment. The cardinal of Lorraine, leſs affable in his diſpoſition, and more eaſily alarmed than his brother, avoided them as much as poſſible, and refuſed to enter into any explanation: frightened at the number of claimants that preſented themſelves, and fearful leſt they ſhould aſſume a different tone from that of ſupplication, he adopted a reſolution ſo ſtrange, that one ſhould be tempted to doubt its exiſtence, were it not atteſted by ſeveral contemporary hiſtorians[8]. He cauſed gibbets to be erected before the gates of the palace, and a proclamation to be read in the ſtreets, in the king's name, containing an abſolute order to all perſons who had not places at court, or were not inhabitants of Fontainbleau, to leave the town that very day, under pain of death.

As this tyrannical conduct could not fail to convert the diſappointment of the military into rage and indignation, the duke of Guiſe, in order to avert its bad effects, reſolved to provide for the officers, by ſending an army into Scotland, which, about this time, he formed the vain project of uniting, irrevocably, to the crown of France[9]. The kingdom of Scotland was, by the furious zeal of the Calviniſts, now reduced to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion the moſt dreadful. The Scottiſh congregation, under the influence and management of that arch-rebel, John Knox, had perſecuted, with wanton cruelty and malignant virulence, all who profeſſed the eſtabliſhed faith of the realm: the churches were pillaged, the monaſteries ranſacked, and the prieſts expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: at length, the queen-regent, a woman of moderate principles, was induced to ſign a capitulation, in which ſhe granted them a toleration of their religion, while, on their ſide, they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. But the rebels ſoon ſhewed by what principles they were actuated, for when they proclaimed the articles of agreement, they were careful only to publiſh ſuch of them as were favourable to themſelves, and had even the audacity to inſert one article which was not to be found in the treaty[10]. This was one of the firſt ſamples of thoſe infamous forgeries and impoſtures

[8] La Planche—De Thou—Brantome. [9] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 85. [10] Hume, vol. v. p. 31.

which

which continued to mark the conduct of these fanatical traitors during the long contest which they maintained with their lawful sovereign. Things were in this situation when the Guises resolved to send an army to Scotland; it consisted of from six to seven thousand infantry, with a small body of light-horse: the chief command was entrusted to La Brosse, who was followed by Nicholas de Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, well-stored with syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers.

Though the enemies of the Guises were already sufficiently numerous, yet do they seem to have studied the means of encreasing their number. Anne Dubourg, one of the members of the parliament, who had been committed to prison by Henry for delivering his sentiments with freedom on the subject of religion, was now proceeded against with the utmost rigour: in vain did he protest against the irregularity of the proceeding, against the competency of the court to try him, and against the admission of men who were his avowed enemies to sit as his judges; all his remonstrances were disregarded, and after a trial, which, from the injustice and partiality that marked it, could scarcely be called a trial, he was sentenced to be hanged: he was accordingly executed at Paris, and died with the same firmness and fortitude that had distinguished his conduct through life: the other magistrates who had been imprisoned at the same time were released, on making an apology for their imprudence.

During the trial of Dubourg the president Minart, one of his principal enemies, who had taken an active part in the business, was assassinated, one evening, on his return from the parliament, within a few doors of his own house. A great number of persons were arrested on suspicion of having committed the murder, but, after a strict examination, they were all released, except one Robert Stuart, a Scotchman, who, merely from the similarity of his name with that of the queen, had the presumption to claim a relationship with Mary. He had been often seen walking round the prison in which Dubourg was confined, and had had frequent conferences with that magistrate, who—it is worthy of observation—had warned Minart to desist from his persecutions, or he must not expect to see the end of the trial. The presumptions appeared so strong against Stuart, who was, moreover, *known to be a man of a determined spirit, and peculiarly fit for any act of desperation*, that he was applied to the rack: his resolution, superior to pain, baffled every effort to extort a confession; but as he was justly deemed a dangerous character, the cardinal of Lorraine thought proper to confine him in the castle of Vincennes[11].

[11] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 128, 129.—This Stuart was the same man who was afterwards employed by our profligate queen Elizabeth, and her no less profligate minister Cecil, in carrying on, in conjunction with the Scottish rebels, those infernal machinations which ended in the murder of the *virtuous* and the persecuted Mary. He effected his escape from prison in May, 1560.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the aſſemblies of the Hugonots became more frequent, and a number of ſatires and libels, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and to excite an inſurrection, was diſtributed, by their emiſſaries, throughout the capital [12]. The Guiſes, on their part, not content with renewing the ancient ordonnances, and with encouraging informers, by the hope of reward, cauſed a new edict to be publiſhed, by which it was ordained that, all the houſes in which ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be holden, ſhould be razed to the very foundation, without even excepting thoſe which belonged to religious communities, or to proprietors ſettled in the country, who, in this inſtance, were made reſponſible for the conduct of their tenants.

A goldſmith of Paris, named Ruſſange, who had been expelled, for theft, from the congregation of the reformed, encouraged by the proſpect of gain, and farther ſtimulated by the deſire of revenge, entered into an aſſociation with two men of characters as infamous as his own; and theſe three determined to enrich themſelves by informing againſt the Hugonots, not doubting but that they muſt make a rapid fortune, ſince it would be in their power to ſubſtantiate any accuſation they ſhould prefer, one of them ſtanding forward as the informer, and the other two appearing as witneſſes. In purſuit of this plan, they drew up a liſt of the names and places of reſidence of the principal citizens who frequented the aſſemblies, which they firſt preſented to the preſident St. André, and the Inquiſitor Démochares, and through them, to the cardinal of Lorraine. The cardinal ſent the liſt to the magiſtrates of the Châtelet, enjoining the greateſt ſecrecy, and recommending them to take their meaſures with ſuch caution that not a ſingle ſoul ſhould eſcape. They accordingly armed their ſerjeants, and having procured proper aſſiſtance, propagated a report, in order that the Hugonots might have no ſuſpicions of their deſigns, that a gang of thieves had taken up their abode in the capital; and they paraded the different quarters of the town for ſeveral ſucceſſive days, without entering any of the houſes that had been pointed out to them, and even without approaching the ſuburb of Saint Germain, which, from being the chief reſort of the Hugonots, was called *Little Geneva*; but when every thing was ready for the execution of their project, they ſuddenly entered that ſuburb, and inveſted the houſe of a perſon named Vicomte, who kept an hotel that was frequented by the moſt opulent Proteſtants, and by the deputies from Switzerland and Geneva. Friday was the day fixed on for this expedition, about dinner time, in order that the Hugonots might be ſurpriſed in the act of eating meat: in fact, there were fifteen or ſixteen perſons at table at the time, who, hearing a noiſe in the court before the houſe, looked out of the window, and perceived what was the matter. Moſt of them ran out of the back-door, and jumped over the garden wall; four only remained, of whom two were gentlemen of Anjou, brothers, of the name of Soucelles; theſe, drawing their ſwords, ruſhed into the midſt of their enemies, wounded, in a dangerous

[12] La Planche—La Place—La Popliniére—De Thou—Bezé.

manner,

manner, ten or twelve ſerjeants, put Bragelonne, a magiſtrate who headed the troops, and his four commiſſaries, to flight, and opened themſelves a paſſage into the ſtreet. The maſter of the houſe, with his wife, children, and father, were immediately ſeized, and dragged to priſon, amidſt the ſhouts of an immenſe multitude, attracted by the novelty of the ſight; for, before the priſoners, were carried in triumph a roaſt capon, and ſeveral legs of mutton, deſtined to ſerve as evidence on the trial [13].

Several other magiſtrates belonging to the Châtelet made ſimilar attacks in different parts of Paris; breaking open the doors of all the houſes inſcribed on their liſt, moſt of which they found forſaken; becauſe the moſt prudent of the Hugonots, having taken the alarm, rather choſe to give up their furniture and effects, than to riſk the loſs of their liberty, and even of their lives. The officers of juſtice were attended by a crowd of thieves, who regarding the goods of the fugitives as public property, plundered the houſes, and expoſed the furniture to ſale in the open ſtreets and ſquares of the capital; while a multitude of children, too young to accompany their parents in their flight, were left to periſh in the ſtreets, with cold and hunger, no one daring to afford them aſſiſtance, through fear of incurring the ſuſpicion of the government, and of ſubjecting themſelves to ſimilar perſecutions.

The report of theſe horrors having reached the ears of the queen-mother, that princeſs called the cardinal to an account for ſo flagrant an abuſe of authority; the prelate replied, that he had only adviſed the magiſtrates to enforce a rigid execution of the laws, which he deemed neceſſary for the preſervation of tranquillity, and for the ſafety of the citizens; he then preſented her with ſome papers which he ſaid had been taken out of the pockets of one of the Hugonots, containing a number of ſatirical verſes, and ſome remonſtrances to the king on the abuſes which prevailed in the government, and begged her to read an information which he held in his hand, of ſuch a nature as to juſtify all the ſeverities which had been exerciſed.

Two young apprentices, the one a painter, and the other a muſical inſtrument-maker, had been initiated, by their maſters, into the doctrines of Calvin, and taken to thoſe nocturnal aſſemblies at which the Hugonots received the ſacrament. Being afterwards driven, on account of their miſconduct, from their maſter's houſes, they returned home, and, going to confeſſion, were ſent, by the director of their conſciences, to the preſident Saint-André, and the inquiſitor Démocharés, who, after beſtowing on them many careſſes, took their depoſition, in which they ſwore, that they had frequently attended the aſſemblies of the Calviniſts, in the Place Maubert, at the houſe of an advocate, named Trouillas, who had a wife, and two daughters grown up: that, at a numerous aſſembly hol-

[13] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 119.

den on the night of Holy Thurſday; after the ſervice was over, the lights were extinguiſhed, when each man laid hold of a woman, and that one of them had one of the advocate's daughters whom he knew very well, notwithſtanding it was dark, and with whom he paſſed the remainder of the night. Catharine, enraged at the peruſal of this depoſition, acknowledged the juſtice of the cardinal's proceedings, and meeting, juſt after, with ſome of her maids of honour, whom ſhe knew to be attached to the Hugonots, ſhe repeated to them what ſhe had read, and declared, that if ever they attended thoſe aſſemblies, ſhe herſelf would inform againſt them, and abandon them to all the rigour of the laws. Unable to contradict aſſertions ſo poſitive, the ladies contented themſelves with expreſſing their doubts of the veracity of the deponents, and entreated the queen either to interrogate them herſelf, or to allow them to ſee them, and to endeavour to inveſtigate the myſtery. The cardinal had taken the precaution to bring the apprentices to Saint Germain, where they were examined, at the requeſt of the queen-mother, by the chancellor Olivier, before whom they perſiſted in the ſame ſtory they had already told; but the maids of honour, more artful, and better adapted to the taſk, ſince they were not, like the chancellor, obliged to ſubmit to the reſtraints of juridical forms, propoſed queſtions to them which they were not prepared to anſwer, and by that means betrayed them into contradictions, which made people ſuſpend their judgment till the buſineſs ſhould have been farther inveſtigated. The advocate and his unfortunate family were among the number of thoſe who had abandoned their houſes on the approach of the officers of juſtice: apprized, by public report, of the infamous attack made by the tongue of calumny on the reputation of his children, he yielded, after a long ſtruggle between paternal affection and the dictates of honour, to the deſperate reſolution which his daughters had formed, of ſurrendering themſelves to their perſecutors, and ſubmitting to thoſe juridical proofs eſtabliſhed by the civil law for aſcertaining diſputed virginity. They accordingly repaired to the priſon of the Châtelet, accompanied by their mother, who immediately preſented a petition, deſiring that her daughters might be examined, and that ſhe herſelf might be permitted to proſecute the calumniators of her childrens' honour. Her prayer was granted; but although the report of the matrons appointed by the court to inſpect her daughters perſons was as favourable as ſhe could wiſh it, ſhe could neither obtain redreſs for the injuries they had ſuſtained, nor even permiſſion to quit the priſon to which they had voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves.

The people of Paris, whoſe bigotted rage was encreaſed by the proſpect of pillage, and inflamed by the violent exhortations of certain enthuſiaſtic monks, perſecuted, without mercy, a ſect they were taught to conſider as enemies both of God and man. Among other means that were preſcribed for the detection of ſuch as endeavoured to conceal their ſentiments, the following was deemed the moſt efficacious: as the Hugonots were known to abominate the worſhip of images, they placed at the corners of ſtreets and the doors of the moſt ſpacious houſes little ſtatues of the Virgin, and of different ſaints, at the foot of which they placed a table in the form of an altar, decorated with lighted torches. If any perſon

perſon paſſed by without kneeling, or, at leaſt, ſaluting the image with great devotion, ſome men, who were concealed in the neighbouring ſhops, ran after him, and either compelled him to comply with this ceremony, or elſe dragged him before a commiſſary. In order to defray the expence of theſe lights, they made a box, which they called *tirelire*, which they preſented to the paſſengers, and whoever refuſed to put ſome money into it was inſulted, beaten, and even expoſed to the danger of aſſaſſination. Theſe inſolent marauders even broke open the doors of the houſes, and viſited every room, under the pretence of ſearching after heretics. It often happened that good Catholics, who had the misfortune to be rich, received the ſame treatment as the Hugonots; their debtors watched their motions, laid wait for them in retired places, and by dint of threats or blows procured a receipt in full: many of them were even maſſacred, and their houſes pillaged[14].

A. D. 1560.] At the commencement of this year, the king, whoſe general debility was greatly encreaſed, and in whoſe face ſeveral reddiſh ſpots had lately appeared, was adviſed by his phyſicians to repair to Blois, where the air was more ſalubrious and temperate than at Saint-Germain, and there prepare himſelf, by moderate exerciſe, for the uſe of the aromatic baths. Some evil-deſigning perſons, apprized of his intentions, had ſpread a report that the king was afflicted with the leproſy, and that the only remedy which could be of ſervice to him was to bathe in the blood of young children. A number of emiſſaries had viſited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and while ſome, without entering into any explanation, took an exact liſt of the moſt healthy and beautiful children; others, who followed them at ſome diſtance, revealed the ſecret, and promiſed the parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the eraſure of their children's names from the fatal liſt. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, abſurd as it was, obtained ſuch credit with the common people, that, inſtead of the acclamations of joy with which they were wont to hail their ſovereigns, alarm, ſorrow and deſolation marked the progreſs of the court. Moſt of the towns and villages were abandoned, while ſuch as had courage to remain in their houſes, had ſtrongly barricaded the doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows: troops of peaſants, carrying off their children, were deſcried in the fields, at a diſtance from the high roads; and when purſued, they fell on their knees, and in the moſt piteous accents implored mercy for their children. The king, at this unuſual ſpectacle, burſt into tears, and inſiſted, with ſuch eagerneſs, on knowing the cauſe of it, that his attendants were under the neceſſity of telling him the truth; he endeavoured to diſpel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made after the authors of ſuch an infamous report; but they had all diſappeared except one, who was apprehended at Loches. This man, when applied to the rack, had

[14] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 142.

the audacity to maintain that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of the cardinal of Lorraine; and the Hugonots, taking advantage of his confeſſion, circulated a number of libels, in which they aſſerted, that the Guiſes, claiming a deſcent from the kings of the ſecond race, and intending to expel the deſcendants of Hugh Capet from the throne, had malicioufly ſpread this injurious report againſt the reigning family, in order to render them objects of contempt, and to prepare the minds of the people for a revolution: that, having already ſupplanted the princes of the houſe of Bourbon, they had now nothing more to do, than to rid themſelves of four defenceleſs children, who were entirely left to their diſcretion. Although it was groſsly abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Guiſes, uncles and firſt miniſters to the king, would conſpire againſt his life, on which their power and greatneſs depended, and aſpire to a throne whence they were excluded, not only by the king's three brothers, who were all in perfect health, but by four or five other princes of the blood, who had children themſelves, yet this accuſation obtained great credit.

The cardinal, on the other hand, maintained, with greater probability, that this deteſtable plot had been conceived in thoſe nocturnal aſſemblies, in which the Calviniſts were leſs employed in religious exerciſes, than in machinations againſt the ſtate: that, having long ſince planned the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed religion, but deſpairing to accompliſh their purpoſe ſo long as it was ſupported by royal authority, the ſectaries had turned their hatred and their efforts againſt their lawful ſovereign, aiming at nothing leſs than the total abolition of royalty in France, and the formation of a number of ſmall republics, on the ruins of the ancient monarchy, after the model of Geneva and Berne: and that it was both the intereſt and the duty of all who were ſincerely attached to the religion of their anceſtors, and who loved their king and country, to unite their endeavours for defending the ſtate againſt ſuch pernicious innovations. Having eaſily perſuaded the king of the truth of his aſſertions, he procured the publication of an edict, ſtill more rigorous than the preceding one, againſt conventicles, where, it was ſaid, many infamous attacks on the reputation of his majeſty were encouraged, in order to excite the people to acts of ſedition and revolt.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen of England had concluded a treaty with the Scottiſh rebels, and prepared a manifeſto in juſtification of her conduct. In vain did the biſhop of Valence and the chevalier Seurre, the French reſidents at the court of London, to whom ſhe had given a copy of her intended proclamation, repreſent to her that a publication ſo replete with perſonal invectives, rather repreſented a ſatire than a manifeſto, beſeeching her to omit every thing that was foreign from the cauſe ſhe had undertaken to defend; better informed than they of what was then paſſing in France, and of the neceſſity to which the Guiſes would be ſpeedily reduced of renouncing their deſigns upon Scotland, in order to provide for their own ſafety, ſhe refuſed to make any alteration;

teration; and having publiſhed her manifeſto, ſhe ſent ſeveral copies of it to her ſecret partizans on the continent.

The court, during their reſidence at Blois, were kept in a continual ſtate of anxiety and alarm: a courier, charged with ſome important intelligence for the king, was murdered and ſtripped at the very gates of the town: and Julian Formé, meſſenger to the Inquiſition, as he was carrying diſpatches from the inquiſitor Démocharés to the cardinal of Lorraine, experienced a ſimilar fate, a few days after. Advice, too, was received from Spain, the Low Countries, and ſome of the German courts, that a dangerous conſpiracy was formed in the kingdom [15]. The duke of Savoy gave ſome indications leſs vague, but ſtill inſufficient to point out the nature or the authors of the plot: placed in the vicinity of the Swiſs and the Geneveſe, who, in concert with Francis the Firſt, had diſpoſſeſſed him of a part of his inheritance, and intereſted in keeping a number of ſpies among them to give him intelligence of what paſſed in their aſſemblies, he ſent the king word that there was a general commotion among the French refugees eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries, who were buying horſes and arms wherever they could be met with, in expectation of a revolution that would enable them to return in triumph to their own country.

In fact, La Renaudie, immediately after the meeting of the principal Hugonots at La Ferté, had viſited Geneva and Lauſanne, where, it is highly probable, the famous conſultation, in conſequence of the queſtions propoſed by that meeting, was drawn up by Francis Hotman, ſon to a councillor of the parliament of Paris, and one of the moſt celebrated lawyers of the age; by Spifame, formerly a magiſtrate belonging to the ſame court, afterwards biſhop of Nevers, and laſtly miniſter at Geneva; by Theodore de Bezè, the beſt writer of the party; and by Calvin himſelf, although he afterwards declared that he had taken no direct part in the buſineſs [16]. He then traverſed Switzerland and a part of Germany, as well to procure ſignatures, as to engage the refugees to contribute, as far as their fortune would permit, to the expences of an enterprize, the object of which was to reſtore them to their country and their families. It is not to be wondered at that theſe unfortunate exiles, who were tempted by ſo flattering a proſpect, and who thought themſelves ſafe in the midſt of men who profeſſed the ſame religious principles with themſelves, ſhould give vent to their feelings, and be leſs reſerved than thoſe Hugonots who remained in France, where they were continually ſurrounded by informers and ſpies; nor that the duke of Savoy ſhould be better informed than the Guiſes. As ſoon as La Renaudie had obtained all the ſignatures he could, he returned to Lyons, where he had appointed a meeting of the perſons who formed his council. It was there agreed, that each of the conſpirators ſhould be ſupplied with a tennis-ball, half-white and half-black, by means of

[15] Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Planche—Relation imprimée—De Thou—Calv. Epiſt.—Le Frere de Laval—D'Aubigné.
[16] Garnier.

which

which they might be known to the party, and that a freſh aſſembly ſhould be appointed, for the firſt of February, to conſiſt of a great number of repreſentatives from all the provinces in the kingdom. The city of Nantz was fixed on for the rendezvous, as a place at which the collection of a great concourſe of people would be leaſt obſerved, as well on account of its flouriſhing commerce, which continually drew thither a multitude of foreigners, as becauſe it was the ſeat of a parliament, and that numbers of the nobility were expected there, about this time, to attend the celebration of a marriage. On the appointed day the Hugonots entered the city, in various diſguiſes, and in the evening they met at the houſe of La Garaye, a gentleman of Brittany.

La Renaudie, in a long ſpeech, declared the purpoſe of their meeting; expatiated on the tyranny of the Guiſes, and on the perſecutions to which the Proteſtants had been expoſed during their adminiſtration; explained the reſult of his applications to foreign princes and republics, and read the opinions of the moſt celebrated lawyers and divines (as contained in the conſultation above-mentioned), in anſwer to the queſtions which he had been ordered to propoſe to them by the private meeting at La Ferté.

After dwelling, at conſiderable length, on theſe ſubjects, he thus concluded his ſpeech: "You are now acquainted with the true object of our meeting, and with the points on "which you are to deliberate. Choſen by the nobility of all the provinces in the king-"dom, members and protectors of the reformed church; convened, in ſhort, under the "authority of a prince of the blood; you repreſent, as far as circumſtances will permit, "the ſtates-general of the kingdom, and you have a right to form proviſional regulations, "which will have the force of law, until ſuch time as the real ſtates-general ſhall be aſ-"ſembled. According to the opinions which I have read to you, it would be lawful for "you to bring the Guiſes to trial, and to give ſome one of us a commiſſion to bring them "before you alive or dead: but let us avoid every thing that has an appearance of vio-"lence, and reſpect to the laſt that authority which is abuſed to our prejudice. It is my "opinion, therefore, that we ſhould begin by electing, in the principal churches in the "kingdom, a certain number of deputies to preſent a petition to the king, in which, after "explaining the horrid oppreſſions to which we have been expoſed, we ſhould demand "either the free exerciſe of our religion, or a convocation of the ſtates-general; and "that, conſidering the danger of executing ſuch a commiſſion, an eſcort ſhould be pro-"vided for the deputies, capable of protecting them from inſult. If the Guiſes ſhould re-"fuſe them acceſs to the throne, let them be immediately ſeized, and reſerved for con-"dign puniſhment; if they ſhould put themſelves in a ſtate of defence, and by that means "render it impoſſible for us to proceed according to the uſual forms, let their lives in-"ſtantaneouſly pay the forfeit of their crimes, that we may, at leaſt, have the ſatisfaction "of delivering our country from her tyrants. But in order that the rectitude of our in-"tentions may never be called in queſtion, let us now proteſt, and reduce our proteſt to

"writing,

" writing, that nothing ſhall be undertaken or attempted againſt the ſacred perſon of the " king, againſt the two queens, nor againſt the children of France."

This proteſt being ſigned by all preſent, it was decreed that La Renaudie ſhould aſſemble, in the name and under the authority of their chief (alluding to the prince of Condé, whoſe name, however, was never mentioned during the whole of the buſineſs) as an eſcort to their deputies, five hundred gentlemen well mounted, and armed at all points, not for the purpoſe of attack but for that of defence, and a thouſand or twelve hundred infantry, to be raiſed in the different provinces of France, and to be commanded by thirty experienced captains, who ſhould ſo regulate their march, that they might all arrive on the ſame day, the tenth of March, in the environs of Blois. The different provinces were then divided among the principal gentlemen of the party: Gaſcony was aſſigned to the baron de Caſtelnau; Bearn, to Mazeres; Perigord and the Limoſin to Meſmi; Poitou to Vaili-Brezé; Saintonge to Mirebeau; Brittany to Montejean; Maine and Anjou to la Cheſnaie; Normandy to Sainte-Marie; Picardy to Coqueville; Champagne, Brie, and the iſle of France, to Ferriere Maligni; Provence and Dauphiné to Mouvans; and Languedoc to Château-Neuf. It was agreed that each of theſe gentlemen ſhould, in his abſence, appoint one or two lieutenants, who, after the period appointed for the execution of their plot, ſhould arm the people of his department, and, where they were ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the different towns, ſeize all the money belonging to the king, and ſo contrive that the Guiſes ſhould neither receive money nor troops. After interchanging vows of fidelity, the company parted in order to prepare for their projected enterprize.

The preparations were carried on with rapidity, and the Guiſes, notwithſtanding their numerous ſpies, and notwithſtanding the advice they had received from foreign courts, would have been taken by ſurprize, if the man who was moſt intereſted in the ſucceſs of the ſcheme had not himſelf betrayed the ſecret[17]. La Renaudie, who had aſſumed the name of Le Forêt, went to Paris, in order to inform the prince of Condé of what had paſſed at Nantes, and to confer with Chandieu, the miniſter, and the elders of the reformed church in the capital, on the ſubject of the contributions they were to ſupply on the preſent important occaſion. He took up his reſidence at a houſe in the ſuburb of Saint Germain, belonging to one Peter des Avenelles, an advocate, who ſecretly profeſſed the reformed religion. This man perceiving, from the numbers of people that viſited La Renaudie at all hours of the day and night, from the anxiety viſible in their countenances, and from certain expreſſions which eſcaped them, that ſome great enterprize was in agitation, reproached him with his want of confidence in a perſon who was ſo firmly attached to the party, and by that means extorted from him a confeſſion of all the reſolutions adopted by the aſſembly

[17] La Planche—La Poplinière—De Thou—Memoires de Condé—Davila.

at Nantes. But though Avenelles had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve the moſt inviolable ſecreſy, either the dread of puniſhment or the hope of reward operated ſo powerfully on his mind, that, as ſoon as La Renaudie had left his houſe, he went to de Vouze, a maſter of requeſts, and Millet, ſecretary to the duke of Guiſe, to whom he revealed the whole ſecret. The Guiſes immediately communicated the matter to Catharine of Medicis, who, in the midſt of her alarms, recollecting a letter ſhe had received two months before from the miniſters of the reformed church at Paris, in which they warned her of the danger to which the government would be expoſed, ſhould they perſiſt in perſecuting the Hugonots, could not forbear obſerving that thoſe ſectaries were men of their words. The chancellor Olivier, deeply affected at the news, reproached, with great bitterneſs, the Guiſes, for having neglected to follow his advice, for the violence of their adminiſtration, the tone of authority, and the threats, which, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, they had ſubſtituted for the language of confidence and affection, ſo proper to proceed from the mouth of a king of France, and a monarch of ſixteen; and he declared, that to their own obſtinacy alone they ought to aſcribe the dreadful ſituation to which they were now reduced.

As the town of Blois was deſtitute of fortifications, it was thought proper to remove the king to the caſtle of Amboiſe, which was more capable of ſuſtaining an attack. Thither, accordingly, the court repaired, under the pretence of enjoying the amuſements of the chace. At the firſt council that was holden after their arrival at this fortreſs, the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guiſe differed in their opinions, as to the meaſures to be adopted on the preſent emergency. The cardinal, whoſe fears magnified every danger, inſiſted that all the diſciplined troops, ſtationed in the frontier-towns, ſhould be immediately ordered to join the king; that orders ſhould be ſent to all the ſeneſchals and governors, to aſſemble the ban and arriere-ban, and to attack all perſons who ſhould be found paſſing through the provinces in military accoutrements; that the mayors and aldermen of the different towns ſhould be ſummoned to arm the citizens; and that all theſe meaſures ſhould be rendered as public as poſſible, for the cardinal obſerved that, as the conſpirators had relied on taking them by ſurprize, it would infallibly happen, either that they would deſiſt from their enterprize as ſoon as they found their intentions were known, or if any of them were daring enough to perſiſt, that they would be cut in pieces before they could poſſibly reach the place appointed for their junction.

The duke of Guiſe admitted, that by adopting this plan the conſpirators would infallibly abandon their enterprize; but he obſerved, firſt—That they would boldly maintain, and it would not be poſſible to prove the contrary, that they had not the ſmalleſt idea of committing the crime imputed to them, and that it was a new invention of their enemies, in order to juſtify, in the eyes of the multitude, the cruelties that were exerciſed againſt them: ſecondly, that it would be impoſſible to arm the nation, without affording an opportunity for the deſtructive gratification of private hatred and animoſity, and for the commiſſion of murders, theft, and every ſpecies of depredation, the whole odium of which would,

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as uſual, fall upon government: thirdly, that by ſeeking to repel the diſorder, they would loſe all hopes of effecting a cure, ſince the dangerous leaven which was driven back into the body would continue to ferment, and would contract a greater degree of malignity: that, in fact, the leaders and chief inſtigators of the enterprize, rather warned than diſcouraged, would take their meaſures better another time, and not afford them an opportunity of preparing for their defence; whereas, by leaving them at full liberty to manifeſt their pernicious deſigns, there was almoſt a certainty of catching them in their own ſnares, and of giving a mortal blow to the party, by depriving them of their leaders; and even, ſhould thoſe leaders eſcape, they would at leaſt have the advantage of knowing *who* they had to deal with; and the hypocrites, being once expoſed, would no longer be able to deceive any one, but, on the contrary, would become objects of execration to all Europe: that it, therefore, appeared to him that there was no room for heſitation as to the beſt mode of proceeding, provided the plan he propoſed did not expoſe the king's perſon to any real danger; and it was evident, he ſaid, that men who had neither camps nor ammunition, could never force the caſtle of Amboiſe, which was well ſupplied with artillery, and the approaches to which were difficult, even were it defended only by the houſehold troops: that there was nothing, however, to prevent them from ſending for a few regular companies that were quartered in the vicinity, and from inviting ſuch of the neighbouring gentlemen, on whoſe fidelity they could rely, to attend the king without delay: that according to the calculations he had made, the Hugonots could not poſſibly arrive at Amboiſe in leſs than three weeks, a much longer time than was neceſſary to put the place in a proper ſtate of defence: that the only thing to be dreaded was the loſs of time, which appeared to him inevitable, in obſerving the judicial forms, and in proceeding according to the uſual mode in all ordinary caſes; that it therefore ſeemed indiſpenſably neceſſary that the king ſhould arm ſome one of his ſubjects with the whole of his authority—as was cuſtomary on urgent occaſions—by declaring him lieutenant-general, with ſupreme power in all caſes, civil and military; and, ſhould his majeſty's choice fall upon him, he would take upon himſelf to anſwer for the event.

The ſtrength of theſe reaſons, the aſſurance with which they were delivered, and ſtill more the proofs of prudence, courage, and ſkill which the duke had exhibited in conjunctures not leſs embarraſſing than the preſent, induced the council to adopt his propoſals. Catharine, though ſhe preferred the expedient ſuggeſted by the cardinal, as the ſafeſt, at length yielded to the majority, and ſoon after the commiſſion of lieutenant-general was given to the duke of Guiſe. Olivier, who thought that the authority of the Guiſes was already too extenſive, refuſed, at firſt, to affix the ſeal to the commiſſion; and when the king's orders obliged him to comply, he added reſtrictions by which the exorbitant power thus granted to a ſubject was limited to the time that the conſpiracy which had given riſe to it ſhould laſt.

But while the duke of Guiſe endeavoured to inſpire others with confidence, he was not without inquietude himſelf: knowing the talents of the three Châtillons, and particularly

of the admiral, formerly his comrade in the field, but now his moſt inveterate enemy, he foreſaw that if they were the conductors of the enterprize, they muſt have taken their meaſures ſo well that he ſhould not be able to foil them without great difficulty and conſiderable danger. In order to learn whether this was the caſe, he had recourſe to Catharine of Medicis, who preſerved an appearance of intimacy and confidence with them. The queen-mother accordingly wrote to requeſt their immediate attendance at court, as ſhe wiſhed to have their advice on a matter of the utmoſt importance. Although it does not ſeem probable that the three brothers, who were avowed partizans of the new religion, and inſeparable friends of the prince of Condé, ſhould not have been apprized of the conſpiracy, yet the whole of their conduct tends to demonſtrate that they had taken no immediate part in it, that they had not attended any of the aſſemblies at which the plot was formed, and that, following the example of the king of Navarre and the conſtable, they had determined to wait the iſſue of the buſineſs before they declared themſelves. They obeyed the ſummons from Catharine without the ſmalleſt heſitation, and that princeſs having conducted them to her cloſet, where they found the chancellor, informed them of the diſcovery that had been made, and conjured them, by the friendſhip they bore her, not to abandon her at ſuch a dreadful conjuncture: then addreſſing herſelf to the admiral, ſhe deſired him to declare, with that frankneſs and candour which ſhe had ever remarked in him, whence the evil proceeded, and what remedy ſhould be applied.

Coligni, after aſſuring her that he and his brothers would never forſake her, but would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in her defence, were ſuch a ſacrifice neceſſary, obſerved that the only cauſe of the inſurrection was the exceſſive rigour with which all who profeſſed to live according to the purity of the Goſpel were perſecuted, without being permitted to juſtify themſelves, or without any attention being paid to the offers they had ſo repeatedly made, of ſubmitting to the deciſions of a council, either general or national: that it was infinitely dangerous to reduce a great number of men to the neceſſity of chuſing between the ſervice which, in their opinion, they owed to God, and the obedience and duty they owed to the king; but that this danger was much greater at a time when every body knew that the king, from the weakneſs of his age, was incapable of holding the reins of government, and entruſted them, not to the princes of the blood, but to two foreigners, who, though highly deſerving in many other reſpects, had not the ſame claims to the reſpect and confidence of the people. That ſhe muſt have learned from experience, that puniſhments and all acts of violence were better calculated to augment the diſguſt of his majeſty's ſubjects than to bring them back to the right way: that the number of thoſe who profeſſed the new doctrines was ſo great, and included men of ſuch high rank, that it was not to be expected they would any longer ſubmit to the ſame treatment which they had experienced under the laſt reign: that he was, therefore, of opinion, that the only efficacious remedy that could be applied to this alarming evil, was the publication of an edict, by which the king ſhould put a ſtop to all proceedings commenced againſt a number of unhappy men, whoſe only crime was an exceſſive attachment

tachment to opinions which they believed to be juſt; permit his ſubjects to live according to their conſciences, and prevent any perſon from being moleſted on account of his religion, till all power of controverſy ſhould have been explained and decided by a council: he added, that if this edict ſhould come too late to avert the ſtorm with which the government was threatened, it would at leaſt prevent its bad conſequences, which were infinitely more to be dreaded than the tumult itſelf, ſince, by depriving the leaders of the conſpiracy of the only pretence they had employed for exciting the people to revolt, they would ſpeedily reduce them to the neceſſity either of returning to their duty, or of ſubmitting to a voluntary exile.

This opinion was diſcuſſed in the council, and was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, that the Guiſes did not dare to oppoſe it; but they took care, under pretence of preſerving the royal authority from encroachment, ſo to word the edict, as to render it wholly inadequate to the purpoſe it was intended to promote. The king was made to declare, that, on his acceſſion to the throne, having found ſeveral provinces of his kingdom already infected with the poiſon of hereſy, as well through a crowd of preachers imported from Geneva, as from a profuſion of dangerous publications read without precaution, he had thought it his duty to have recourſe to exertions of vigour in order to check the progreſs of the contagion: but that having ſince diſcovered, by informations and depoſitions, taken in the different tribunals, that the greater part of thoſe who followed the doctrines and frequented the aſſemblies of the Hugonots, were artiſans and tradeſmen, credulous women, ſimple girls, and inexperienced young men, who had been led aſtray rather by curioſity than malice; and that, by giving them up to the ſeverity of the laws, he ſhould have the mortification to ſee the firſt year of his reign diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by a dreadful effuſion of his ſubjects' blood: that, unable to ſupport this idea, and wiſhing, after the example of the heavenly Father, to ſhow mercy, and to try what effect exertions of mildneſs and clemency would produce on the hearts of his children, he decreed and ordained that all proceedings begun on account of religion ſhould be annihilated, excepting only from the general pardon the preachers, and thoſe who, under pretext of religion, conſpired againſt himſelf, the two queens, his brothers or other princes of the blood, or his principal miniſters; and thoſe who had, by violent means, taken priſoners from the hands of juſtice, or who had aſſaſſinated his couriers, and carried off their diſpatches. As if theſe reſtrictions had not been ſufficient, the order for the parliament to regiſter this edict was accompanied by private letters from the king, the queen-mother, and the Guiſes, exhorting them to inſert in their ſecret regiſters all the modifications they ſhould think neceſſary, and in the execution of the edict never to loſe ſight of ſuch modifications; but not to ſuffer this part of their conduct to tranſpire.

The edict was publiſhed at Paris on the eleventh of March; and on the preceding day the principal conſpirators had aſſembled, according to agreement, at the caſtle of

Fredonniere, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Blois [18]. From the ſudden removal of the court, and various other circumſtances, they had no longer any doubt but that their ſecret was diſcovered, and that they ſhould find their enemies prepared to receive them: but conſidering that they had advanced too far to retreat, and that it was better to periſh ſword in hand, than to die by the hands of the executioner, they reſolved to defer the accompliſhment of their project for a few days, in order to reconnoitre the weakeſt parts of the caſtle of Amboiſe, and to give time to the troops that were ſtill on their march to arrive. The prince of Condé, faithful to his engagements, had juſt reached Amboiſe with his gentlemen, among whom was young Ferriere-Maligni, who, leaving his lieutenants to conduct the militia of Champagne and the iſle of France, had undertaken to introduce ſixty determined ſoldiers into the town of Amboiſe, and thirty into the caſtle, intending to conceal them in the cellars and garrets of the houſe in which the prince was to reſide, and, on the arrival of their friends, to place himſelf at their head, maſſacre the duke of Guiſe, and open the gates to the troops. By the manner in which Condé was received on entering the town, and by the extreme vigilance with which the caſtle gates were guarded, he knew that the conſpiracy had been diſcovered, and that he himſelf was ſuſpected. Certain, however, as far as a man could be in ſuch a caſe, that he had not been perſonally accuſed, and aſcribing the embarraſſment and inquietude which his preſence occaſioned to his known attachment to the reformed religion, he endeavoured to efface theſe dangerous impreſſions, by appearing more enraged than the reſt of the courtiers at the traitors who had dared to conſpire againſt the king. He offered to cut them in pieces if they would ſuffer him to ſally forth with two or three companies of light-horſe, not aware that this exceſs of zeal, ſo far from removing, muſt naturally tend to confirm the ſuſpicions of the Guiſes.

The duke of Guiſe, whoſe preparations were all made, began to fear that they had either given him a falſe alarm, or that the conſpirators had loſt their courage on finding their plans diſcovered, when he received advice from the count of Sancerre that the baron de Caſtelnau had paſſed through Tours with a party of troops; and this news was ſpeedily confirmed by ſimilar intelligence from other quarters. Among the conſpirators whom Avenelles had denounced, was a gentleman named Linieres, whoſe brothers belonged to the houſehold of Catharine of Medicis. The Guiſes, through their means, promiſed him not only a free pardon, but a conſiderable reward, if he would inform them of all the reſolutions and proceedings of the conſpirators. To this Linieres conſented, and he accordingly continued to attend their meetings, and as ſoon as he had learned their laſt reſolutions, he ſecretly retired to court, and revealed the whole to the miniſter. In conſequence of this intelligence, the duke of Guiſe ordered the park gate, by which the

[18] La Planche—La Place—La Popliniére—De Thou—Davila—Caſtelnau—Belleforet—Brantome—Memoires de Condé.

Hugonots

Hugonots intended to make their principal attack, to be blocked up; he then placed corps-de-garde in proper ſituations, and pointed out to his officers the poſts they had to defend. As he could not avoid employing the prince of Condé, he gave him as an aſſociate his own brother, the grand prior of France, with ſome other officers, who had orders to pay greater attention to the motions of the prince than to thoſe of the enemy: he likewiſe took the ſame precautions with regard to the Châtillons. The reſt of the troops were divided into bands, under the command of experienced captains, to whom the duke pointed out the different roads they were to purſue, and the places where they were to lay in wait for the enemy. The duke of Nemours, leaving Amboiſe in the night with a company of light-horſe, took poſt near the caſtle of Noizai, where the troops from Gaſcony and Bearn were ſtationed. He ſurprized and carried off captains Raunai and Mazeres, as they were walking in one of the avenues, while the baron de Caſtelnau was left to defend the fortreſs. Nemours, leaving the greater part of his company before the gates of the caſtle, to prevent the garriſon from eſcaping, conducted his two priſoners to Amboiſe. Caſtelnau ought to have taken this opportunity to have cut his way through the enemy; but as the caſtle of Noizai was one of the principal magazines for arms and ammunition in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, and as the loſs of it would have rendered uſeleſs a great number of ſoldiers, who were to repair thither unarmed, in order to eſcape obſervation, he was loth to abandon it, and, therefore, contented himſelf with ſending ſeveral meſſengers to La Renaudie, to adviſe him of the capture of his two companions, and of the danger which threatened him, unleſs he were ſpeedily relieved. Nemours, however, ſoon returned with ſuch a ſuperior force, that Caſtelnau, finding his men totally diſheartened, and deprived of all means of eſcape, at length conſented to a conference. Nemours aſked them what was the object of their taking arms, and whether they wiſhed to rob the French of *the glory* they had ever enjoyed, of being *more faithful to their ſovereign* than any other people upon earth?

Caſtelnau replied, that ſo far from renouncing that glory, they were labouring, in imitation of their anceſtors, to deſerve it; that informed of the danger to which the king was expoſed, they were going to preſent a petition to him, and to expoſe the perfidious machinations of two foreigners, who had already uſurped his authority, and who carried their pretenſions ſtill farther.—"Ought ſubjects," ſaid Nemours, "to preſent a petition to "their ſovereign ſword in hand?" "Theſe ſwords," returned Caſtelnau, "were only deſti-"ned to open us a paſſage to the throne; our petition would have been preſented on our "knees, in the poſture of ſupplication." "If that be all you deſire," returned Nemours, "you may ſpeedily be ſatisfied: give up your arms to me, and I pledge myſelf to conduct "you, in ſafety, to the foot of the throne, where you ſhall have full liberty to prefer "your complaints." The duke's propoſal being accepted, the ſoldiers delivered up their arms, and were conducted to Amboiſe, where they were all thrown into priſon. The other captains, employed by the duke of Guiſe, were equally ſucceſsful with Nemours.

mours; laying concealed in ravines and among the buſhes, in places by which the conſpirators were to paſs, they carried them off with little reſiſtance, and conducted them, in bands, to the town of Amboiſe. The moſt diſtinguiſhed were put in priſon; but the ſubalterns and privates were proceeded againſt in a ſummary manner, and hanged, either on the parapets, or elſe on long poles, fixed in the walls of the caſtle.

La Renaudie, informed of this diſaſter, made incredible efforts to aſſemble the ſcattered forces of the Hugonots. As he was riding about the country for this purpoſe, he was one day met in the foreſt of Château-Renard, by a body of two hundred horſe, under the command of his couſin the young baron de Pardaillon[19], who immediately fired a piſtol at him; but Renaudie, jumping from his horſe, attacked the baron ſword in hand, and ſoon laid him dead at his feet; he was himſelf killed, however, at the ſame inſtant, by a muſquet-ball. His ſecretary, La Bigne, was taken alive. La Renaudie's body was publickly expoſed on a lofty gibbet, on the bridge of Amboiſe, with this inſcription—*La Renaudie, otherwiſe La Forêt, Chief of the Rebels.*

After a blow thus deciſive, it was preſumed that the conſpirators would ſpeedily return, provided a paſſage was left open for them. The chancellor Olivier, already deeply afflicted at the ſight of ſo many executions, and perceiving that the town was ſtill crowded with a multitude of unfortunate men, whoſe only crime was the too eaſy belief they had paid to ſome of their miniſters, who had really perſuaded them that it was only intended to preſent a ſupplicatory addreſs to the king, remonſtrated with great energy on the injuſtice of treating them as criminals, and on the danger of reducing them to a ſtate of deſperation. He deſired that the king would grant freſh letters of remiſſion to all who ſhould return peaceably to their homes, and even promiſe to lend a favourable ear to their complaints and remonſtrances, when preferred with becoming humility. The Guiſes the more readily acquieſced in this propoſal, as they were unwilling to take upon themſelves all the odium that would accrue from the adoption of a different line of conduct, and as they were not perfectly at eaſe with regard to the ſecret diſpoſition of the queen-mother, and of the king himſelf; for the former continued to repoſe the moſt implicit confidence in the Châtillons, whom they ſuſpected of having been the agents or inſtigators of the conſpiracy; and the king, notwithſtanding his uſual devotion to their will, appeared reſtleſs and unhappy. In a tranſport of grief, he had one day ſhed tears, and exclaimed, with acrimony, in preſence of the cardinal; "*What injury "have I done to my people, that they ſhould ſeek my life? I am willing to hear their com-"plaints, and to render them juſtice: I no longer know what to think, but I am told that you*

[19] Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 182.

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" are the only object of their reſentment; I wiſh you were abſent for a time, that I might " know whether 'tis againſt you, or againſt me, that their rage is directed."

Such an edict as the chancellor required was accordingly publiſhed, and the Guiſes, willing to ſee whether it would have the deſired effect, diſperſed, in the neighbouring towns and villages, moſt of the troops they had aſſembled for the defence of Amboiſe, which was now ſuppoſed to be no longer in danger. But this premature ſecurity had nearly proved fatal to them: four captains, La Motte, Champs, Cocqueville, and Bertrand Chandieu (brother to the miniſter of that name) who commanded the militia of the churches in the Iſle of France, Champagne, and Picardy, being informed that there were but few ſoldiers and very little proviſion left in the caſtle, and that eighty or a hundred of the conſpirators had found means to introduce themſelves into the town, formed a plan for taking it by attacking it in the night, in three or four different places at the ſame time; but having ill-calculated the time of their march, they did not arrive till ſun-riſe, when they were immediately diſcovered, and found the garriſon prepared to receive them: Chandieu alone, at the head of his company, penetrated into the ſuburbs, and advanced as far as one of the gates, which was ably defended: expoſed to the fire of the artillery from the caſtle, and ſeeing no one advance to ſecond him, he ordered his men to diſcharge their pieces at the troops who manned the walls, and then retreated in good order. The Guiſes, deeming themſelves diſpenſed, by this act of violence, from obſerving the late edict, ſent freſh companies of cavalry into the environs of Amboiſe, with orders to put to death every perſon they ſhould find in arms, and to give no quarter. The town was full of priſoners, and the court began to fear that the ſight of ſo many executions would inſpire the people with horror; all thoſe, therefore, who, having only come to preſent a petition to the king, might be wholly ignorant of the real deſigns of the conſpirators, were ſeparated from the reſt, and were ſuffered to enjoy the benefit of the edict; and Catharine, ever anxious to encreaſe the number of her friends, gave them money, to enable them to return peaceably home. The ſoldiers who were taken in arms underwent a ſhort examination, after which they were either hanged, or thrown into the Loire with their hands and feet tied. The captains, and perſons of diſtinction, were reſerved for the rack, in the hope of extorting from them the names of the real leaders, and ſecret inſtigators of the plot; for they were the people whom it was of the greateſt conſequence to diſcover. While the cardinal directed his whole attention to this object, he was informed of the eſcape of his moſt dangerous enemy.

Young Ferriere-Maligni, knowing that La Bigne was a priſoner, and not doubting but that he would reveal the whole myſtery, choſe the beſt horſe in the prince of Condé's ſtable, and with the aſſiſtance of Deſvaux, the prince's equerry, who accompanied him for four or five leagues, left Amboiſe and took the road to Lyons. La Bigne, in fact, thinking himſelf releaſed from his oath, by the death of the perſon at whoſe requeſt he had taken it, decyphered all the manuſcripts that had been found in his poſſeſſion, declared

clared that the prince of Condé was the ſecret leader of the conſpiracy, and that La Renaudie was only his lieutenant. He neither concealed the project for ſeizing or maſſacreing the Guiſes, nor any of the meaſures which had been adopted for the execution of that deſign. He even added—either becauſe ſuch was the fact, or becauſe he wiſhed to pleaſe thoſe on whom his life depended, and who were deeply intereſted in not appearing to have been the real objects of the conſpiracy—that it was intended, during the tumult, to maſſacre the king, his brothers, and the two queens; and then to reduce France into cantons, after the model of Switzerland; or, ſhould ſuch a plan be preferred by the majority, to elect another king, who, being indebted to them for the crown, would begin by aboliſhing the Catholic religion in France, publiſh ſuch edicts as they ſhould preſcribe, and ſuffer his authority to be ſo limited, that he muſt ever remain in a ſtate of dependence upon them.

Although this depoſition, of a man perfectly well-informed of the whole buſineſs, preciſe in all its circumſtances, and exactly conformable to all thoſe which had been before taken, was deemed of great weight, yet it did not appear ſufficient to juſtify the proſecution of a prince of the blood. La Renaudie was himſelf a man of bad character, and might, without any authority, have made uſe of the prince's name, to ſerve his own purpoſes. Theſe conſiderations induced the duke of Guiſe to wiſh that no notice might be taken of the depoſition, and that no attempt might be made to ſeek for farther proofs; but the cardinal, more inveterate, was of a contrary opinion, and, in compliance with his ſuggeſtions, the king ſent an order the next morning to the prince to attend his levee, accompanied by a prohibition to leave Amboiſe: at the ſame time the grand-provoſt arreſted Deſvaux, the prince's equerry, who, being interrogated on the ſubject of Maligni's eſcape, replied that, as that gentleman had the honour to live on terms of friendſhip with his maſter, who even acknowledged him for his relation, he had not thought it neceſſary to apply for *permiſſion* to let him have a horſe, and to accompany him as far on the road as he wiſhed.

The prince, in obedience to the order he had received, attended the king's levee, when Francis told him, with an air of ſeverity, that ſeveral of the conſpirators had made oath that he was their leader; and ſhould that prove to be the caſe he would teach him how dangerous it was to attack a king of France. The prince, without betraying any ſymptoms of fear or ſurprize, replied, that he had already learned from public report what his majeſty had juſt revealed to him; that he only requeſted he would aſſemble that very day the members of his council, ſuch of the princes of the blood, and of the knights of the order of Saint-Michael, as were then at court, and all the foreign miniſters and ambaſſadors, ſince finding himſelf publickly defamed by the malice of his enemies, he wiſhed his juſtification to be equally publick. While the prince was at the levee, the grand provoſt went, by the king's orders, to ſearch his houſe, where it was ſaid a vaſt quantity of

of arms were concealed, and to examine his papers. No arms, however, were found, and the provoſt declared, that the papers contained nothing that could ſubſtantiate the accuſation. The reſidence and papers of the king of Navarre's ſecretary were likewiſe ſearched and examined, by command of the cardinal of Lorraine, but with no better effect.

The prince of Condé went to the caſtle a few minutes before the council had aſſembled, and paid a viſit to the queen-mother, with whom he found the cardinal of Lorraine. Catharine, deeply affected at the ſight of the prince, told him that ſhe did not believe a ſyllable of what ſhe had heard to his prejudice, and that were a hundred witneſſes to ſwear the contrary, ſhe never would be perſuaded that a prince of the blood, emulous of glory, and deeply intereſted in the preſervation of the monarchy, could, without any apparent motive, have violated at once his honour and his duty: that what had happened ought to convince him of the danger of opening his doors to perſons of doubtful characters: that theſe dangerous hypocrites had only courted his protection in order to ſeduce him from his duty, and to deſtroy his reputation. The cardinal of Lorraine, affecting to be intereſted in the prince's welfare, confirmed all that the queen had ſaid, adding, that it was but too true, that the wretches had accuſed him of that crime, and concurred in their declarations that they would never have embarked in ſuch an enterprize, if they had not been perſuaded that he would appear at their head: that if he had the ſmalleſt doubt of his veracity on this point, he need only conceal himſelf behind the tapeſtry, and ſuffer ſome of the priſoners to be ſent for, when he might hear what they ſaid of him. Condé, caſting a look of contempt on the cardinal, obſerved that he was neither of the rank nor diſpoſition of thoſe who liked to conceal themſelves; but that if the cardinal choſe to adopt the plan he had recommended to him, and ſend for the priſoners, he would then have an opportunity of hearing what they ſaid of him and his brother.

As ſoon as the council was aſſembled, the prince entered the apartment, and in a manly ſpeech juſtified himſelf from the accuſations that had been preferred againſt him by men of ſuſpicious characters, ſtimulated, no doubt, by the ſuggeſtions of his ſecret enemies, or intimidated by the threats of torture; if, he ſaid, there were one man in the whole world who would accuſe him, not by indirect means, but in an open manner, of having ſhaken the fidelity of the people, of having urged towns to revolt, or of having either ſaid or done any thing which could tend to excite a ſedition, he would throw off his quality of prince of the blood to fight him on equal terms, till he ſhould extort from him a confeſſion that he was a lyar and a coward. The duke of Guiſe, to whom this challenge ſeemed to be directed, although he had vehemently oppoſed the preſent proceeding, the event of which he foreſaw, artfully obſerved, that the king ought not to ſuffer the reputation of a prince, ſo nearly related to the throne, to be affected, in the ſmalleſt degree, by the intereſted accuſations of a few miſerable wretches, who ſought to diminiſh their own crime by tranſferring the principal guilt to perſons of high diſtinction. That the judges, indeed, could not refuſe to take the

depoſitions exactly as they were made by the criminals; but that they were too enlightened not to diſtingniſh ſuch as had ſome ſolid foundation, from thoſe which were wholly deſtitute of probability: that, for his part, he was ſo fully convinced of his innocence, that he was ready to be his ſecond againſt any antagoniſt. The prince was diſmiſſed for the preſent, but the cardinal of Lorraine reſolved to renew his perquiſitions, and to procure, by ſome means or other, the proofs he wanted.

Captain Raunai, being applied to the rack, confeſſed that the prince of Condé was the leader of the enterprize, and that he was not to appear till the moment of execution. Mazeres confirmed this account, adding, that he himſelf was one of the perſons who had undertaken to kill the duke of Guiſe. The baron de Caſtelnau-Chaloſſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonage of the whole party, as well by his birth as his perſonal merit, was the laſt whoſe fate remained to be decided: he claimed the performance of the ſolemn promiſe which had been made as well to himſelf as to his companions, that he ſhould be conducted in ſafety to the foot of the throne, and have full liberty to preſent his petition. The duke of Nemours acknowledged that he had made ſuch an engagement, but the Guiſes, by a tyrannical abuſe of authority, had taken upon themſelves to break it; and, in order to ſave the honour of their friend, they aſſembled a council of war, preſided by the unprincipled mareſchal de Saint André, in which it was decided that the duke of Nemours ought not to have treated with rebels, in the ſame manner as with foreign enemies; and that as he had only headed that expedition in the capacity of a captain of light-horſe, he had no authority to contract an engagement that could bind the government. This deciſion was read to Caſtelnau, who treated it with the contempt it deſerved. Being called upon to anſwer the queſtions that were put to him, and threatened with the rack, he appeared confuſed, and, for an inſtant, remained ſilent; upon which the duke of Guiſe told him that he ſeemed to be frightened. "I do not deny it," replied Caſtelnau, "for what man, "who was not totally deprived of ſenſation, could ſay that he was exempt from fear, "when ſurrendered to the diſcretion of enemies implacable in their hatred, and thirſting "for his blood? But give me my arms again, and then dare to repeat the ſame expreſ-"ſion; or ſuppoſe yourſelf in my place, and then candidly tell me whether you would "not tremble in every limb? The fear, however, with which you reproach me, will "not, I hope, deprive me of the judgment and preſence of mind neceſſary to enſure my "juſtification."

The judges repreſented to him, that having been taken in arms, and openly profeſſing the reformed religion, the only poſſible means of eſcaping death, was to throw himſelf on the king's mercy, and to merit a pardon by the diſcovery of his accomplices. To this propoſal the baron replied, that he well knew his judges, among whom he perceived his moſt inveterate enemies, had the power of taking away his life, and all the art which was neceſſary for cloathing, with the forms of law, the unjuſt ſentence with which he was threatened: if, then, he preferred life to his honour and conſcience, he ſhould not

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heſitate a moment in adopting the plan of defence which they had ſuggeſted; but having, at a very early period, been taught to deteſt falſhood, he ſhould tell them, with a ſtrict regard to truth, not, perhaps, what they wiſhed to hear, but what it was of great importance to them to be informed of: that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe they had taken up arms againſt the king, becauſe no one who was not a perfect ſtranger to the kingdom could ever ſuſpect the French nobility of failing in their fidelity and attachment to their ſovereign: beſides, what could they have to reproach him with? they all knew, that the weakneſs of his age, joined to the debility of his conſtitution, rendered him incapable of governing his kingdom himſelf; and that beſet by two jealous and miſtruſtful miniſters, who had taken the precaution to ſequeſtrate him from the princes of the blood, and from all who had a right to approach the throne, he was condemned to a perpetual ignorance of what was paſſing around him, or elſe forced to deplore in ſilence the evils he was unable to prevent: that their only deſign had been to deliver him from ſuch an odious tyranny, and to open his eyes, as well to the abuſes committed in his name, as to the danger to which his ſacred perſon was expoſed, from the machinations of two foreigners, who, after tyrannizing over the nation, probably extended their views much farther: that, for this purpoſe, they had framed a petition, in which their principal grievances were ſpecified, and which they intended to preſent on their knees, for, born Frenchmen, and moſt of them brought up near the throne, they were not to be taught in what manner it was their duty to approach the king: that the laws gave every private citizen, much more the nobility, the right of claiming juſtice, in all caſes whatever, from the king himſelf, and of laying their complaints before him: that the only offence, therefore, with which they could be charged, was the having ſent an armed eſcort with their deputies, to defend them againſt all violence on the road: but that before ſuch a precaution ſhould be condemned, it would be neceſſary to enquire into the motives which had ſuperinduced its adoption, and to know whether it was not abſolutely indiſpenſible; for although there were laws to forbid the carrying fire arms, no tribunal would condemn a peaceable traveller who, having a wood infeſted with thieves to traverſe, ſhould carry piſtols, or procure an armed eſcort to accompany him: he deſired the judges themſelves to conſider, whether, at a time when a magiſtrate was puniſhed with death for having, in diſcharge of his duty, given ſuch advice as appeared to him ſalutary; when citizens, whoſe only crime was that of ſerving God according to their conſcience, were ignominiouſly dragged to priſon; and when the ſpoils of thoſe unfortunate men were enſured, by edicts, to thoſe who informed againſt them; whether, at ſuch a time, the miniſters of the reformed churches could have traverſed the kingdom with impunity, would have been allowed to denounce their perſecutors to the king, and to demand of his majeſty the convocation of a council, or of the ſtates-general? that, if it were not denied that the attempt would not only have been dangerous but impracticable, it muſt then be admitted, of courſe, that they muſt either have ſuffered a million of citizens to be quietly maſſacred, or elſe have adopted thoſe innocent meaſures which were now imputed

puted to them as a crime: that, in order to ſhew how far they were from entertaining thoſe criminal deſigns which had been gratuitouſly aſcribed to them, he ſhould only cite two facts: firſt, the ſolemn proteſt which they had all ſigned and ſworn to obſerve, againſt making any attempt on the ſacred perſon of his majeſty; and ſecondly, the promptitude with which his companions and himſelf had laid down their arms the moment a prince, whom they believed to be a man of honour, pledged his word that he would conduct them in ſafety to the foot of the throne: that if, notwithſtanding theſe facts, they choſe to conſider the late tranſaction, not as a ſimple aſſociation of a part of the nobility, to procure, by lawful means, the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws, but as a plot formed againſt the royal authority, in which the miniſter laboured to include the princes of the blood, and all who had the misfortune to give them umbrage, he charitably warned them that they were in purſuit of a phantom, and that this new inſtance of perſecution could not fail to enſure credit to the report which began to prevail, that they only wanted a pretext for deſtroying the royal family, and opening for themſelves a way to the throne: that they might make what uſe they pleaſed of this caution: that he had a great reſpect for the princes of the blood, but that, for many years paſt, he had avoided all intercourſe with them, and did not fear to ſay, that the patience with which they ſuffered the many perſonal affronts that had been offered them, and the cold indifference with which they regarded the evils of the ſtate, were ill-calculated to give them conſequence: that, for his part, he would not ſuffer them to partake the glory which was reſerved for thoſe brave and generous citizens who had voluntarily devoted themſelves to the ſalvation of their country.

Although it would have been infinitely dangerous to admit, on any pretence, the legality of preſenting a petition with a number of armed men, yet the judges, unable to reply to the arguments of the priſoner, appear not to have perſiſted in their objections to ſuch a meaſure; but as through the whole courſe of this buſineſs, by a ſtrange perverſion of juſtice, they acted as council for the proſecution, they ſhifted the ground of their interrogatories, and attacked Caſtelnau in a part where they expected to find him wholly defenceleſs. Being known to have paſſed the greater part of his life at court or in the field, they could not imagine that he was in the leaſt qualified for theological diſputations. But here they were again diſappointed, for in the queſtions which were put to him with regard to his religion, his anſwers were ſo appoſite, and his replies ſo pointed, that his adverſaries were completely foiled. The chancellor aſtoniſhed, could not forbear the exclamation, that it was eaſy to perceive the baron had well ſtudied his leſſon. "Yes Sir," replied Caſtelnau, "I have ſtudied it well; you would be authorized "to deſpiſe me, and I ſhould think myſelf truly deſpicable, if I had embarked in a cauſe, "in the event of which the ſalvation of my ſoul and the happineſs of my country were in- "tereſted, without previouſly ſatisfying all my ſcruples."—"But how happens it," ſaid "Olivier, "that you have thus ſuddenly become ſuch an experienced theologiſt; for at the "time that you frequented the court, you did not pay much attention to thoſe controverſies?"

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"That's true,"—returned the baron—"but does it become you to put ſuch a queſtion "to me? Recollect the viſit I paid you at your eſtate at Leuville; you then aſked me "how I had paſſed my time in priſon; and when I anſwered, in ſtudying the ſcriptures "in order to underſtand the merits of thoſe diſputes which made ſo much noiſe, you "expreſſed your approbation of my labours, and diſpelled the few doubts that ſtill "remained on my mind: if my memory do not fail me, we then perfectly agreed in our "ſentiments: how happens it that in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, one of us has ſo far "changed his opinion, that we no longer underſtand each other? but you was then in "diſgrace, and really ſpoke what you thought: wretched ſlave to courtly favour, how "dare you, merely to pleaſe a man by whom you are, probably, deſpiſed, thus betray "God and your conſcience?"

As Olivier betrayed the moſt unequivocal marks of confuſion at this reproof, the cardinal of Lorraine came to his aſſiſtance, anxious to confound a man who appeared ſo firmly fixed in his principles; but, contrary to his expectation, he ſuffered an acknowledgment to be extorted from him, which Caſtelnau called on the duke of Guiſe to witneſs. The duke replied, that it was not conſiſtent with his profeſſion to enter into diſputes of that nature, and that he gloried in his ignorance on religious concerns. "I am "ſorry for that,"—returned Caſtelnau—"for I have ſo good an opinion of you, that I "durſt ſwear that were you as well informed as your brother in theſe matters, you would "make a better uſe of your knowledge."

The preſence of mind, the determined courage and unſhaken firmneſs which Caſtelnau diſplayed during his trial, had fixed the eyes of the whole court upon him; and great as was the danger of appearing his friend at ſuch a conjuncture, three noblemen of the firſt rank, the duke of Longueville, the admiral Coligni, and the duke of Aumale himſelf, who, though a ſtrong Catholic, bore not that hatred to the Hugonots which his brothers did, ventured to intercede in his favour; and Catharine of Medicis joined in the ſame petition; but the young monarch, tutored no doubt by the Guiſes, diſplayed a pertinacity unnatural at his age, and, remaining inflexible to their entreaties, confirmed the ſentence. When that ſentence was read to Caſtelnau, by which he was declared guilty of *léze-majeſty*, he exclaimed—"I call my judges to witneſs that the declaration "is falſe; unleſs to have oppoſed the tyranny of the Guiſes to the utmoſt of my power, "be deemed an act of *léze-majeſty*; but, in that caſe, they ſhould have begun, by de-"claring them kings." He ſuffered decapitation, and met his fate with coolneſs and intrepidity: Raunai and Mazeres experienced a ſimilar puniſhment: Briquemaut de Villemongis, another of the conſpirators, when brought to the ſcaffold, dipped his hands in the blood of his aſſociates, and raiſing his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed—"*Heavenly Father, behold the blood of your children, which thou wilt revenge.*"

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The royal family, and the whole court, attended theſe executions, which were performed in the caſtle yard. Anne of Eſt, ducheſs of Guiſe, was the only perſon who expreſſed any horror at the ſight: pale and trembling, ſhe uttered a loud ſhriek, then quitting the place, ran to her apartment. The queen-mother having paid her a viſit, and found her in tears, deſired to know the cauſe of her grief: when the ducheſs replied—"Alas! madam, never had a mother greater cauſe for affliction: what a dreadful ſtorm "of hatred, blood, and revenge, is now ſuſpending over the heads of my unhappy child-"ren!" The prince of Condé, hurried away towards the place of execution by ſome pretended friends, who had undertaken to watch his words and motions, was not ſufficient maſter of himſelf to conceal his emotions; being reproached with this, he replied, "I freely "confeſs, that I feel for the fate of thoſe brave officers who have done ſuch ſignal ſervice "to the ſtate under the two laſt reigns: I will even acknowledge that I am at a loſs to "conceive why none of the miniſters ſhould have repreſented to the king the prejudice "which the ſtate would ſuſtain by ſuch a loſs: for if it ſhould be attacked by any fo-"reign power, they will probably repent the having deprived him of its beſt defenders." Theſe expreſſions were carefully repeated to the cardinal of Lorraine, who never forgot them: but the grief of the chancellor, who had been compelled, by his ſtation, to become an inſtrument of vengeance to the Guiſes, was exceſſive: inconſolable, at having neglected to oppoſe, with ſufficient vigour, the violent adminiſtration of the cardinal of Lorraine, he felt more deeply the reproaches of his own conſcience, than thoſe of the unfortunate victims whom he had conſigned to execution: the acuteneſs of his feelings brought on a deep melancholy, attended with the loſs of ſleep, and followed by a burning fever, which, in a few days, reduced him to the brink of the grave. The cardinal, appriſed of his ſituation, went to pay him a laſt viſit, but Olivier, tired of conſtraint, turned his back on the miniſter, and in a few moments breathed his laſt.

On the demiſe of Olivier, the queen-mother propoſed to give the ſeals to Michael de l'Hôpital, preſident of the chamber of accompts; and the Guiſes the more readily acquieſced in her propoſal, as that magiſtrate was, in ſome meaſure, indebted to them for his paſt promotion, and had evinced his gratitude by celebrating their fame in ſome Latin poems, which were then much talked of, but which have ſince been conſigned to merited oblivion. Catharine, however, took care to inform the new chancellor, that having ſecured him a preference over all his competitors, ſhe expected he would forget all paſt engagements, to attach himſelf ſolely to her and her children [20].

A few days after that which had been fixed for the ſeizure of the Guiſes at Amboiſe, Elizabeth's manifeſto appeared, containing a defence of the princes of the blood againſt

[20] La Place—La Planche—La Popliniére—Matthieu—Belcarius.

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the princes of Lorraine: the contents of the manifeſto, as well as the period of its publication, ſerved fully to convince the cardinal and his brother of the truth of one part of La Bigne's evidence, in which he ſwore that the conſpirators had obliged themſelves, after having maſſacred the Guiſes, to give up the young queen, Mary Stuart, to Elizabeth[21]. Thus early had the Engliſh princeſs formed her nefarious deſigns againſt the liberty of her unfortunate kinſwoman.

Some freſh commotions which ſtill prevailed in Normandy, whither the admiral had been ſent to calm the minds of the people, and reduce them to obedience; in Dauphine, Provence, and Languedoc, determined the Guiſes to ſend orders to the different parliaments to releaſe all the priſoners, confined on account of religion. From this general pardon, however, was excepted a certain number of perſons confined in the priſons of Blois and Tours, becauſe they were rather conſidered as leaders of a faction than as ſimple heretics: but thoſe of Blois effected their eſcape through a window in the night. The priſoners at Tours were young Soucelle, who having cut his way through the officers of juſtice that had been ſent to apprehend him at Paris, afterwards preſented himſelf at the king's levee, and claimed the reſtitution of the effects which had been taken from him on that occaſion; Stuart, the Scotchman, ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated the preſident Minart; and the bailiff of Saint-Aignan, on whom had been found a number of libels on the adminiſtration of the Guiſes. The cardinal, who had at firſt ſent them to the caſtle of Vincennes, not thinking them ſufficiently ſecure in a place of which the conſtable was governor, ordered them to be removed to Tours, where he intended to examine them himſelf; and he had ſent Deſvaux, the prince of Condé's equerry, to accompany them. They all found means, however, to eſcape, except the bailiff, who, having broken his thigh in the attempt, was brought back to priſon. The other three wrote the following note to the cardinal—"We have been informed of the eſcape of "your priſoners from Blois; and as we have no doubt that you experience great un"eaſineſs on the occaſion, we have reſolved to follow them: give yourſelf no farther "trouble about the matter, for we will ſoon bring them back, and in good company."

The removal of the court to Tours, gave an opportunity to the prince of Condé to leave Amboiſe, and, notwithſtanding the inſidious attempts of the cardinal of Lorraine again to allure him to court, and his ſecret orders to arreſt him on the road, he effected his eſcape into Gaſcony. The kingdom, meanwhile, was thrown into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion: the Hugonots, in different places, ſeized on the churches and convents, and in contempt of the prohibitory edicts, publickly celebrated divine ſervice: at Nimes they drove the prieſts from the church of Saint Stephen, during the celebration of maſs,

[21] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 245.

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broke the images, and trod the conſecrated wafer under foot: in Guienne, Poitou, Touraine, Anjou and Normandy, the fermentation was general, and as it was found impoſſible to ſend ſufficient troops to keep thoſe provinces in awe, the cardinal of Lorraine had recourſe to another means of enſuring obedience: viz. by the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, or rather, by the confirmation and extenſion of the juriſdiction of that tribunal, which had been lawfully eſtabliſhed in the preceding reign. It was the intention of the cardinal to put the inquiſition in France exactly on the ſame footing with thoſe of Spain and Portugal; but this being oppoſed by the new chancellor, an edict was publiſhed in its ſtead, by which it was ordained—That the eccleſiaſtical tribunals ſhould, in future, have ſole cognizance of the crime of hereſy; that all thoſe who frequented conventicles or ſecret aſſemblies ſhould be declared guilty of high treaſon; that the *preſidial* throughout the kingdom ſhould be authorized to try them in the laſt reſort, and to enforce the immediate execution of their ſentence; and that a reward of five hundred crowns ſhould be paid to any perſon who ſhould give information of ſuch aſſemblies. Such were the principal articles of the edict of Romorentin, which was equally cenſured by both parties. The Proteſtants, who, after they had obtained two ſucceſſive letters of remiſſion which they had not ſolicited, thought themſelves exempt from farther perſecution, and expected, at leaſt, to be tolerated, were enraged that the miniſter ſhould preſume either to treat them as criminals, or compel them to renounce the exerciſe of their religion. The Catholics were vexed, that to an evil which preyed upon the vitals of the ſtate, they only applied illuſive remedies, the inefficacy whereof experience had ſufficiently demonſtrated. The parliament long refuſed to regiſter this edict, but all their remonſtrances being diſregarded by the court, they were at length obliged to comply with the king's poſitive orders.

The enmity entertained by the Hugonots againſt the Guiſes ſeemed daily to acquire freſh ſtrength: ſatires and libels were diſtributed in great abundance, and one, in particular, againſt the cardinal of Lorraine, attracted the public attention; it was entitled the *Tiger*, and contained a liſt of the acts of cruelty and perfidy perpetrated by that prelate, together with a ſcandalous account of his amours with a lady of diſtinction, his near relation, who, according to Brantome, had nearly died of grief in conſequence of this publication. The publiſher of the libel was ſeized, but the author could never be diſcovered; as the officers of juſtice were conducting the former to priſon, the people attempted to take him from them, with the view of becoming his executioners themſelves; a tradeſman of Rouen, paſſing by at the time, interfered in his favour, and this act of humanity diſpleaſing the mob, the cry of "Hugonot!" reſounded from all quarters, and the Norman was himſelf ſeized and thrown into priſon. Although it was proved that he had never ſeen the bookſeller before, and no crime whatever could be alledged againſt him, yet, in order to gratify the cardinal's revenge, they were both ſentenced to die, and were accordingly hanged on the ſame gallows.

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The intelligence which the Guiſes continued to receive from the different provinces, where the minds of the people ſeemed ripe for revolt, and the adverſe ſtate of affairs in Scotland, induced them to renounce all the projects they had formed upon that kingdom, and to recall, with all poſſible expedition, the troops they had ſent thither, whoſe preſence in France had now become neceſſary to their own defence.

The appearance of the Engliſh fleet in the Frith had diſconcerted the operations of the French army, who were then employed in ravaging the county of Fife, and compelled them to retire with precipitation to Leith, there to wait the arrival of a fleet they expected from France, under the command of the marquis of Elbeuf. Inveſted by the combined armies of England and Scotland, they made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and protracted the ſiege to a conſiderable length. After diſputing with great obſtinacy the approaches to the town, they made a general ſally on the fifteenth of April, deſtroyed a part of the enemy's works, and ſpiked ſeveral pieces of cannon: on the thirtieth they repelled a moſt vigorous attack, and forced the enemy to retreat in diſorder: on the ſeventh of May, the beſiegers having received conſiderable reinforcements, made a freſh aſſault on the town, when they were again repulſed with great loſs: diſcouraged, at length, by the failure of all their attacks, they prudently changed their plan of operations, and converted the ſiege into a blockade. The garriſon were ſoon reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions: the marquis of Elbeuf, whoſe fleet had been diſperſed in a ſtorm, had diſarmed the few veſſels which he had been able to conduct into the ports of Normandy: the Guiſes ſent him money to refit them, and at the ſame time gave orders to their younger brother, the grand-prior, to collect what veſſels he could in the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles, and to effect a junction, on the Norman coaſt, with the marquis's fleet: but as theſe preparations would neceſſarily take up a conſiderable time, they appointed Montluc, biſhop of Valence, and Charles de la Rochefoucaud, lord of Randan, to act as the king's plenipotentiaries in Scotland, and either to retard the progreſs of the enemy by negociations, which they might protract to what length they choſe, or to conclude a treaty on the beſt terms they could procure, provided that ſhould prove the only means of ſaving the garriſon of Leith [22].

The propoſals of theſe miniſters for opening a negociation being acceded to by the Engliſh, it was agreed to hold the conferences at Edinburgh on the firſt of July; and a truce was immediately ſigned, to continue till ſuch time as the conferences ſhould be broken off. During this interval, Mary of Lorraine, regent of Scotland, a princeſs of good capacity and moderate principles, fell a victim to the ambition of her brothers, who afterwards repented their own obſtinacy in refuſing to follow her advice. But this event, far from delaying, rather tended to accelerate the concluſion of a peace; for the Guiſes now

[22] Garnier.

loſing all hopes of accompliſhing their ambitious plans, thought the beſt thing they could do for their niece, was to reſtore by degrees the affections of her ſubjects, by depriving them of all pretext for claiming the protection of a foreign power. Elizabeth inſiſted that the duke of Chatelleraud, and the other chiefs of the Scottiſh rebels who had entered into a league with her, ſhould be included, by name, in the treaty, and that the ſtipulations accorded them ſhould be guaranteed by herſelf: but the French plenipotentiaries, whoſe principal object was to diſſolve that very league, and to leave no bond of connection between the two nations, abſolutely refuſed to inſert, in a treaty of peace, which always implies an equality between the contracting parties, any clauſe with regard to the Scotch; offering, however, to accord them, as a matter of *favour*, not only an amneſty for the paſt, but every kind of ſecurity for the preſervation of their liberties. At length, after much debate, it was agreed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the treaty with Elizabeth, importing that the king and queen of France ſhould perform the promiſes made, in their name, by the miniſters plenipotentiary, to their Scottiſh ſubjects. The promiſes were theſe, that the French troops ſhould leave Scotland within the ſpace of twenty days, and return to France in veſſels which Elizabeth engaged to ſupply; that France ſhould only leave ſixty ſoldiers in the town of Leith; that the king and queen ſhould grant a general amneſty, and convene a meeting of the Scottiſh parliament in the courſe of the following month, when the form of adminiſtration to be obſerved during their abſence ſhould be regulated [23].

By the treaty of peace, concluded with Elizabeth, it was ſtipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould henceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom: that all titles and public acts in which that title had been employed, ſhould either be altered or abrogated; that the farther reparation demanded by Elizabeth for the injury ſhe had ſuſtained in that particular ſhould be referred to the deciſion of commiſſioners, to be appointed at a future period; and, laſtly, that the king and queen ſhould perform the promiſes they had made to their ſubjects in Scotland.

The day after the treaty was concluded the French forces embarked for their native country, the general amneſty was publiſhed, and the ſtates were appointed to aſſemble in the following month; but when the Engliſh ambaſſadors demanded of Francis his ratification of the treaty concluded with their ſovereign, that prince refuſed to ratify it, on account of the laſt clauſe which regarded the Scotch, which, it was pretended, he could not confirm without admitting Elizabeth as a judge between him and his ſubjects, and without giving her rights over Scotland which ſhe only claimed in virtue of

[23] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 342, 343.

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an aſſociation with rebels [24]. This refuſal though it grievouſly offended that revengeful princeſs, cauſed no preſent rupture between the two crowns.

The troops which had been drawn from Scotland were ſtationed in the ſea-ports on the coaſts of Normandy, in order to awe the people of that province, who began to exhibit unequivocal ſymptoms of diſcontent. Important as this re-inforcement undoubtedly was, the Guiſes were ſtill ſenſible of its inſufficiency, in the preſent conjuncture: It would, indeed, have been eaſy for them to levy as many troops as they choſe, but they were at a loſs for the means of providing for their ſubſiſtance. After all the reductions that had been made in the king's houſhold, the revenue of the ſtate was ſtill inadequate to defray its expences; all credit was deſtroyed, commerce depreſſed, and, in many provinces, the culture of the earth wholly neglected. Any attempt, under theſe circumſtances, to impoſe freſh burdens upon the people, would, it was feared produce an inſurrection. To obviate theſe inconveniencies, and to provide a remedy for the evil which threatened them, the Guiſes, at length, reſolved to engage the king and the queen-mother to convoke, at Fontainebleau, not the ſtates-general, nor even an aſſembly of notables, but an extraordinary council, which the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the ſtate-counſellors, knights of the order of Saint-Michael, and maſters of requeſts, ſhould be ſummoned to attend, in order that thoſe perſons who were moſt intereſted in the welfare of the ſtate, ſhould concur, if poſſible, in the adoption of ſome efficacious means for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, and in the determination to enforce the execution of ſuch meaſures as they ſhould deem neceſſary for that purpoſe. The Guiſes, however, apprehenſive that the princes of the blood might repair to the aſſembly ſo well accompanied as to become abſolute maſters of the government, took care to ſtation a number of regular troops in the environs of Fontainebleau, and to allow ſo ſhort an interval between the date of the ſummons and the day of the meeting that they ſhould have no time to make preparations: the ſummons was accordingly dated the laſt of July, and the aſſembly was appointed for the twelfth of Auguſt.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, convinced that this meaſure was only adopted for the purpoſe of bringing them to court and ſecuring their perſons, wiſhed to have the advice of the conſtable; they accordingly ſent a meſſenger to him to ſay, that as all their captains were engaged in an expedition againſt Lyons, which they had every reaſon to expect would prove ſucceſsful, they thought it would be dangerous to accept the king's invitation. The conſtable exhorted them to deſiſt from their projected attempt upon Lyons, adviſed them rather to direct their efforts againſt the towns of Limoges and Poitiers, which would ſerve to cover the provinces in their poſſeſſion, and might be defended with greater eaſe and convenience; but, he obſerved, that they ſhould

[24] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 344.

not have recourſe to this violent proceeding until all other means had failed: he conjured them to attend the aſſembly, and to ſend word to their partizans to meet them on the road; at all events, he ſaid, they would find their friends at Fontainebleau ſo well-attended that nobody would dare to moleſt them. This advice, however, was rejected by the king of Navarre, from the conviction that, if the Guiſes intended to ſecure their perſons, they would take care to prevent them from reaching Fontainebleau; the two princes, therefore, ſent a courier with letters to the king and queen-mother, to excuſe, on account of the ſhortneſs of the notice, and the length of the journey, their attendance at the council.

The council, however, met on the appointed day, when the debates were warm and animated: the admiral Coligni, preſented a petition from the Hugonots of Normandy, profeſſing their attachment to the king, and demanding a toleration of their religion; this petition, defended with zeal and ability by Coligni, was oppoſed with violence by the cardinal of Lorraine, who, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved that the king could not comply with the requeſt of the Hugonots, without riſking the ſalvation of his ſoul, and incurring the guilt of perjury: the final reſult of this meeting was the diſtribution of two circular letters; the firſt was addreſſed to the ſeneſchals and bailiffs, who were ordered by the king to aſſemble without delay the provincial aſſemblies, for the purpoſe of electing deputies to the ſtates-general, which were appointed to meet at Meaux, on the tenth of December; the ſecond, to the biſhops, enjoining immediate reſidence, and commanding them to meet at Paris on the twentieth of January to hold a national council, unleſs the pope ſhould, in the interval, be induced to convoke, agreeably to the promiſe he had made the king, a general council.

While the aſſembly were ſitting at Fontainebleau, an agent of the king of Navarre's, named La Sague, who had been ſent with ſome letters from the prince of Condé to his friends, was ſeized[25]; and in his pockets were found letters from the conſtable, the admiral and the vidame of Chartres, to the prince. Thoſe from the two former contained only general expreſſions of attachment, and of regret at not meeting the prince at Fontainebleau; but that from the vidame was more particular; it aſſured the prince of his readineſs to ſerve him with his ſword and fortune againſt all perſons whatever, excepting the king, the queens, and the children of France. The Guiſes, enraged at this diſcovery, ſent orders to arreſt the vidame, who was detained at Paris by ill health; and that nobleman having accordingly been thrown into the Baſtille, was there examined: in anſwer to the queſtions put to him by the judge, he replied, that he had been a friend to the Guiſes ſo long as he conceived their intentions to be upright, and ſo long as they paid a proper attention to their equals, and a proper reſpect to the princes of the blood;

[25] La Planche—La Place—La Popliniére—De Thou.

but

but that ſince he found that, impoſing no reſtraints on their ambition, they had uſurped the honours reſerved for their ſuperiors, the functions of the grand officers of the crown, the patrimony of the firſt families, and betrayed an anxiety to depreſs and to degrade the nobility of France, he conceived the rank which he held in the kingdom, would not permit him to view with an eye of indifference this inſult offered to the nation: that the prince of Condé having called upon him, as his relation, to eſpouſe his quarrel, he did not heſitate in obeying the ſummons, ſince the diſpute in queſtion by no means affected the ſtate, and might be ſettled in the ſame manner as all other diſputes which occur between gentlemen; it was a diſpute, in ſhort, between the houſes of Bourbon and Lorraine, in which no one had a right to prevent his interference. As his letter contained nothing which contradicted this explanation of the buſineſs, it became neceſſary to ſuſpend the proceedings, till ſome farther proof of criminality could be adduced.

This event, and the news received about the ſame time of a fruitleſs attempt upon Lyons, by the Hugonots, under the command of Ferriere-Maligni, determined the Guiſes to exert their utmoſt endeavours for getting the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé into their power; and with this view, Francis was induced to write a preſſing letter to the former, urging the neceſſity of his attendance at court. Meanwhile, from the treachery of ſome of the party, important diſcoveries were made and commiſſions ſeized for raiſing troops in the name of the prince of Condé[26]. La Sague, being threatened with the rack, declared that by dipping the ſheet of paper, in which the vidame's letter was encloſed, in a baſon of water, the miniſter would learn what he was ſo anxious to know: the experiment was accordingly tried, and the paper when wet appeared to contain a letter from Dardois, the conſtable's confidential agent, to the prince of Condé, in which he obſerved to the prince that notwithſtanding what might be ſaid to the contrary, he might be aſſured that nobody was more ſenſible than the conſtable of the neceſſity of changing the adminiſtration and removing the Guiſes; that he was of opinion the princes, when ſummoned to appear at court, ſhould take care to be well accompanied to profit by any opportunity, that might occur on the road. This laſt expreſſion appearing ambiguous, La Sague was interrogated on the ſubject; and he replied, that the princes, under pretence of coming to court, were to approach the Loire, followed at ſome diſtance by the principal forces of Guienne and Gaſcony: That D'Amville, the conſtable's ſecond ſon, was to join them, with a re-inforcement of troops, at Poitiers, which town they were immediately to ſecure, and then to proceed to Tours, and Orleans; that at this laſt place they meant to convene the ſtates-general, in order to bring the Guiſes to trial, and to take poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, until the king ſhould have completed his twenty-ſecond year; that the conſtable's ſon, who was governor of Paris and the iſle of France, had promiſed to ſecure the ſuffrages of the people in thoſe places;

[26] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 476.

that

that the admiral had made the ſame aſſurances with regard to Normandy, while the duke of Etampes anſwered for Brittany, the count of Tendé for Provence and Senarpont, and Bouchavannes for Picardy; that the princes themſelves having ſecured the ſouthern provinces, they would thus diſpoſe of the repreſentatives of the nation at their pleaſure, and procure the adoption of ſuch regulations as would beſt ſuit their own purpoſes.

The Guiſes, obſerving the moſt profound ſecrecy, with regard to this important diſcovery, and not even daring to arreſt Dardois, through fear of alarming the conſtable, contented themſelves for the preſent with the formation of two camps: one at Pontoiſe, the other at Meulan, in which they ſtationed the veteran troops, recently arrived from Scotland, as well as thoſe which they had ordered, ſome time before, from Piedmont. All the king's houſhold-troops received orders to aſſemble at an early period; and Francis, under pretence of reviewing them, left Fontainebleau, where he was not ſecure from attack, and took up his reſidence at Saint-Germain, in the vicinity of the conſtable, and between the two camps.

The meaneſt and moſt diſhoneſt artifices were now employed by the Guiſes to get the prince of Condé into their power; and in this attempt they were ſeconded by Catharine of Medicis, who exerted all thoſe arts of hypocriſy in which ſhe was ſo eminently verſed [27]. At length they ſucceeded in extorting from the king Navarre and the prince of Condé a promiſe to repair to court, attended only by their uſual retinue; and as the violent meaſures they meant to purſue would naturally excite great diſcontent among the nobility, they ſought to ſecure their friendſhip, by the diſtribution of honours and rewards: the government of Touraine, Anjou, the Blaiſois and Vendomois, was conferred on the duke of Montpenſier; and that of the Orleanois, the Chartrain and Berry, on the prince of la Roche-ſur-Yon: eighteen new knights of the order of Saint-Michael were created at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe; and from this Era may be dated the decline of that illuſtrious order, which had ſubſiſted, with great glory, for a whole century.

About the middle of October, the king, with an army of ten thouſand diſciplined troops, repaired to Orleans, and ſtruck terror and conſternation into the inhabitants of that town, who were ſtrongly attached to the Hugonots. Meanwhile the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé ſet out on their journey, and Francis iſſued orders to the Catholic gentlemen who reſided in the provinces through which they were to paſs, to levy troops, diſperſe all aſſemblies, political or religious, and kill, without mercy or diſcrimination, all who ſhould attend them. In the courſe of their journey, the princes received intimations of the moſt alarming nature, and each day added ſome new proof of the impetuous counſels of the Guiſes, and of the too ready acquieſcence of the eaſy mo-

[27] La Planche—La Place—La Popliniére—D'Aubigné—Caſtelnau—Bezé—Memoires de Condé.

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narch; but they had now advanced too far to recede, different parties had been ſtationed on the road behind to intercept their retreat or flight; and, with a ſlender train, but undaunted countenance, they at length entered the city of Orleans.

On entering the royal preſence they were received with coldneſs by the king, whom they found ſeated between the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine; Francis then conducted them to the apartment of the queen-mother, who, on their appearance, ſhrieked and burſt into tears; he there reproached the prince of Condé with his ſeditious conduct, telling him that he was accuſed of forming plots, as well againſt the ſtate as againſt the life of his ſovereign, and that it was neceſſary to juſtify himſelf from ſuch accuſations. Condé replied, that the accuſations were falſe and calumnious, and that if his majeſty would confront him with his accuſers he could eaſily convict them of impoſture.—"*It it but juſt*,"—ſaid the king—"*that you ſhould be heard in your defence.*"—As ſoon as he had pronounced theſe words he left the room, and gave orders to Chavigni and Brezé, captains of his guards, to arreſt the prince, who was immediately conducted to a houſe, previouſly prepared for his reception. At the ſame time orders were iſſued for apprehending Groſlot, bailiff of Orleans; the lady of Roye, ſiſter to the Châtillons, and mother-in-law to Condé; Dardois, ſecretary to the conſtable; and Bouchard, chancellor to the king of Navarre. Anthony, whoſe eaſy credulity had greatly contributed to reduce his brother to this ſituation, repeatedly called on the queen-mother to declare whether ſhe had not ſolemnly pledged her word that neither he nor his brother ſhould meet with the leaſt moleſtation; but that artful and perfidious princeſs refuſed to anſwer him.

Notwithſtanding the prayers and ſolicitations of the princeſs of Condé, who threw herſelf at the king's feet, and implored his mercy in favour of her huſband, Francis, with an unfeeling perſeverance, unnatural at his age, purſued the neceſſary meaſures for bringing the prince to trial. A commiſſion, compoſed of Chriſtopher de Thou, preſident of the parliament of Paris; of James Viole and Bartholomew Faye, judges of the ſame court; Bourdin, attorney-general: and the ſecretary du Tillet, was appointed to interrogate him in priſon; but the prince proteſted againſt the competency of the ſubſervient tribunal, and appealed to the king *in parliament*. The appeal, however, was rejected by Francis; and the chancellor, with ſome members of the council, and all the knights of Saint-Michael and maſters of requeſts who were then at Orleans, being added to the commiſſion, the trial was purſued, and the prince, being found guilty of *léze-majeſty*, was ſentenced to loſe his head. The count of Sancerre, one of his judges, peremptorily refuſed to ſign the ſentence, and, when preſſed to it by the king, replied, that any other command from his majeſty ſhould meet with inſtant compliance from him, but that he would rather loſe his own head, than tranſmit to his children the ſhame of reading their father's name annexed to a ſentence of death pronounced againſt a prince, whoſe deſcendants might poſſibly become their ſovereigns. But the refuſal of this honourable old man made no impreſſion on the king, who confirmed the ſentence, and appointed the

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tenth of December, the day on which the ſtates general were to meet, for the execution of the prince.

The proſpect of approaching death had but little effect on the magnanimous mind of Condé; a prieſt having been ſent to ſay maſs in his apartment, he diſmiſſed him with obſerving that he had come to Orleans on the king's invitation, not to hear maſs, but to make his majeſty hear his juſtification: a gentleman whom he had formerly diſtinguiſhed by his favour, but who had ſince courted the protection of the Guiſes, having obtained admiſſion to the prince, made ſome propoſals for an accomodation with his enemies; but Condé, after extorting a confeſſion that he had been ſent thither by the Guiſes, deſired he would tell them, that the only accommodation he ſhould ever enter into with them was written on the point of his lance.

But the proud princes of Lorraine were not long ſuffered to rejoice in the humiliation of their rival, and the ſucceſs of their plans; while the fate of the gallant Condé appeared inevitable, the Sovereign Arbiter of the world, who baffles the preſumptuous hopes of aſpiring mortals, and ſpeaks comfort to deſpair, had otherwiſe ordained. On the nineteenth of November, Francis, as he was attending veſpers at the Jacobins, fainted in the church, whence he was conveyed ſenſeleſs and motionleſs to his apartment; on the recovery of his ſenſes, he complained of a violent pain in his ear, which was ſpeedily followed by a burning fever, attended with ſymptoms of the moſt alarming nature. The Guiſes, thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this unexpected event, aſſembled their friends, ſome of whom were of opinion that they ſhould extort from the king an order for the immediate execution of the prince of Condé, and the impriſonment of the king of Navarre, as the beſt means of ſecuring a preponderance to their own party, but this advice was overruled by the cardinal of Tournon, not on the plea of juſtice or humanity, but from conſiderations of policy, as he obſerved that the conſtable and his family would ſtill remain to head the oppoſite faction, and that they would infallibly be ſeconded by the whole order of nobility, (who would be incenſed at the perſecution of the princes of the blood) and probably by the majority of the people.

The king of Navarre, meanwhile, embraced the opportunity to court a reconciliation with the queen-mother, who, at the inſtigation of the ducheſs of Montpenſier and the chancellor, concluded an accommodation with that prince, and conſented to receive him and his brother into favour, on condition that he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the regency in the event of the king's demiſe, and ſubmit to a reconciliation with the Guiſes, who ſhe aſſured him, had been nowiſe inſtrumental to the impriſonment of his brother; falſe as this aſſurance inconteſtibly was, ſhe promiſed Anthony that he ſhould hear it confirmed by the king himſelf. He was accordingly conducted to the royal apartment, where the feeble Francis, docile to the laſt, declared, in the preſence of ſeveral witneſſes, *that he had cauſed*

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the prince of Condé to be impriſoned of his own accord, and contrary to the advice of his uncles, the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine[28].

The king's diſorder proved to be an abſceſs in the head, which, burſting, put an end to his exiſtence on the fifth of December, in the eighteenth year of his age and the ſecond of his reign. Little can be ſaid of the character of this prince; weak both in body and mind, he poſſeſſed no energy of ſoul, and appeared wholly inadequate to the ſtation he was deſtined to fulfil; born without paſſions, alike deſtitute of virtue and of vice, he became a paſſive inſtrument in the hands of his ambitious uncles, who directed his opinions at their pleaſure, and even gave to his propenſities that turn which beſt ſuited their own intereſted views. Francis certainly exhibited but few qualifications that can entitle him to praiſe; but candour prompts and juſtice warrants the aſſertion, that malignity alone could aſcribe the defects of a prince thus circumſtanced to depravity of heart.

The king's death, though fully expected, threw the whole court into confuſion; the Guiſes, placing but little reliance on the reconciliation extorted from the king of Navarre, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and prepared to ſuſtain an attack; while the queen-mother, alarmed at her preſent ſituation, and ſtill more uneaſy with regard to the future, had wholly neglected the neceſſary preparations for the interment of the royal corpſe; and on examination the treaſury was found not to contain money ſufficient to diſcharge the expences of the funeral: the body of the deceaſed monarch was privately conveyed to the royal vault at Saint Denis, attended only by Lanſac and La Broſſe, who had been his governors.

[28] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 583.

CHARLES THE NINTH.

A. D. 1560, 1561.] THE tranſactions of the reign of Charles the Ninth are more deeply obſcured by the prejudices of party writers than thoſe of any other reign in the Hiſtory of France. Civil conteſts are generally more deſtructive than foreign wars; but thoſe in particular which ariſe from a difference of religious opinions are invariably marked by animoſity the moſt virulent, by hatred the moſt inveterate; and the malignant influence of theſe uncharitable ſentiments is unhappily extended to all who are, even remotely, intereſted in the event of the conflict, giving a different hue to the ſame objects, aſſigning to the ſame occurrences motives and appearances not only different but oppoſite, even converting matters of fact into ſubjects for diſpute, and thus foully polluting the pure ſtream of hiſtory. Amidſt ſuch a chaos of contradictory accounts, it is no eaſy matter to diſtinguiſh reality from fiction: but, exempt from the paſſions whence ſuch confuſion has ariſen, equally free from the bigotry and predilections of either ſect, we ſhall purſue, with ſteady perſeverance, our ſearch after truth, and endeavour to ſteer clear of the ſhoals and quickſands of prejudice and miſrepreſentation.

On the death of Francis the crown devolved on his next brother Charles, then only in the eleventh year of his age, who accordingly received the oaths of the magiſtrates and great officers of the court, whom he confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their places and privileges. The early age of the infant monarch incapacitating him from holding the reins of government, his mother, Catharine of Medicis, at firſt, aſſumed the authority, though not the title, of Regent, but after a ſhort time ſhe was compelled to relinquiſh a conſiderable portion of her power to the king of Navarre, who was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

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CHARLES IX.

blish'd as the Act directs, March 18. 1792. by C. Lowndes,

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The ſtates-general, ſummoned by Francis to aſſemble at Orleans on the thirteenth of December, were ſuffered, in conſequence of a deciſion *that the king never died*, to meet on the appointed day[1]. Catharine, indeed, apprehenſive leſt the repreſentatives of the people might deprive her of that power which, during the minority of their ſovereigns, they claimed a right to confer on whomſoever they pleaſed, would willingly have prevented their meeting, but the nation was reduced to ſuch a deplorable ſtate, with regard to the public revenue, that the application of an immediate remedy had become an object of indiſpenſible neceſſity.

In the preſent temper of the kingdom it could not be ſuppoſed that an aſſembly ſo numerous, compoſed of members of different ſects, would act with concord, uniformity, and effect: the gratification of private reſentment roſe ſuperior to concern for the public welfare; and party contentions, with all their baſe concomitants of haſty accuſations and petulant invective, were permitted to diſgrace the proceedings of a convention aſſembled for the nobleſt purpoſe—to reſcue the nation from diſtreſs, by giving ſtrength and ſtability to the laws, and happineſs and relief to the people. The Hugonots complained of the injuries they had ſuſtained, the perſecutions they had experienced, and the hardſhips to which they were expoſed; demanded a repeal of all the penal laws paſſed in the preceding reigns, and claimed a free and perfect toleration of their religion. The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were not leſs loud in their complaints, nor leſs urgent in their applications for redreſs; they accuſed the ſectaries of miſrepreſenting their conduct, of defaming their characters, and of ſowing diſſentions between the paſtors and their flocks: they reproached them with exerting their ſuperiority, in thoſe places where they were ſtrongeſt, to compel the Catholics to attend their meetings, to beat and mutilate the prieſts, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the churches, to overturn the altars, to profane the ſacred vaſes, and to inſpire ſuch terror into the regular clergy, that they did not dare to appear in public with any of the external marks of their profeſſion. To redreſs theſe grievances, it was required, that all the penal laws againſt heretics ſhould be rigidly enforced: that a *religious teſt* ſhould be impoſed, as an indiſpenſable qualification for holding any office judicial, municipal, or political: and that the introduction of the money and inhabitants of *Geneva* into the kingdom ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited.

It was impoſſible to reconcile ſentiments thus different, and claims thus oppoſite; and as the ſtates evinced a diſpoſition to conſume their time in diſputes of this nature, the queen mother deemed it neceſſary to remind them of the primary object of their meeting, and, after making all poſſible retrenchments in the king's houſhold, reducing the penſions, and retrenching one quarter of the ſalaries of all officers whatever for the enſuing year, ſhe ſubmitted to the deputies an exact account of the debts and expences of the

[1] Légende du Cardinal de Lorraine—La Planche—Hiſtoire Manuſcrite de Francois II.—De Thou.

ſtate; by which it appeared, that the former amounted to forty-three million, four hundred and eighty-three thouſand livres, of which fifteen million, nine hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand livres had been borrowed, at an uſurious intereſt, of different banks; fourteen million, nine hundred and ſixty-one thouſand had been raiſed by alienations of the domain of the crown, of the aids and gabelles; five million, five hundred and eighty thouſand had been appropriated to the purpoſe of paying the dowers of the king's aunt, and his two ſiſters; and two million, three hundred and twelve thouſand, ſix hundred livres had been borrowed of perſons who were to be repaid out of the revenue of the current year. The whole revenue, including all the taxes then eſtabliſhed, was eſtimated at twelve millions, two hundred and fifty-nine thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-nine livres: (about five hundred and ten thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds ſterling) and the expenditure at twelve million, two hundred and ſixty thouſand, a few pounds more than the revenue. But a conſiderable part of the revenue of the preſent year being pledged, it was evident that government, far from meliorating the ſituation of the people as they wiſhed to do, would be wholly incapable of meeting the ordinary expences, or of having recourſe to freſh loans, ſince no lenders could be met with.

But theſe conſiderations, weighty as they were, had no effect on the ſtates, who pleaded their inability to make any proviſions with regard to the revenue, without the expreſs commands of their conſtituents; they therefore deſired that the provincial ſtates might again be convened, in order that they might obtain freſh inſtructions. Catharine finding they perſevered in this reſolution, at length determined to put an end to the ſeſſion; and accordingly, on the laſt day of January, the king went to the aſſembly for that purpoſe. The chancellor, in his ſpeech, obſerved, that the three orders had agreed in demanding the ſuppreſſion of a multitude of newly-created offices, to which the want of money had alone given birth: that the king was as ſenſible as they were of the inconvenience of ſuffering them to ſubſiſt, but that they ought to be as ſenſible as the king was of the iniquity of diſpoſſeſſing the preſent holders, without reimburſing them the money they had advanced, which the ſtates had not ſupplied him with the means of doing. He begged them to conſider, that Charles, being a minor, and not having been inſtrumental to the contracting that immenſe debt, of which they complained, ought not to become reſponſible for it: that the evil which preyed upon the ſtate would daily encreaſe, and, by deferring the application of a proper remedy, they ran a riſk of rendering it incurable: that it was evident, from the accounts which had been laid before them, that the ſtate owed upwards of forty-three million of livres, and that the revenue was wholly inſufficient to diſcharge any part of the intereſt due *on that enormous ſum:* that the king, after examining the matter in his council, was of opinion, that the clergy ſhould take upon themſelves to redeem the alienated domain of the crown, and the produce of the aids and gabelles, pledged for the payment of about fifteen million of livres, within the term of ſix years: that the nobility, having, in the late wars, not only laviſhed their blood, but

mortgaged

mortgaged their poſſeſſions for the ſervice of the ſtate, ought to be exempted from any immediate contribution, in lieu whereof, they ſhould eſtabliſh a duty on ſome article of general conſumption, ſuch as fifteen livres on every hogſhead of ſalt, which being divided among the three orders, would ſcarcely be felt by the nobility: that the third eſtate ſhould ſubmit either to an encreaſe of the preſent taxes, or to a freſh duty upon liquors. This laſt object of taxation, the chancellor remarked, was not rendered ſo productive in France as it might be, if an opinion could be formed from the cuſtoms of other countries: ſince at Venice, the duty upon wine produced the republic an annual revenue of two millions of ducats: that theſe taxes, or any other which the ſtates might chuſe to eſtabliſh in their ſtead, ſhould only continue for ſix years, or even a ſhorter time, if the national debt ſhould be ſooner diſcharged: that, in order to prevent the poſſibility of miſapplication, the ſtates might themſelves authorize the municipal officers in the principal towns to collect the taxes, and apply the produce; and, that not the ſhadow of a doubt might remain as to the real intentions of government, the king would bind himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe, and the queen-mother and the princes of the blood by their oaths, that as ſoon as the debt ſhould be diſcharged, he would keep his houſhold on the produce of his domains, and would require, for defraying all the other expences of the ſtate, only the ſame ſubſidies as had been granted during the reign of Lewis the Twelfth.

"Such," ſaid the chancellor, "is the object which his majeſty wiſhed you to diſ-
"cuſs before your diſſolution: but ſince you are of opinion that you cannot proceed
"in a buſineſs of this nature without being formally authorized by the provincial
"ſtates, the king will again convene them, not, as before, by bailiwicks, (for, in the
"preſent diſtreſs, it is proper to ſave the expence which thoſe numerous aſſemblies occa-
"ſion) but by *governments:* it will be ſufficient for each of the great governments
"to ſend three deputies, one of each order, who muſt meet at Melun on the firſt
"of May."

During the interval between the diſſolution of the ſtates and the meeting of the new convention, the kingdom was alike agitated by religious diſputes and political intrigues. The queen-mother, anxious to ſecure the attachment of the Hugonots, cauſed letters-patent to be iſſued, by which the king forbade all his ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, to inſult each other on account of religion, and ordered all thoſe to be releaſed from priſon whoſe only crime was that of having attended the conventicles, or complied with the other forms of the new religion, exacting only from ſuch perſons a promiſe to live *Catholiquement* in future; and in caſe they ſhould refuſe to make that promiſe, they were ſtill to be releaſed, but on condition that they ſhould leave the kingdom within a given time: the parliament was enjoined to re-publiſh the edict of Romorentin, without any reſtrictions whatever.

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The parliament, however, refuſed to pay obedience to the commands of the king, and even when forced to compliance by more poſitive orders, they were ſo far influenced by a ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, that, four days after they had regiſtered the letters, they iſſued an *arrêt*, forbidding, *under pain of death*, all perſons, of whatever rank or condition, to hold conventicles or unlawful aſſemblies; to print or expoſe to ſale any book on religion or the ſcriptures, without the permiſſion of the court, and the previous approbation of two doctors of divinity. The parliament cauſed this *arrêt* to be publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, in the moſt public parts of Paris, as well as at Mons, Angers, Poitiers, Tours, Saumur, La Flêche, and, in ſhort, at every town of any importance within their juriſdiction.

The Hugonots, meanwhile, held a ſynod at Poitiers, where they decided, that as the king was a minor, the ſtates could take no meaſures for paying his debts, nor contracting any valid engagement whatever with him, until a council, choſen by the ſtates lawfully aſſembled, ſhould have been appointed to aſſiſt him with their advice: that thoſe who now called themſelves members of the council, had no right to aſſume that dignity, ſince their commiſſion had expired with the monarch from whom they received it, and could not be renewed either by the new king, who was a minor, or by the queen-mother, to whom the law gave no ſuch authority: that the chancellor himſelf ſhould be warned to abſtain from the exerciſe of his functions, as he did not hold his office either with the approbation of the ſtates, or the conſent of the princes of the blood: that, if government ſhould refuſe to comply with theſe demands, the deputies ſhould abſtain from all diſcuſſion whatever, and prefer an appeal to the future ſtates-general, lawfully aſſembled.

This deciſion gave freſh vigour and energy to the intrigues of the court, where the partiſans of either religion endeavoured to acquire a ſuperiority; the arrival of the prince of Condé, at this critical period, ſeemed to turn the ſcale in favour of the Hugonots: that nobleman had refuſed to leave the place of his confinement until the Guiſes were removed from court, but the cardinal of Lorraine having voluntarily retired to his dioceſe of Rheims, and the duke of Guiſe conſenting to expreſs his diſapprobation of the violent proceedings againſt the prince, and his belief of his innocence, Condé repaired to Fontainebleau, where he was publickly juſtified from the charges which had been preferred againſt him, by a decree of the council; and he afterwards obtained a deciſion of the parliament of Paris, ſanctioning that decree[2].

It had ever been the policy of Catharine of Medicis to profit by the animoſity of the two parties, for the augmentation of her own power, and ſo to hold the ſcales between

[2] Memoires de Condé—La Planche—La Poplinière—De Thou.

them

them as to prevent either from ſecuring a preponderance. Finding her authority queſtioned by the Hugonots, ſhe thought it prudent to ſecure the attachment of their leaders; and as Coligni, from rank, ſtation, and principle, was juſtly conſidered as entitled to great weight with his party, to him ſhe now applied. Unambitious of honours, and negligent of rewards, all that the admiral required of her, was the promulgation of edicts favourable to the religion he profeſſed; in return for which he undertook, not only to furniſh an eaſy means for paying off the national debt, but alſo to reſtore the whole kingdom to a perfect ſtate of tranquillity. By calculating the rapid progreſs which the new doctrines had hitherto made in the midſt of the moſt cruel perſecutions, he had fully perſuaded himſelf that, under the influence of toleration, they would thrive ſo faſt, that the whole nation would, in a few years, be induced to adopt them, without conſtraint, and without the neceſſity of ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood; that, then, the immenſe riches of the Romiſh clergy might be employed, without any oppoſition, to paying the debts of the ſtate, and for ſecuring a comfortable ſubſiſtence for the miniſters of the reformed church[3]. Theſe plans of pacification, toleration, and reform, ſo perfectly coincided with the views of the chancellor, L'Hôpital, that an intimacy immediately took place between him and the admiral, which, though ſometimes interrupted by ſubſequent events, was never diſſolved. They had little difficulty in perſuading Catharine of Medicis, who was more anxious to preſerve her rank, and to liquidate the public debt, than to maintain the eſtabliſhed religion, to ſecond their meaſures. She was ſenſible, however, that previous to the publication of ſuch edicts as the admiral required, it would be neceſſary to prepare the minds of the public for their reception; and as, in every ſtate, the example of the ſovereign has a vaſt influence over the people, it was deemed prudent firſt to try the docility of the court, that they might thence judge what they had to expect from the nation at large. Though it was now the ſeaſon of Lent, butchers were allowed to keep their ſhops open, and meat was ſerved at almoſt every table. Such of the princes and nobility as profeſſed the new religion, had hitherto kept a chaplain among their other domeſtics, and had deemed it an indulgence to be allowed to attend divine worſhip, at ſome private houſe, at a diſtance from the palace; but their miniſters were now allowed to preach at court, in public oppoſition to the Catholic prieſts.

Though Catharine did not dare to attend the ſermons of the Hugonots, yet ſhe allowed John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence, who had imbibed the principles of the Calviniſts, to hold daily conferences with them on controverted points, in the king's antichamber, at which ſhe always contrived to be preſent, accompanied by all the ladies of her houſhold. Attracted by this novelty, the whole court ſoon followed the example of the queen-mother; but the conſtable, ever hoſtile to the reformed, unleſs when his

[3] Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 226, 227.

intereſt

intereſt led him to approve their political plans, and grown petulant from age, vented his rage on the miniſter in the moſt indecent terms.

The mareſchal de Saint-André, a man of looſe principles and ruined fortune, attached to the Guiſes more from intereſt than principle, eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded by the conſtable's diſcontent at the preſent conduct of Catharine, to promote a reconciliation between that nobleman and the princes of Lorraine: though a breach with his own family muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch an alliance, yet Montmorenci ſuffered that conſideration to be outweighed by the ſuggeſtion that the Hugonots had publickly expreſſed their opinion of the propriety of reducing the national debt by revoking the many exceſſive grants beſtowed by Henry the Second on his miniſters and favourites: a league was accordingly formed between the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable, and the mareſchal de Saint-André, which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The Triumvirate*. The object of this league was, to ſecure their own power and poſſeſſions, by a ſyſtematic oppoſition to the meaſures of their enemies, both religious and political: ſoon after it was concluded, the conſtable repaired to Chantilli, to attend the celebration of the nuptials of Thoré, his fourth ſon, with the rich heireſs of the houſe of Humiéres, and the duke of Guiſe withdrew from the council, and retired to his ſeat at Nanteuil.

The admiral profited by the retreat of the triumvirs, to complain to the council of the conduct of the parliament of Paris, which, not content with having diſobeyed the king's commands, by adding modifications to the edict of Romorentin, which totally deſtroyed its effect, had, on the twenty-eighth of March, paſſed an *arrêt*, by which they declared all thoſe guilty of high treaſon who ſhould attend conventicles at which any doctrine was preached contrary to that of the Romiſh church; and ordered the houſes, in which ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be holden, to be razed to the ground. As the palace at Fontainebleau came within this deſcription, the admiral was juſtified in repreſenting theſe *arrêts* as ſo many attacks on the ſovereign authority. A deputation from the parliament were accordingly ordered to wait on the king; and, after receiving a ſevere reprimand from the council, the deputies were told that it was his majeſty's wiſh that, with regard to all orders that might be addreſſed to them on matters of government, they ſhould confine themſelves to implicit obedience, without venturing on any latitude of interpretation or impoſition of reſtraint: that, on any difficult points, he ſhould be happy to hear their remonſtrances, but he forbade them to affix any kind of modification to his edicts and ordonnances at the time of regiſtering them.

A tumult which happened about this time at Beauvais, tended to widen the breach that ſubſiſted between the Hugonots and Catholics. Fournier, a doctor of divinity, had in his ſermons denounced the Châtillons to the citizens of Paris, as publick enemies, who were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to expel them from their habitations.

tions. The cardinal de Châtillon had, on the approach of Eaſter, retired to Beauvais, but inſtead of attending the ceremonies of the church, at the head of his clergy, he ſhut himſelf up in his epiſcopal palace, with ſome eccleſiaſtics of the ſame perſuaſion with himſelf. Emboldened by his example, the Hugonots inſulted a proceſſion, and being purſued by the mob, one of them was killed in the court-yard of the palace. The cardinal, uncertain whether he was the object of their rage, cauſed his doors to be barricadoed, and made his appearance at a balcony, arrayed in his pontifical robes, which he had for ſome years diſdained to wear, but which now ſerved to calm the minds of the multitude. The queen, apprized of this tranſaction, ſent orders to the mareſchal de Montmorenci to haſten to Beauvais with a body of troops, and inflict an exemplary puniſhment on the inſurgents. Finding, however, after a ſtrict examination, that the tumult was the effect of a momentary impulſe of popular reſentment, and not the conſequence of any fixed plan, the mareſchal contented himſelf with hanging two of the principal offenders, and committing a few others to priſon[4].

The conjuncture appeared favourable for the promulgation of an edict that had been ſome time projected by the council; in which the king forbade all his ſubjects, under pain of death, without any hope of pardon, to inſult each other by uſing the injurious appellations of *Papiſts* and *Hugonots*: or to violate the ſafety which every individual ought to enjoy in his own houſe, under pretence that unlawful aſſemblies were holden there; it ordained, that all priſoners confined on account of religion ſhould be releaſed; and that all exiles and fugitives ſhould be permitted to return to France, where no one ſhould be ſuffered to moleſt them, either in their perſons or property, ſo long as they lived *Catholiquement*, and without giving offence; and if they violated theſe conditions, they ſhould then be allowed to ſell their effects, and retire whereſoever they pleaſed. The chancellor, knowing the diſpoſition of the parliament of Paris, foreſaw that they would oppoſe the regiſtering of the edict; and in order to obviate this difficulty, he addreſſed it immediately to the magiſtrates of the inferior courts, who, by the edict of Romorentin, were appointed judges in dernier reſort in all ſimilar caſes. The parliament were greatly incenſed at this conduct, and, after proteſting againſt ſuch an irregular mode of proceeding, attacked, with greater violence than juſtice, the edict itſelf, and maintained the propriety of acting with vigour againſt the Hugonots, and of promoting their extirpation by encouraging informers[5].

The remonſtrances of the parliament were treated with contempt, and the edict, though wanting the requiſite formality to give it the force of a law, was publiſhed in every part of the kingdom, except the metropolis: the conſequence of its publication

[4] Bezé—De Thou—La Place—La Popliniére. [5] Reg. du Parl.—Mem. de Condé—La Popliniére.

was a general commotion; even at Paris the meetings of the Hugonots daily encreaſed, and divine ſervice began to be regularly performed. The place of greateſt reſort was the houſe of Gaillard, lord of Long-jumeau, ſituated in the ſuburb of Saint-Germain, near the *Pré-aux-Clercs*. A troop of ſcholars, accompanied by a body of citizens, affecting to conſider theſe aſſemblies as inſults to the publick, made a furious attack upon the houſe, but they were repelled by a number of gentlemen who had met there, who killed a few, and put the reſt to flight: the next day the attack was renewed with greater fury, and many were ſlain on both ſides. Gaillard, apprized that a criminal proceſs had been inſtituted againſt him in the Châtelet, appealed to the parliament, and produced, in his defence, a copy of the laſt edict. The judges, unwilling to act in oppoſition to the will of the king, thus openly declared, and moreover at a loſs how to apprehend a man who was ſurrounded by two or three hundred gentlemen, ſent two members of the court to engage him to retire peaceably to his eſtate at Long-jumeau, offering, on that condition, to provide him with a guard, and to put his houſe under the immediate protection of the king.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders Charles repaired to Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed, on the fifteenth of May, by the cardinal of Lorraine[6]; who, availing himſelf of the opportunity when the king had juſt ſworn, on the altar, to maintain the Catholic religion, and preſerve the privileges of the clergy, repreſented to the queen-mother, in energetic terms, the ſtate of oppreſſion to which the church was reduced, and the neceſſity of immediately extricating her from a ſituation which foreboded her ſpeedy ruin: for, in ſeveral places, the prieſts could not mount the pulpit and deliver their ſermons, without being interrupted in the midſt of them, and expoſed to the groſſeſt inſults; the people even refuſed to pay tythe, and, what was ſtill more alarming, the citizens, in various towns, had taken up arms againſt each other, and only waited for the ſignal of aſſaſſination. At an extraordinary council, holden at Rheims, on this ſubject, it was unanimouſly agreed that the beſt mode of providing a remedy for the evil complained of, would be to appoint an aſſembly of the prelates, to correct all the abuſes which had crept into the Gallican church; and to admit, into ſuch aſſembly, the moſt celebrated divines of the new ſect, who ſhould be at full liberty to defend their doctrine againſt the attacks of the Catholic theologians, in preſence of the king himſelf.

But as it would be ſome time before this meaſure could be accompliſhed, it was deemed prudent to paſs an edict that might, in the interval, keep the ſectaries within bounds. One was accordingly iſſued—diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory, by the appellation of *The July Edict*—by which all aſſemblies, public or private, at which ſermons were preached, and the ſacrament was adminiſtered, in a manner contrary to the rites of the Romiſh church, were prohibited, under

[6] De Thou—La Popliniére.

pain

pain of confiſcation of property, to all who ſhould attend them; and the crime of hereſy was leſt to the ſole cognizance of the biſhops, on condition that the criminals whom they ſhould reſign over to the ſecular power, ſhould experience no ſeverer puniſhment than that of baniſhment. This edict, ſo different from the laſt, far from being adapted to the prevention of diſorders, was calculated to promote them [7].

On the twentieth of July, the prelates, in obedience to the ſummons they had received, aſſembled at Poiſſy, and ſoon after ten proteſtant miniſters arrived at Saint-Germain, attended by two of the moſt celebrated divines of that age—Peter Martyr and Theodore de Bezé or Beza. The firſt had been a regular canon in the Romiſh church, then a profeſſor at Straſburgh, where he married a nun; under the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was invited to England, whence he was baniſhed on the acceſſion of Mary; after which he returned to Germany, and was, at this time, firſt paſtor of the church of Zurich. Bezé was by birth a Frenchman, of a noble family in Burgundy; being deſigned for the church, his parents had procured for him, at a very early age, two valuable livings: but his taſte for the pleaſures of the world was but ill-ſuited to the profeſſion he had been led to embrace: his poetical talents introduced him to the acquaintance of the wits of the age; and he celebrated his amours with all the delicacy of Catullus and the licentiouſneſs of Petronius [8]. At the age of thirty-two, ſatiated with voluptuous gratifications, and rouſed by a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, he aſpired to a different kind of celebrity, and openly eſpouſed the doctrines of the reformed, which he had ſecretly imbibed at an early period of his life.

Having diſpoſed of his livings, he retired to Geneva, where he became the friend and confident of Calvin, who employed him in various negociations with foreign powers, in the management of which Bezé diſplayed the moſt acute penetration, and the moſt conſummate ſkill. He equally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the theological diſputations which now took place at Poiſſy, in which he excelled his adverſary, the cardinal of Lorraine, as much in affability of manners, courteſy of addreſs, and politeneſs of conduct,

7 Bezé—La Planche—La Popliniére—De Thou—Lettres de Paſquiér—Le Laboureur.

8 Beſides his Latin Poems, Bezé wrote ſeveral polemical works, moſt of which have long ſince been conſigned to oblivion. The only one of theſe, which has been much noticed in later times, is his Treatiſe, *De Hæreticis a Magiſtratu Puniendis*, written on account of the execution of Michael Servet, a phyſician, who, in 1553, was condemned by the magiſtrates of Geneva, at the inſtigation of *Calvin*, to be burnt, for having written a book againſt the Trinity. The Calviniſts, who could beſtow commendation on the founder of their ſect, for having procured the execution of a man, who differed from himſelf in one point of religion, could ſurely have no right to complain of the perſecutions they experienced from the Catholics on the ſame account.

as in ſtrength of argument, depth of erudition, and ſplendour of eloquence. The conference, however, was productive of no good effect; and it ſoon appeared that neither party was open to conviction: the public diſputations accordingly ceaſed, and a few of the moſt moderate of either ſect met at a private houſe in the town of Saint-Germain, in order, if poſſible, to concert a formule agreeable to both religions. After various attempts, one was at length framed, containing nearly all the expreſſions uſed in the Romiſh church, but reſtrained by certain incident propoſitions, to the ſenſe by which they were received by the reformers [9]. In this ſtate it was delivered to the queen-mother, who referred it to the cardinal of Lorraine; and that prelate, after he had read it twice, proteſted that it perfectly coincided with his ſentiments, and that he had never thought otherwiſe. It was then ſent to the aſſembly at Poiſſy; the members whereof agreed with the cardinal; but, miſtruſting their own judgment, they ſubmitted the formule to the examination of the faculty of divinity, who were more accuſtomed to polemical diſquiſitions. Theſe ingenious gentlemen ſoon diſcovered the deception, and boldly condemned the formule as *heretical*, *captious*, and *inſufficient*, thus tacitly pronouncing the cardinal, and all the prelates, to be arrant blockheads! By this curious deciſion an end was put to the conferences.

While the clergy were aſſembled at Poiſſy, the two other orders of the ſtate had met at Pontoiſe, and, after various debates, on the ſubject of the revenue, it was at length ſettled, that the clergy ſhould pay ſixteen hundred thouſand livres a year, till ſuch time as the redemption of the king's domains, which were pledged for fifteen millions, ſhould be completed. The admiral and d'Andelot experienced much greater difficulty in perſuading the nobility and the commons to conſent to an adequate contribution: at laſt, however, by repreſenting how important it was to all thoſe who were intereſted in the progreſs of the reformation not to alienate, by a refuſal, the mind of the queen, who, anxious to favour them, had promiſed to abrogate the *July Edict*, to grant the free exerciſe of the new religion throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, and ſpeedily to make the neceſſary arrangements for bringing up the king, and her other children in that perſuaſion, they brought them to conſent to the eſtabliſhment of a new duty upon liquors, for ſix years, the annual produce whereof was eſtimated at twelve hundred thouſand livres.

Thus, in order to accompliſh her deſigns, Catharine made no ſcruple to contract two contradictory engagements in her ſon's name, at the ſame time; but, from her conduct at this period, it would appear that the laſt was that which ſhe really meant to fulfil [10]. She retained Bezé and his companions near her perſon, and ſuffered them to preach within the precincts of the palace of Saint-Germain, whither an immenſe concourſe of peo-

[9] Garnier, tom. xxix. p. 375. [10] Brantôme—Lettres de Chantonnai—Lettres de Paſquier.

ple

ple flocked to hear them. She appointed the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, who ſecretly favoured the new doctrines, to the office of ſuperintendant of the king's education; and that nobleman encouraged Charles and his brothers to read books publiſhed by the Hugonots, and not only to be preſent at indecent farces, in which the ceremonies of the church of Rome were turned into ridicule, but to play parts in ſuch exhibitions themſelves.

The July-Edict, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, encreaſed the diſorder it was intended to remedy, for while it betrayed the diſpoſition of the heads of the Catholic church, the neglect to enforce it encouraged the Hugonots to exert their power. In all towns where their ſuperiority was manifeſt and deciſive, the reformed had ſeized the principal churches, overthrown the altars, mutilated the ſtatues, broken the ſacred vaſes, and conſtrained the clergy either to fly, or to put arms in the hands of the Catholics in order to ſecure them from the danger of a ſurprize during the celebration of divine ſervice. Requeſts were daily preſented to the council, either from Catholics demanding the reſtitution of their churches, or from Hugonots complaining of ſome outrage or plot, real or imaginary.

As things could not poſſibly remain in this violent ſituation, it was determined, in the council, to begin by diſarming indiſcriminately all the citizens in the principal towns, and then to convene a certain number of deputies from the different parliaments, who, conjointly with the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, and other councillors of ſtate, ſhould deviſe, for the prevention of inſurrections, ſome means alike applicable to all the provinces. The prince of La Roche-ſur-Yon was ordered to enforce the execution of the letters-patent, by which the Pariſians were ordered to carry their arms either to the Hotel de Ville, or to the arſenal; and the only reſiſtance he experienced was on the part of the Hugonots, who being objects of averſion to the inhabitants, and greatly inferior to their adverſaries in number, expreſſed a reluctance to rely for protection on the faith of the public. But aſſured that their ſafety would be effectually provided for by other means, they at length complied, and their example was followed by the citizens of Lyons, and ſome other places.

The Guiſes, averſe from theſe meaſures, and having no means of preventing them, ſince they were debarred all acceſs to the king of Navarre, and ſince the queen-mother was entirely devoted to their enemies, once more reſolved to retire from court: but their departure was attended with a circumſtance which furniſhed their adverſaries with arms againſt them, and left a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Catharine[11]. James of

[11] Mém. de Condé—La Popliniére—Bezé—Brantôme.

Savoy,

Savoy, duke of Nemours, the inſeparable companion of the Guiſes, had, for ſome time paſt, been extremely aſſiduous in his attention to Monſieur, the king's brother: on the eve of his departure from court, he had a long converſation with the young prince, in which, after expreſſing his own diſcontent at the meaſures of the miniſtry, he aſked him whether he was not diſguſted at the conſtraint and odious captivity in which he was kept, and whether he would not be glad to paſs two or three months with relations and friends who would conſider it as their duty, and make it their pleaſure, to procure for him all the amuſements ſuitable to his age? Miſtaking the prince's ſilence for a proof of his aſſent to the propoſal which the queſtion implied, he pointed out the means of eſcaping from his attendants that very night, and engaged to carry him off: Monſieur, however, abſolutely refuſed to accompany him, and the duke left the court, alone, the next morning. This myſterious converſation having been noticed by ſome of the attendants, they extorted the ſecret from the prince, and communicated it to the queen-mother, who was greatly incenſed at the duke's conduct. Though the partizans of the Guiſes affected to conſider the propoſal as a mere joke, it was generally believed that the duke of Nemours had formed a plan for conveying Monſieur to Paris, with a view to excite, in concert with the Guiſes, an inſurrection of the citizens, and to place him at the head of the Catholic party, under pretence that the miniſters were bringing up the king in the principles of the reformed religion. This belief was farther ſanctioned by the circumſtance of the duke's repairing to Nanteuil, the ſeat of the duke of Guiſe, inſtead of going to Savoy, where his preſence was required for the ſettlement of ſome family affairs; and by his refuſal to obey the king, who ſent him an order to return to Saint-Germain. The duke, however, ſent Lignerolles, a confidential friend, to court, with ſubmiſſive letters to Charles and his mother; but Catharine threw his meſſenger into priſon, and complained ſo bitterly of the duke of Nemours to the duke of Savoy, that that prince forbade his kinſman to approach his court, until he had entirely cleared himſelf from the accuſation that had been preferred againſt him.

The ſermons of the Catholic clergy at Paris were, at this time, filled with invectives againſt government, and with other inflammatory remarks, that ſtrongly tended to the ſuſcitation of diſcord, the prieſts inveighed, in particular, againſt the patience of the citizens, in ſuffering the municipal guard, which was paid by themſelves, to be employed in eſcorting the Hugonots, whom they repreſented as alike enemies to God and man [12]. The moſt violent of theſe fanatics, a monk, named John de Han, preacher of the church of Saint-Bartholomew, was ſeized in his convent during the night, by an order from the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, but the citizens, having aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, haſtened to Saint-Germain, and compelled the king to releaſe him.

[12] Lettres de Paſquier—Felibien—Hiſtoire de Paris—Regiſtres du Parlement.

Nor

Nor were the Hugonots themſelves leſs violent; two thouſand of them, in conſequence of a diſpute occaſioned by ringing the bells for veſpers, in the vicinity of their meeting, attacked the pariſh church of Saint-Marceau, on the twenty-ſixth of December, beat and drove away the catholics, collected there for the celebration of divine ſervice, and committed their uſual depredations on the altars, croſſes, ſtatues, and ſacred vaſes.

A. D. 1562.] While the minds of the people were in this ſtate of fermentation, the deputies from the different parliaments aſſembled at Saint-Germain, when the chancellor, in a long and able ſpeech, remarkable for moderation of ſentiment, and admirably calculated for the purpoſe of conciliation, explained the object of the convention: "You "muſt not forget,"—ſaid that magiſtrate—"that you are not met to examine which of "the two religions is beſt, but to enſure the public tranquillity, by removing the uſual "pretext for tumults. Ought the exerciſe of the new religion to be tolerated agreeably "to the requeſts of the nobility and commons, at the ſtates of Pontoiſe? Or are we to "regard, as a thing impoſſible, that men of different perſuaſions may live in peace with "each other, and that a heretic can fulfil the duties of a citizen? Theſe are the queſtions "on which you are to decide."

After many debates, in the courſe of which no new arguments were employed, the queen-mother made a propoſal, which was adopted by both parties: ſhe declared that it was both her ſon's intention and her own, to live and die in the profeſſion of the eſtabliſhed faith, and not to ſuffer any attack to be made on it: that the king, therefore, meant that wherever the partizans of the new religion had ſeized upon the churches, they ſhould reſtore them to the Catholics, without being permitted to build any others for their own uſe; that in conſideration, however, of the offer they had conſtantly made of ſubmitting to the deciſions of a general council, and from a wiſh to give them time for reflection, he would conſent that they ſhould aſſemble unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, without the walls of the towns, in order to perform divine worſhip, under the immediate inſpection of a magiſtrate: that this permiſſion ſhould only remain in force until the publication of the decrees of a general council, which ſhould be conſidered as laws for all his ſubjects. The Catholics, inferior in numbers at this aſſembly, acceded to Catharine's propoſal, in order to avoid a greater evil; and the reformed acquieſced, in order to acquire a civil exiſtence, which, though reſtrained for the preſent, they hoped ſoon to be able to extend.

In conſequence of this determination, the famous ordonnance, known by the appellation of the *January Edict*, was publiſhed [13], to the great diſcontent both of the Catho-

[13] Recueil d'Edits de Charles IX.—Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniére—D'Aubigné—Memoires de Condé.

lics

lics and the Hugonots. The former conſidered it as a ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of a new religion in France, and aſcribed to mere political motives the ſmall degree of reſpect which Catharine ſtill preſerved for the eſtabliſhed faith: while the latter, after the tranſactions of the laſt ſix months, having been led to expect a perfect freedom in religious matters, diſdained a toleration accompanied by ſuch humiliating reſtrictions. The principal miniſters of the reformed, who ſtill remained at Saint-Germain, where they now acted as the general agents of the party, deliberated among themſelves whether or not they ſhould accept the edict in its preſent ſtate, and demanded a private conference on this ſubject with the chancellor L'Hopital. They had every reaſon to be ſatisfied with that magiſtrate's replies, ſince in the circular letter which they wrote to their churches, on ſending them a copy of the edict, they exhorted their brethren to ſubmit to it, not purely and ſimply, but agreeably to the interpretations which they, of their own authority, had given to many of the articles; obſerving, that in the preſent diſpoſition of the king, the queen-mother, and the leading members of the council, this firſt indulgence would ſpeedily be followed by others of greater importance.

The admiral, in order to engage Catharine to go as far as ſhe had gone, had boaſted of the ſtrength and reſources of the party, and had not ſcrupled to promiſe her, in the name of two thouſand one hundred and fifty churches, the liſt whereof he produced, an army of fifty thouſand men, equipped and paid for ſix months, to which might be added an equal force, that the Proteſtant princes of Germany would willingly ſupply. But theſe vague promiſes not ſatisfying her, ſhe deſired to have an exact liſt of the number of men fit for ſervice, and of the money which each church would engage to furniſh, in caſe the Catholics ſhould take arms, and call the king of Spain to their aſſiſtance: many of the churches, however, knowing her diſpoſition, and afraid of truſting her, refuſed to give her this ſatisfaction.

Meanwhile a report was circulated in Italy and Spain, that a Catholic league was forming, in order to repreſs the progreſs of hereſy in Europe, of which the king of Spain was appointed chief. Catharine, alarmed at this intelligence, ſent Sebaſtian de L'Aubeſpine, biſhop of Limoges, to the Spaniſh court, with orders to repreſent to Philip, that the laſt edict in favour of the Hugonots gave her the greateſt diſpleaſure; and that nothing but the critical ſituation of the kingdom could have induced her to give it the ſanction of her aſſent: that the indulgence there granted to the Hugonots was only to laſt till the deciſions of the council of Trent ſhould be known, to whoſe decrees they had profeſſed their readineſs to ſubmit, provided they were allowed to explain the motives of their conduct: that ſhe had, in conſequence of theſe profeſſions, juſt written to the pope, for ſafe-conducts, and to urge him to accelerate the proceedings of the council, on which the future happineſs of France muſt depend. Catharine charged her ambaſſador to expreſs her entire confidence in the knowledge, integrity, and affection of her ſon-in-law, by whoſe advice ſhe wiſhed to regulate her future conduct; but, as ſhe was highly diſcontented with his miniſter,

miniſter, Granvelle de Chantonnai, ſhe deſired he would convey his ſentiments to her by ſome other channel, or, rather, conſent, when he went to attend the ſtates of Arragon, to advance to the frontiers of France, where ſhe would give him the meeting, at any time he would appoint, accompanied by the king, her ſon; and hoped that Philip would take his wife with him, that ſhe might have the extreme ſatisfaction of preſſing both her children to her boſom.

Philip, without rejecting her propoſals for a perſonal interview, thought proper to defer it to a future time: he made excuſes for his ambaſſador, whoſe officiouſneſs he aſcribed ſolely to his zeal for the ſupport of the true faith, an object which he had particularly recommended to his attention: he requeſted her to take in good part all the meaſures he might be led to adopt in the ſame cauſe, from concern for the intereſt of his brother-in-law, as well as for his own, ſince it would be impoſſible for him to preſerve Spain and the Low Countries from the infection of the new doctrines, if they once took root in France: he ſtrenuouſly exhorted her to purge the kingdom of this contagion by fire and ſword, and offered her all the aſſiſtance ſhe might want for that purpoſe.

At the ſame time that this artful princeſs was amuſing the pope and the king of Spain with profeſſions of zeal for the eſtabliſhed faith, ſhe carried on negociations with the Proteſtant princes of Germany: ſhe applied, ſucceſſively, to the elector palatine, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and James d'Angennes, lord of Rambouillet, urging them to enter into a league which might enable them to oppoſe the ſanguinary reſolutions that were on the point of being adopted by the council of Trent, which ſhe repreſented as a conſpiracy of all the Catholic princes againſt the Proteſtants. She well knew, ſhe ſaid, how odious the favour ſhe had conſtantly ſhewn to thoſe who lived according to the purity of the Goſpel had rendered her to their barbarous perſecutors, and ſhe muſt expect that her refuſal to join them in their plots, would draw their firſt attacks upon herſelf; but they ought to conſider that, if they ſuffered her to be cruſhed, they would be leſs capable of defending themſelves, when their turns ſhould come. The electors thanked her for the important advice ſhe gave them, and exhorted her to perſiſt in the pious reſolution ſhe had taken, to have no concerns with the pretended council. Each of them promiſed her as many troops as ſhe choſe to take into her ſervice, but they all declined entering into any diſcuſſion on her propoſal for the formation of a league, and on the other meaſures which it would be proper to purſue, until they ſhould have a more perfect knowledge of the ſtrength and intentions of their common enemies.

But notwithſtanding this reſerve, on the part of the Proteſtant princes, Catharine was aware that ſhe had already advanced too far to retreat, and ſhe accordingly purſued with warmth the publication and execution of the late edict. It was regiſtered by the parliaments of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Toulouſe and Grenoble, without much difficulty, becauſe in thoſe

provinces where the commotions were moſt violent, and where the number of Hugonots almoſt equalled that of the Catholics, an immediate remedy was deemed indiſpenſable [14]. At Dijon, on the contrary, it was unanimouſly rejected by the parliament, becauſe the reformed religion had made leſs progreſs in Burgundy; and Tavannes, the governor, had taken upon himſelf to enforce the execution of the July-Edict. Catharine, however, perſiſting in her determination, appointed commiſſioners, whom ſhe armed with all the plenitude of ſovereign authority, to make all the refractory provinces comply. The reſiſtance was ſtrongeſt from the parliament of Paris, who made repeated remonſtrances to the king, which, though founded on erroneous principles, containing maxims both falſe and pernicious, were not wholly deſtitute of wiſe and judicious obſervations. In one of theſe they remark that—the magiſtrates, who are the repreſentatives of the prince in the diſcharge of his moſt dignified functions, ought to be of the ſame religion with him, and there never exiſted a government in which this maxim was not inviolably obſerved. Even among the Turks, where Chriſtians and Jews are tolerated, every public officer is a Mahometan. But after a violent oppoſition, the parliament was, at length, compelled to yield, and decreed—*That, in conſideration of the urgent neceſſity of the caſe, and in obedience to the king's will, the edict ſhould be regiſtered and publiſhed, without approbation of the new religion* [15].

Theſe reſtrictions appeared of little conſequence to the Hugonots, who were equally determined with the moſt zealous Catholic, not to abide by the letter of the edict: for it ſeemed to be agreed, on both ſides, that things could not long remain within the limits preſcribed, and that, conſidering the general animoſity which obtained, one party muſt inevitably cruſh the other: Paris was the field in which this grand quarrel was to be decided, ſince nobody doubted that the example of the capital would, ſooner or later, be followed by all the towns in the kingdom [16]. The prince of Condé, aware of this, had repaired to the metropolis, and became the more enterpriſing, as he was ſure of not diſpleaſing thoſe in power, even though he ſhould act in oppoſition to the late edict, provided he had recourſe to ſubterfuges, and could, on occaſion, find plauſive excuſes for his conduct. Thus, although the edict had renewed the former prohibition againſt armed aſſemblies, as ſuch prohibition did not appear to extend to the houſes of the princes of the blood, he made his friends and attendants go to meeting armed as before, only taking the precaution to be preſent himſelf, and to eſcort the miniſters, in going and returning, becauſe the three or four hundred gentlemen who accompanied him might be ſuppoſed to belong to his houſehold. The edict forbade the raiſing of money, and all perſonal contributions, but it admitted of alms: the prince, ſetting the example himſelf, engaged the courtiers, and all the Hugonots at Paris who could afford it, to double and triple, at this critical period,

[14] Bezé—La Popliniére—De Thou—D'Aubigné—Gaufredi, Hiſtoire de Provence. [15] Garnier, tom. xxix. p. 477. [16] Lettres de Chantonnai—La Popliniére.

theſe

theſe pretended alms, the produce whereof was to be employed in diſtributing, gratis, or at a very low price, catechiſms and inſtructions of the compoſition of Calvin; and in purchaſing arms, in foreign countries, for ſuch of the citizens and ſtudents as were unable to procure any themſelves. But all theſe machinations were rendered abortive by an intrigue of the cardinal of Ferarra, the pope's legate, and the miniſters of the king of Spain.

The legate had long been employed in endeavouring to ſow diſſention between the leaders of the Hugonots and the king of Navarre; and, in order to accompliſh this plan, he had tempted Anthony by the hope of obtaining for him the reſtitution of the kingdom of Navarre, which was in poſſeſſion of Philip. The Spaniſh ambaſſador entered into the intrigue, and the credulity of Anthony was eaſily impoſed upon: he was ſoon prevailed on to diſmiſs the Proteſtant governors, whom his wife, a zealous Hugonot, had aſſigned to her infant ſon, Henry, and to replace them with Catholics. Bezé and his companions were driven from Saint Germain, and took refuge with the prince of Condé at Paris, whither they were ſoon followed by d'Andelot, who, with the conſent of the queen-mother[17], took the prince a reinforcement of three hundred veteran troops, whom the mareſchal de Montmorenci ſtationed in the ſuburbs.

It was next agreed between Anthony and the duke of Alva, that the Spaniſh ambaſſador ſhould, in his maſter's name, require the diſmiſſion of the Châtillons from the council, and that this demand ſhould be ſupported by the king of Navarre, and all the Catholics. The queen-mother was ſoon apprized of this reſolution by the biſhop of Limoges, the French ambaſſador at the court of Spain, and from the diſpleaſure ſhe evinced on the occaſion it was ſuppoſed that the admiral might eaſily have perſuaded her to reject ſuch a propoſal with all the contempt it deſerved, and to come to an open quarrel with the king of Navarre. He deemed it, however, more prudent to make a voluntary retreat; and he accordingly aſked and obtained, not without much apparent difficulty, permiſſion to paſs ſome time at his own ſeat, under the uſual pretext of ſettling ſome family affairs. His departure was ſo fixed, that while the Spaniſh ambaſſador entered the palace of Saint Germain at one gate, the admiral left it by another, in order to repair to Châtillon-upon-Loire: nothing could be more mortifying to the proud ſpirit of Catharine, than the conſideration, that the very man whoſe recal ſhe had been unable to procure, was the perſon fixed on to bring an order for the diſmiſſion of thoſe of her counſellors in whom ſhe repoſed the greateſt confidence. She contained herſelf, however, until he had fulfilled his commiſſion; ſhe then expreſſed her diſpleaſure in ſtrong terms, obſerving that ſome one muſt have prejudiced her ſon-in-law againſt her, or he never would have ventured on a meaſure ſo contrary to the conduct he had been accuſ-

[17] Garnier.

tomed to obſerve towards her; that ſhe was reſolved to have an interview with him, before the expiration of the year, in order to clear up the myſtery, and that the iſſue of that interview would be ſuch, that thoſe, who for their own private intereſt, had ſown diſſentions between ſuch near relations, would have no reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the ſucceſs of their efforts. She added, that ſhe had granted permiſſion to the admiral Coligni, and to d'Andelot, at their particular requeſt, to abſent themſelves from the council, in order to attend to their own private affairs: that the cardinal of Châtillon had alſo aſked permiſſion to retire to his dioceſe of Beauvais, which ſhe could the leſs think of refuſing, as it was her intention that all the other prelates and governors who were members of the council, ſhould in future reſide in their reſpective provinces, where their preſence had become abſolutely neceſſary.

The object of this expedient, which had been ſuggeſted to the queen by her confidents, was not ſo much intended to ſave the honour of the Châtillons, as to puniſh the cardinal of Tournon, and the mareſchal de Saint André, whom ſhe ſuppoſed to be the authors of this intrigue. The mareſchal had given riſe to ſuch a ſuſpicion by his aſſiduous attention to the king of Navarre, ever ſince he had perceived in his behaviour certain indications of an approaching change. Firſt author of the extraordinary aſſociation of the conſtable with the duke of Guiſe, it was firmly believed that he would exert his utmoſt endeavours to induce the lieutenant-general of the kingdom to follow the example of Montmorenci, which the queen was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent[15]. She accordingly communicated to the council the alarming accounts ſhe had received from different parts of the kingdom, and declared that, in purſuance of antient ordonnances, and of the late regulation adopted at the requeſt of the ſtates-general, it was the king's intention that all biſhops and governors of provinces ſhould immediately retire to their reſpective places of reſidence, to exerciſe their functions, and provide for the public ſecurity. The cardinal of Tournon, though advanced in years, and borne down with infirmities, obeyed, in reſpectful ſilence, the commands of his ſovereign; but the mareſchal de Saint André, under pretence of a promiſe he had made to Henry the Second, never to leave his ſons during their minority, poſitively refuſed to comply.

Catharine, having failed in this attempt, had recourſe to another expedient: ſhe reſolved to repair to the royal caſtle of Monceaux in Brie, and to take with her the king of Navarre, who was deeply enamoured of one of her maids of honour, the beautiful Rouet, who appeared a proper perſon to detach that prince from his new friends, or at leaſt to extort from him an explanation of his ſecret intentions. She was farther induced to accelerate her journey on account of the critical ſituation of Paris at this conjuncture. The prince of Condé, notwithſtanding his activity, had not made ſo rapid a pro-

[15] Garnier.

greſs

greſs as he had expected: of that confuſed multitude which curioſity, idleneſs, or intereſt had led to attend the meetings of the Hugonots, a very conſiderable part had diſappeared ſince the king of Navarre had manifeſted a change of ſentiment; and although aſſemblies of ſeven or eight thouſand perſons were ſtill holden, the only effective force on which the prince could rely, conſiſted of about four hundred gentlemen, three hundred veteran ſoldiers brought by d'Andelot, three hundred ſtudents, and three or four hundred citizens; and theſe laſt were unarmed. On one ſide, the impoſſibility of making himſelf maſter, with this handful of men, of a city ſo extenſive as Paris; on the other, the neceſſity of preventing the return of the duke of Guiſe, who was on his march at the head of his own company, induced the prince and his friends to adopt the reſolution of procuring, without loſs of time, a reinforcement of five or ſix thouſand Hugonots from Champagne and Picardy, who were to arrive in ſmall bands, and lie concealed either in the ſuburbs, or elſe in the houſes of the Proteſtant citizens. The chief difficulty in the accompliſhment of this plan, conſiſted in preventing the firſt armed companies who ſhould make their appearance from giving the alarm to the inhabitants, and thereby exciting a commotion ſo violent as to compel the government to reſtore their arms to them. In order to prepare the people for this novel ſight, the reformed church at Paris appointed a deputation to wait on the queen-mother, to repreſent the inſults and public acts of violence to which the ſmall number of the faithful, who aſſembled to ſerve God according to the liberty which the king had granted them by his laſt edict, were expoſed from an inſolent and ſeditious populace; and to ſupplicate her to accord permiſſion, to ſuch of the citizens as were able to incur the expence, to purchaſe arms, not with a view to make any uſe of them, but merely to keep thoſe turbulent ſpirits in awe which the authority of the magiſtrates was inſufficient to reſtrain. The municipal body, being apprized of this deputation, diſpatched another to inform the queen-mother of a report which generally prevailed of a conſpiracy then forming by the Hugonots, for the purpoſe of ſacking the capital, and of their marching armed through the ſtreets, and inſulting every perſon they met. They complained bitterly of the mareſchal de Montmorenci, their governor, who, far from chaſtiſing ſuch as were guilty of this inſolence, ſeemed to encourage them, and no longer took any pains to conceal his partiality. They earneſtly beſought her either to provide, without delay, for the ſafety of Paris, or to reſtore their arms to the inhabitants.

Catharine, however, renewed the prohibition to carry arms to both parties, promiſing to attend to their complaints, and immediately to take meaſures for removing the cauſe of them. Convinced, by theſe events, that matters were coming to a criſis, and deeming the king unſafe at his uſual reſidence, Saint Germain, ſhe took him to Monceaux, accompanied by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the king of Navarre, and the pope's legate. It ſo happened that on the ſame day on which he left Saint Germain, the conſtable ſate out from Ecouan to join the duke of Guiſe, who was expected at Nanteuil, and the two parties came in ſight of each other near Saint Denis. Sanſac, who commanded the van-

guard.

guard of the king's houſehold troops, ſent to apprize the conſtable of the king's approach; but that nobleman, unwilling to explain the motive of his journey, took care to avoid the meeting by quickening his pace; leaving the queen in aſtoniſhment at ſuch a mark of diſreſpect, and wholly at a loſs to account for his conduct.

The duke of Guiſe, who had left the court towards the end of November, had recently accompanied his brother the cardinal to Saverne, where they had agreed upon a conference with the duke of Wirtemberg, who had promiſed to bring with him ſome of his moſt expert theologians. The real object of this interview was to engage the duke and his colleagues, who were followers of Luther, to renounce all alliance with the French Hugonots, and thereby to diſappoint the admiral and the queen-mother of the aſſiſtance they expected to receive from that quarter. The beſt mode of effecting their purpoſe, they conceived, would be to prove to the duke that the doctrine of the Catholics differed leſs from the confeſſion of Augſburg on the fundamental points of religion, than that of the Hugonots. Whether Brentius, (a proteſtant divine in whom the duke repoſed great confidence,) was a man of a moderate and conciliating diſpoſition, or whether the cardinal of Lorraine, who had never evinced any violent averſion from the doctrines of Luther [19], diſplayed greater condeſcenſion on controverted points at this time, the duke was aſtoniſhed, at the end of an amicable conference which laſted ſeveral hours, to find them of the ſame opinion in almoſt every particular; and he no longer ſcrupled to attend a ſermon preached by the cardinal. He even engaged to ſend an ambaſſador and a certain number of divines, not directly to Trent, becauſe the meaſures it was neceſſary to preſerve with the princes his colleagues rendered the adoption of a ſtep ſo deciſive highly imprudent, but to ſome neighbouring town, whither the council might conveniently depute an equal number of Catholic theologians; on condition that the cardinal of Lorraine ſhould preſide at the conferences. The joy which the Guiſes experienced at the ſucceſs of this firſt overture was greatly augmented by a letter which the duke of Guiſe received at this period, from that wavering and irreſolute prince, the king of Navarre, who requeſted his friendſhip, and ordered him, in virtue of his authority as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to place himſelf at the head of his own company, and of as many friends as he could collect, and to come, without loſs of time, to defend the Catholic religion, and to ſave the capital. The duke immediately left Saverne, and after paſſing two or three days at Joinville, haſtened to obey the ſummons he had received.

As the duke of Guiſe paſſed through the ſmall town of Vaſſi, in Champagne, on his road to Paris, he ſtopped to attend the celebration of divine ſervice: and being in-

[19] Garnier.—Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniére—Belcarius—Memoires de Condé—De Thou—Légende du cardinal de Lorraine.

formed

formed that a Proteſtant-meeting had, in contradiction to the late edict, been eſtabliſhed in a barn, within the town, and very near the pariſh-church, he ſent one of his officers, attended by two pages, to deſire the miniſter would come to ſpeak to him. On the approach of the officers, the door of the meeting-houſe was ſhut againſt them, and, on their knocking with conſiderable violence, ſome of the Hugonots, who were then aſſembled at their devotions, went out to chaſtiſe them for an interruption which they deemed unſeaſonable and improper: a ſcuffle enſued, and the duke of Guiſe, being apprized of it, haſtened to the ſpot, attended by his troops. He was immediately aſſailed with a volley of ſtones; whence he received a ſlight contuſion on the arm, and De Broſſe, one of his officers, was ſeverely wounded on the head: the ſoldiers, enraged at the ſight, immediately fired on the Hugonots, then entering the barn, put numbers of them to the ſword, before the duke of Guiſe could repreſs their violence: Some authors aſſert that only thirty of the reformed were ſlain, and about double that number wounded [20]; but others, with greater probability, maintain that the number of the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and ſixty [21]. The miniſter, wounded in ſeveral places, was conveyed to Saint-Dizier, where the duke preferred his complaint, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe who had commenced the attack. Having received information that the reformed were preparing to diſpute his paſſage, and that captain Vaudrai-Saint-Phalle, was laying wait for him at Vitri, with ſix hundred men, he quitted the Paris road for that of Rheims, where he was not expected.

The news of the maſſacre of Vaſſi, as it was called by the Hugonots, was ſoon ſpread over Europe, and the party endeavoured, by means of this event, to render the duke of Guiſe an object of general execration. Bezé and Francourt, deputed by the reformed church at Paris, repreſented him to the queen-mother, as a new Herod, who had coolly meditated and executed the maſſacre of the innocents. Catharine obſerved that ſhe could not conceive a man ſo prudent and reſerved as the duke of Guiſe could be guilty of ſo atrocious an act, but that the whole affair ſhould be duly inveſtigated, and juſtice adminiſtered with ſtrictneſs and impartiality: the king of Navarre, however, was more violent; he called the deputies two trumpets of ſedition, told them it ill became *them* to talk of law and juſtice who daily violated both by appearing in arms. Bezé replied, that arms in the hands of wiſe men were a pledge of peace, and that what had happened at Vaſſi ſufficiently proved that the government ought not to forbid the uſe of them to Hugonots, before they had taken effectual means for providing for their ſafety; that nobody would believe that an aſſembly compoſed of peaceable peaſants, of women and children, met to worſhip God, could have given provocation to a company of Gendarmerie: that if it were true that ſome of them had failed in reſpect to the duke of Guiſe, he had a ſufficient force to deliver them up to juſtice, without committing

[20] Garnier. [21] Mezerai.

ſuch

ſuch a dreadful maſſacre: that, in their applications for redreſs, the church of Paris could be influenced by no perſonal enmity to the duke of Guiſe, ſince, if the prayer of their petition were granted, he would thence derive an opportunity of proving his innocence; that if the perſons of the deputies were now the object of diſpleaſure to the king of Navarre, he begged that prince to recollect by whom, and for what purpoſe, he had been invited to France.

At a private conference which the deputies had with Catharine, that princeſs promiſed to prevent the duke of Guiſe from proceeding to Paris[22]; but whether it was her intention to perform this promiſe or not, it is impoſſible to aſcertain. The duke of Guiſe diſregarded the invitation ſhe ſent him to repair to Monceaux, and being joined by the conſtable, the duke of Aumale, the mareſchal de Saint-Andrè, Martigues and Randan, he continued his route to the capital, which he entered at the head of twelve or fifteen hundred horſe, on the ſixteenth of March; and was received with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of joy by the greater part of the inhabitants; who hailed him as their protector and guardian angel. The day after his arrival, he ſent one of his officers to the prince of Condé, with his compliments, and offers of ſervice; but at the ſame time, he took care to provide for his own ſafety, and never went to the council, without being eſcorted by a numerous body of cavalry: the prince himſelf took ſimilar precautions, whenever he conducted the Proteſtant miniſters to their meeting, or attended the council that was holden at the chancellor's. This laſt council was chiefly compoſed of the queen of Navarre; the lady of Cruſſol, *confidente* to the queen-mother; the cardinal of Châtillon; his brother d'Andelot; and Montluc, biſhop of Valence. The firſt, which aſſembled at the conſtable's, conſiſted of the duke of Guiſe and his two brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Aumale; the mareſchals Saint-André, Briſſac, and Termes; two or three councillors of ſtate, and the chief magiſtrates of the ſovereign courts: the mareſchal de Montmorenci attended neither of the councils; for though, on the one ſide, he was deterred by filial reſpect from taking part againſt his father, his conſcience on the other deterred him from favouring any violent meaſures that might be adopted againſt his friends and relations. He was ſoon releaſed from this embarraſſing ſituation by the queen-mother, who appointed the cardinal of Bourbon, brother to the prince of Condé, to ſuperſede him in the government of Paris.

The new governor began his adminiſtration by iſſuing orders to the leaders of both parties to repair to Monceaux; but the duke of Guiſe being entreated—probably, at his own inſtigation—by the Pariſians to remain in the capital, refuſed to comply; and the latter ſoon obtained, from the queen-mother, the reſtoration of their arms, with an

[22] La Noue—D'Aubigné—La Popliniére—Memoires de Condé.

additional

additional acceſſion of ſtrength, by the arrival of the king of Navarre, who came to ſignalize his zeal in defence of the catholic faith.

As a religous proceſſion was to take place on Palm Sunday, at which it was expected the duke of Guiſe would be preſent, ſome gentlemen of diſtinction among the reformed attended the conſiſtory, and offered to poniard him, provided the church would avow the enterprize; but the miniſters expreſſed their diſapprobation of ſuch a mode of proceeding, obſerving that acts of violence were only authorized in matters which concerned the public ſafety, and when the courts of juſtice were ſhut againſt them: that they had denounced the author of the maſſacre at Vaſſi to the queen, who had promiſed that juſtice ſhould be done them; and nothing, therefore, ſhould be attempted, till that buſineſs was brought to a concluſion.

The prince of Condé, finding his enemies ſo greatly ſuperior, reſolved to quit Paris; and he accordingly repaired to his ſeat near Meaux, where he was ſoon after joined by the admiral and his friends. The firſt object of the Hugonots, after failing in their attempt upon Paris, ſhould have been to ſecure the king's perſon, which would have given them a great advantage over their enemies, who, in that caſe, would have been reduced to the neceſſity, either of acting ſimply on the defenſive, or of committing the crime of rebellion, in attacking their ſovereign. This attempt would have been attended with no difficulty, as the queen herſelf would have favoured its execution: ſhe had, indeed, expreſsly ſummoned the prince of Condé to her aſſiſtance; her language, animated and pathetic, exhorted him ſtrongly to reſcue her ſon from captivity, and afforded him the pretext he wiſhed for to arm his aſſociates. She had already quitted Monceaux, on account of its vicinity to Paris, and removed to Fontainebleau, where ſhe propoſed only to remain till ſuch time as the prince ſhould have ſecured ſome other aſylum. But the Hugonots were averſe from the adoption of a ſcheme that would have worn the appearance of violence; and thinking it better to provide a place of ſafety to which the queen and her ſon might voluntarily retire, they fixed their eyes on the city of Orleans, which d'Andelot, with his three hundred veterans, undertook to ſurprize. Meanwhile the Triumvirate, accompanied by the king of Navarre, the mareſchal Briſſac, de Termes, and a conſiderable body of troops, haſtened to Fontainebleau, and ſecured the king, under the pretext of reſcuing him from the enterpriſes of the Hugonots; nor could the impotent tears of the royal youth change the deſigns of this rebellious band, who conducted him, with his indignant mother, firſt to Melun, and afterwards to the capital.

The prince of Condé, intent on the reduction of Orleans, marched from Meaux, the ſame day on which the Catholic noblemen left Paris, and had occaſioned a great alarm in the metropolis. The ſudden appearance of a numerous body of cavalry, near the gate of Saint-Honoré, made the citizens fearthat the prince had been ſecretly invited thither

by the reformed, who had not yet diſcontinued their aſſemblies; and in this perſuaſion they flew to arms, and prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege. The prince's object, however, was only to ſecure the bridge of Saint-Cloud, which commanded the road to Orleans; which city he did not reach till after d'Andelot had taken poſſeſſion of it.

The conſtable had no ſooner entered Paris, than he ſeized and impriſoned Ruzé, an advocate, who was general agent to the reformed churches; then repairing to the new Jeruſalem, in the ſuburb of Saint-James, which now ſerved as a temple for the Hugonots, burnt the pulpit, the table and benches: the ſame night he went to another place of worſhip in the ſuburb of Saint-Anthony, and, not content with burning the furniture, he ſuffered the houſe itſelf to be reduced to aſhes[23]. By this conduct Montmorenci pleaſed the mob, and degraded himſelf in the eyes of all rational men. The king, on his arrival in the capital, promiſed the citizens to forbid all exerciſe of the new religion within their territory: the prohibition indeed was ſuperfluous, for all the Hugonots immediately left Paris, and retired to Orleans.

That city now became a ſecond capital in the kingdom, or rather the metroplis of an extenſive and well-organiſed ſtate, which was neither an oligarchy nor a democracy, although it partook of the nature of both thoſe ſpecies of governments. The admiral was the founder of this ſtate: conſidering that the prince of Condé, notwithſtanding the prerogatives attached to his birth, had no other claim to the obedience of the Hugonots than what they were willing to allow him; that whatever confidence they might repoſe in him, it was dangerous to entruſt him with an authority which he might be tempted to abuſe, either by changing parties, from motives of perſonal intereſt, or by engaging them in meaſures repugnant to the wiſhes of the majority; and, laſtly, that as it was impoſſible the enterprize could proſper or even be carried on without the unanimous concurrence and united efforts of all the parties concerned, every man would engage in it with greater ardour, if he enjoyed the rank which he thought his due, and if every thing were decided by a plurality of ſuffrages; he engaged the principal nobility, and the prince himſelf, to ſign a deed of aſſociation, confirmed by the ſolemnity of an oath, which was to continue in force till ſuch time as the king ſhould come of age, and the object whereof was, firſt, to releaſe the king and the queen-mother from the ſtate of captivity in which they were holden by the Triumvirs, and, ſecondly, to maintain the free exerciſe of the reformed religion, conformably to the edict of January. The prince of Condé was unanimouſly choſen chief of the aſſociation, under the title of *protector and defender of the crown*; and the aſſociates all ſwore obedience and ſubmiſſion to him, ſo long as he ſhould continue to act as their chief, and to follow the advice of the councils, three of which were formed: the firſt, compoſed of the principal nobility, had the conduct of all military enterprizes, negociations, and other affairs in which ſecrecy

[23] Lettres de Paſquier—Journal de Bruſlard—Mémoires de Condé—La Popliniére.

and

and celerity were required: the ſecond, conſiſting of miniſters, elders, and officers of the ſecond rank, was deſtined to regulate the police and all matters ſubject to a long diſcuſſion: the third, was formed of all ſuch as were excluded from the two firſt, and its province was to deliberate on objects which concerned the whole community, ſuch as the acceptance of a treaty of peace, or the approbation of a new regulation. The principal members of the ſecret council, after the prince of Condé, were the three Châtillons; the prince of Porcien, of the houſe of Croui; the count de la Rochefoucaud; the viſcount of Rohan; Montgomery, count of Lorges; the count of Grammont; Duras; Soubiſe; Vaudrai, lord of Mouai; Raguier, lord of Eſternai; and Genlis and Ivoi, two brothers. The admiral, juſtly regarding the eſtabliſhment of military diſcipline as not leſs eſſential than the preſervation of union to the exiſtence of the party, propoſed in the council that a chaplain ſhould be appointed to each company, who ſhould preach up obedience and good order, read prayers night and morning, announce the word of God, and enforce, by his exhortations, a purity of manners, and a rigorous attention to reduce to practice the precepts of the goſpel.

All theſe regulations, however, muſt have proved of little avail, unleſs ſome means had been deviſed for ſupporting and encreaſing the army they had on foot. The private fortunes of the leaders were the more inadequate to this purpoſe, as they were now deprived of all their penſions and ſalaries, and even their eſtates were liable to be confiſcated by an arrêt of the parliament. Four or five different modes of raiſing the neceſſary ſums ſuggeſted themſelves to the reformed: the firſt was a general contribution of the churches, to which the prince of Condé had recourſe when he attempted to ſecure the capital; but their zeal had perceptibly diminiſhed ſince the publication of the laſt edict, which granted them nearly all they deſired: the church of Paris had, indeed, continued her ſupplies, though with ſuch a ſparing hand, that the prince's firſt military cheſt contained only ſixteen hundred crowns. He now diſpatched couriers to the different provinces, and addreſſed circular letters to the two thouſand five hundred churches, in the name of which he acted, to apprize them of the change which had taken place in the ſituation of affairs, and to requeſt a ſpeedy ſupply of men and money: the ſecond mode was to ſeize on the produce of the taxes, whenever they ſhould find themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong: the third, to pillage all the abbies and monaſteries, and to ſeize on all the valuable vaſes and ornaments and even on the *bells*, of the Catholic churches, which to ſome of the moſt fanatical miniſters appeared the beſt means for the deſtruction of idolatry, and the reformation of the Romiſh clergy, who were more attached to their riches than to the duties of their office: the fourth, which conſiſted in procuring aſſiſtance from foreign powers, excited ſcruples in the mind of the admiral, who expreſſed great repugnance at the idea of expoſing his country to be pillaged by foreigners, at leaſt before the triumvirs had ſet them the example. As there could be little doubt, however, that the government, in the embarraſſment to which it would ſpeedily be reduced, would accept the offers repeatedly made by

the pope and the king of Spain, and as it would be highly imprudent to defer taking precautions till reduced to the laſt extremity, it was determined to ſend agents to the different courts whence aſſiſtance might be reaſonably expected, but with orders not to urge their ſolicitations until they ſhould receive farther inſtructions; the prince, keeping only his wife and eldeſt ſon with him at Orleans, had the precaution to ſend his other children, with the lady of Roye, his mother-in-law, into Germany, to ſecond the efforts of his negociators, and to ſerve as hoſtages for the repayment of any money that might be advanced him.

At the ſame time, the prince publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he expatiated, with much energy, on the conduct of his adverſaries, and the inſults and oppreſſions to which the Hugonots had been expoſed, in violation of the laſt edict: proteſting, in the face of the world;—1. That, ſwayed by no motives of private intereſt, he only had recourſe to arms in order to diſcharge a part of the obligation impoſed on him by his quality of prince of the blood, to enſure to the nation the ſupport of its liberties and laws, and, particularly, of the edict of January, accorded by the king, at the requeſt of the ſtates-general, framed after the advice of the firſt perſons in the kingdom, and regiſtered in all the parliaments: 2. That if his adverſaries ſhould dare lay their hands on the ſupplies granted to the king by the three orders of the ſtate, for the payment of the national debt, and appropriate, either to their own private profit, or to the ſupport of their unjuſt enterprize, funds deſtined to renew the happy times of Lewis the Twelfth, he would make them reſponſible for the ſame: 3. That, although he would yield to no man living in ſubmiſſion and obedience, he beſought their majeſties not to be offended if, ſeeing them in the power of armed and deſperate men, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be trodden upon, and obeyed none of their commands, from the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing their real ſentiments, in a ſituation in which they were not allowed to follow the dictates of their inclinations: 4. That, in order to remove all doubts as to the motives by which he and his aſſociates were actuated in the ſeizure of Orleans, they took the liberty of propoſing to the queen-mother two plans, which appeared to them calculated to promote the immediate reſtoration of public tranquillity—that, if ſhe would diſmiſe the odious retinue by which ſhe was ſurrounded, go with her ſon to any town ſhe choſe to fix upon, equi-diſtant from Paris and Orleans, and then order the leaders of either party to diſarm, and repair to court, in order to give an account of their conduct; or, remaining at the Louvre, to ſend indiſcriminately to all thoſe who had taken arms, and eſpecially to the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable, and the mareſchal de Saint André, an abſolute order to lay them down, and to retire to their reſpective houſes, there to live, in a private manner, until the king ſhould come of age; in either of theſe caſes, he engaged, as well for himſelf as for his aſſociates, to follow the example of his adverſaries, and to lay aſide his rank of prince of the blood, in order to reduce himſelf to a ſtate of perfect equality;

but

but in caſe both theſe propoſals ſhould be rejected, and the king's name abuſed for the oppreſſion of his faithful ſubjects, he declared he never would ſuffer it[24].

Theſe propoſals were highly acceptable to Catharine, but ſhe did not dare to avow her ſentiments on the occaſion, leſt ſhe ſhould be ſuſpected of having ſuggeſted them herſelf. The chancellor L'Hôpital exerted himſelf to enforce their acceptance, by raiſing up inſurmountable difficulties to every means that was propoſed in the council for levying troops. The conſtable, enraged at his oppoſition, reproached him with his conduct, and bade him recollect, that a man of his profeſſion ſhould ever be ſilent when war was the object of deliberation. "*It is true*," replied the chancellor, "*that men of my profeſſion are ge-*
"*nerally ignorant* HOW *war ſhould be waged, but, in return, they very well know* WHEN *it*
"*ought to be waged.*" Conſidering, at length, that by perſiſting in his efforts, however laudable, he ſhould accelerate his diſgrace, and that the public voice had already deſignated the cardinal of Armagnac, a near relation to the queen of Navarre, and a friend of the conſtable's, for his ſucceſſor, he withdrew from the council, and his example was imitated by the count of Cruſſol, and ſome other members who favoured the new doctrines. To conceal, from the eyes of the multitude, the void which this ſeceſſion occaſioned in the council, ſeveral dependants of the party were admitted to ſeats at the table; ſuch as—D'Eſcars and Lenoncourt, biſhop of Auxerre, principal officers to the king of Navarre; Gouffier de Boiſſi, grand equerry, and Sanſac, particular friends of the conſtable; and La Broſſe and Maugiron, who were attached to the duke of Guiſe. The triumvirs having thus removed every obſtacle to their meaſures, prepared for war, having previouſly extorted, from their youthful ſovereign and his captive mother, a declaration, importing that they had come to Paris of their own free will, and were then at perfect liberty. After the promulgation of ſo notorious a falſhood, which the party had the audacity to regiſter in the parliament, they proceeded to diſcuſs the article of religion, which occaſioned greater difficulties than they had expected. By engaging the king to diſcover an intention of revoking, ſooner or later, the edict of January, they would inevitably rouſe to arms a million of men, whom they would find it difficult to reduce, and whoſe extermination muſt, in that caſe, be reſolved on. By making him expreſs his determination to adhere to the letter of that edict, they would conſolidate the eſtabliſhment of the new religion, and condemn their own conduct, ſince they pretended only to have taken up arms for the purpoſe of oppoſing it. Reduced to this dilemma, they ſteered a middle courſe, by which means they hoped to divide the Hugonots, and thereby deprive them of half their reſources. They made the king iſſue a declaration, by which he allowed liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects indiſcriminately; ſuffered, in conformity to the edict of January, the public exerciſe of the new religion to ſubſiſt in all places in which it was eſtabliſhed, excepting only the territory of Paris, where ex-

[24] Memoires de Condé—Bezé, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniére.

perience

perience had proved that it could not be tolerated without exciting troubles. By this exception they pointed out to those towns where the Catholic party still prevailed, a sure means of ridding themselves of the Hugonots; for, by following the example of the metropolis, they would certainly be entitled to a similar indulgence.

The proposals of the prince of Condé were rejected by the triumvirs, who absolutely refused to quit the court, unless the reformed religion was totally abolished throughout the kingdom [25]; and the parliament of Paris had the meanness not only to confirm their resolutions, but to sanction their falshoods. But all their publications received a firm and decisive reply from the prince of Condé, who justly ridiculed the declaration in which the king and his mother were asserted to be at perfect liberty: he asked Catharine, Whether it was by her order, and to do her honour, that the triumvirs had invested the palace of Fontainebleau, and, dragging her from thence, conveyed her first to Melun, then to Vincennes, and, lastly, to Paris? Whether the king and she had not shed tears on the road? Whether it was she who had excluded the chancellor L'Hôpital from the council, to give admission to six new members, so truly contemptible, that the boys in the streets ridiculed them in their songs? Whether she did not know that it had been proposed in the council to confine her at Chenonceaux, that her attention might be limited to the culture of her gardens? Whether she had never been apprehensive of being strangled in her bed? And, lastly, Whether, at the very moment she commanded him to disarm, she did not tremble lest he should obey her? On these different questions, he begged her to lay her hand upon her heart, and to confirm her answer by an oath, by which he pledged himself to abide.

With regard to the déclaration that confirmed the edict of January, excepting only the city, suburbs, and hundred of Paris, he asked, Whether their adversaries could not content themselves with expelling them from the towns, like men infected with the plague, without envying them the possession of the suburbs? Whether they thought them so simple as not to perceive that the present exception, with regard to Paris, would speedily be extended to all other places where their presence might be deemed importunate; and whether the constable had not insinuated as much in his speech to the parliament? The conditions on which the triumvirs had offered to leave the court principally excited the prince's indignation. Who were, he asked, those three personages who had dared to prescribe such conditions to their sovereign? After the representatives of the nation, assembled at Orleans and Pontoise, had required the erection of temples, and a civil existence for those who professed the new religion, after the sovereign power had pronounced on their fate, by an edict registered in all the sovereign courts, did it become a foreigner, such as the duke of Guise, and his insignificant companions, Montmorenci and

[25] Garnier, tom. xxx. p. 53, 54.

Saint

Saint Andrè, to requeſt or rather to enjoin the abolition of all religious worſhip that was not conformable to the practice of the Romiſh church?—To impoſe, indiſcriminately on all public officers and eccleſiaſtics, the obligation of a new oath, and to inflict the ſevereſt penalties in caſe of diſobedience? As to that article of the requeſt of the Triumvirs which tended to ſtigmatize all who had taken up arms without permiſſion from the king of Navarre, it was a matter, he ſaid, not to be ſettled by declarations, but of which he would ſpeedily demand an explanation, at the head of ten thouſand gentlemen.

The prince's affairs were, at this time, in a proſperous ſituation, for he had no ſooner made himſelf maſter of Orleans, than the inhabitants of Beaugenci, Blois, Tours, Angers, and Mans, immediately flew to arms, maſſacred or expelled the clergy and all the Catholics, who made any reſiſtance: and as there were many rich abbies and monaſteries within the precincts of theſe towns, the Hugonots found means not only to maintain the garriſons, but even to pour conſiderable ſums into the military cheſt of the prince of Condé [26]. Some larger towns, ſuch as Poitiers, Bourges, and Angoulême, followed the ſame impulſe, and their defection would have been ſucceeded by that of all the ſouthern provinces, had not chance, rather than foreſight, placed at the head of the civil and military adminiſtration of Guienne, a man, in diſpoſition ardent, impetuous, violent and mercileſs; but vigilant, active, and indefatigable, a friend to order and ſubordination, and ſincerely attached to his king and country.

This man was Blaiſe de Montluc, who had been bred up in the Piedmonteſe wars, and, after paſſing a conſiderable time in the camp, was ranked among the moſt valiant and able captains in the army. The tumults about the religious aſſemblies of the Hugonots in Guienne being attended with conſiderable bloodſhed at Albi and the ſlaughter of Fumel, a Catholic nobleman, in that country, and the court having determined to puniſh the perſons who had been guilty of thoſe acts of violence, Montluc was nominated to ſuperintend the trials, and to prompt Buriè, the king of Navarre's lieutenant in the province, to act with rigour againſt the offenders. Preventing the judges from proceeding, he aſſumed the cognizance of Fumel's murder, and compoſing a court of his own, he hanged and broke on the wheel about forty people. Followed, as in the camp, by executioners, whom he called his Lacqueys, he ſeized and put to death ſeveral others without a form of impeachment; and when the regular judges came to acquaint him with their deciſions with regard to the maſſacre at Albi, in which near fifty Proteſtants were deſtroyed, he drew his ſword and drove them with menaces from his preſence. Having atchieved ſimilar feats of cruelty in Guienne, he was ordered to proceed to Languedoc; and ſuppreſs the tumults at Thouloufe. Before he arrived, the ferment of them had ſubſided; but he boaſts, in his commentaries, that what with his martial exploits in the country,

[26] La Popliniére—De Thou—Bezé—Commentaires de Montluc.

and

and what with ſubſequent examples of vengeance in the city, he outdid the ſervices of the Catholic officers, engaged in the heat of action.

In Dauphiné, where the revolution was almoſt general the reformed were headed by a man, who proved himſelf a worthy rival of Montluc. This was the baron Des Adrets, who had alſo ſerved in Piedmont, where he had been taken priſoner by the Spaniards: after his releaſe he preferred a complaint againſt the vidame of Pecquigni, to whoſe negligence or cowardice he aſcribed his capture; but the authority of the Guiſes being interpoſed to deprive him of that redreſs which he demanded, he enliſted with their enemies, and retired to his eſtate in Dauphiné, where Montbrun and Mouvans appointed him to the chief command of the Hugonots. He placed himſelf at the head of ſome of the gentlemen of that country, who, with ſome citizens of Valence, conſpired againſt La Motte Gondrin, the lieutenant of the province under the duke of Guiſe, and revenged their hatred of his ſeverities by his death. While the queen-mother inclined to the Proteſtant-party, oppoſition to the power of their antagoniſts was, in inſtances of this kind, ſecretly connived at by her [27]. The authority of Des Adrets being confirmed by the prince of Condé, and that officer having enliſted numbers of gentry and common people under his ſtandard, he took the field with a conſiderable army. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble, which ejected its Catholic partiſans, and deſtroyed the altars and images of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiné, except Ambrun and Briançon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, became every day more dreadful by his actions. Audacious in enterprize, and following cloſe the terror of his firſt victories, he aſſaulted and took the town and caſtle of Pierreenlatte, ſtormed Bourg, obliged the town of Pont St. Eſprit to open its gates to him, and made himſelf maſter of Boulenes. In almoſt every one of theſe places, the garriſons were put to the ſword without quarter, and many of the ſoldiers hanged on the walls, or thrown headlong from the top of the rocks. Avignon trembled at his approach, but he turned back to Grenoble, which had made a treaty with Maugiron, the Catholic lieutenant of the province. Though it ſurrendered at diſcretion he for once ſhewed mercy. Abſolute as he was tremendous in his army, he lodged ſix thouſand troops in the city and ſuburbs, without any of the inhabitants having cauſe to complain of their violence; and boaſted that he could turn them into lions, or ſheep at his pleaſure. When Monbrizon was taken, and the caſtle capitulated, he drenched the ſtreets with blood, and precipitated, or made ſeveral ſoldiers, along with the governor, Moncelar, toſs themſelves from the ſummit of the tower. His officers remonſtrated againſt theſe cruelties, but could not prevent them. One of the unfortunate captives, whom he had ordered to jump from the top of a precipice, ran twice to the brink and there ſtopped ſhort—Des Adrets reproved him for his ſlowneſs, and aſked him why he ſhould take two runs when his companions had only taken one—"Brave as you are

[27] De Thou, lib. xxx, p. 628.—D'Aubigné, liv. iii. chap. 7.

Baron,

baron,"—replied the ſoldier—"I'll give you ten runs to it." This unexpected anſwer extorted a ſmile from the baron, and ſaved the man's life. The aſſiſtance he gave to the Proteſtant commanders in Provence, by the defeat of a conſiderable body of forces, under the count De Suz, at Vaurias: the reduction of numbers of forts and caſtles upon the Rhone, and a variety of other enterprizes, rendered the baron's military ſervices as important as thoſe of Montluc, and his renown in arms more remarkable. Perceiving, however, that the prince of Condé, inſtead of applauding him, had transferred to Soubiſe the chief command in Lyons, and that his reputation with his party declined, he entered into a treaty with the duke of Nemours; but, before the terms of accommodation could be ſettled, he was ſurprized and taken priſoner by Montbrun and Mouvans, and kept in cuſtody till the termination of the firſt civil war. Lyons, in vain beſieged by Nemours, remained in the power of the Proteſtants; and the count of Cruſſol preſerved their footing in Languedoc.

In Champagne and Picardy the Catholic party prevailed, and at Sens, Amiens and Abbeville, the Proteſtants were maſſacred without mercy, in return for the cruelties they had exerciſed in other parts, and for the plunder and profanation of the churches. In Normandy theſe violences were retaliated on the Catholic inhabitants: at Rouen the Hugonots expelled the parliament, and proſcribed the eſtabliſhed religion; while the ports of Havre and Dieppe, having followed the example of the capital, were entruſted, by the admiral, to the care of experienced officers, in whoſe zeal and fidelity he could confide.

The triumvirs, meanwhile, were occupied in raiſing an army, and in deviſing means for its pay and ſubſiſtence: finding their internal reſources inadequate to the purpoſe, they ſent ambaſſadors to claim the aſſiſtance of their Catholic allies. The duke of Savoy ſupplied them with a body of four thouſand Piedmonteſe, maintained, for ſix months, at his own expence: Some other reinforcements were received from the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua: the duke of Florence ſent a pecuniary ſupply of one hundred thouſand crowns: the pope, pompous in promiſes, but niggard in performance, furniſhed a ſimilar ſum as a gift, with a loan to the ſame amount; and the king of Spain, anxious to ſecure a footing in the kingdom, no leſs than to prevent the new doctrines from reaching his dominions in the Netherlands, ſent to their aſſiſtance two thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, maintained at his own expence.

The prince of Condé and his partiſans were no ſooner apprized of this circumſtance, than they deemed themſelves at full liberty to employ, for their defence, the ſame means as were made uſe of to attack them: the vidame of Chartres and Briquemaut were accordingly ſent to England to claim the protection of Elizabeth. A treaty was concluded with that princeſs, by which Condé agreed to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the Engliſh, and the queen engaged to ſend over three thouſand men to garriſon that

place, an equal number for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, and to furniſh the prince with a ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns. This money gave activity to the negociations which the prince had opened with the Swiſs cantons of Berne and Zurich; and in Germany, with the emperor Ferdinand; the elector palatine; the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh; the landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wirtemberg.

While both parties were thus employed in making the moſt vigorous preparations for war, Catharine endeavoured to avert the ſtorm which hung over the kingdom. She ſent ſeveral meſſengers to the prince of Condé, with propoſals for an accommodation: but as he inſiſted on the confirmation of the edict of January, and the removal of the triumvirs from court; while the queen (who now acted in concert with the Guiſes) refuſed to withdraw the modifications and exceptions recently annexed to that edict, and to conſent to the diſmiſſion of the triumvirs, without the previous abolition of the reformed religion, the negociation was ſoon terminated.

The Catholic chiefs having ſecured Catharine in their intereſt, ſuffered her to paſs the ſummer, with her ſon, at Monceaux, that the unfavourable impreſſions excited by the idea of their being kept in a ſtate of captivity, might be effectually removed. The mareſchal de Briſſac ſuperſeded the cardinal of Bourbon in the government of Paris, which he divided into different quarters, nearly equal in extent, leaving the citizens the choice of their officers, and aſſigning to each quarter its particular department and hours of ſervice. By this judicious arrangement he juſtified the idea that had been formed of his military talents, though, at the ſame time, he did eſſential injury to the ſtate, by giving a too vigorous conſtitution to a multitude, difficult to govern, and prone to revolt. It is certain, that after this eſtabliſhment, the Pariſians, enabled to calculate their ſtrength, became more turbulent and untractable than before; and that from this epoch may be dated the origin of that effervescence which raged, with more or leſs energy, for nearly two centuries. At the firſt review of the city militia, the mareſchal counted four-and-twenty thouſand men, completely armed, and moſt of them fit to rank with regular troops.

The Catholic army being aſſembled, and ſuperior in numbers to that of the confederates, Catharine once more reſolved to try the effect of negociation, and for that purpoſe requeſted an interview with the prince of Condé, at the village of Thuri; but when preſſed to explain what freſh terms ſhe had to propoſe, ſhe made a poſitive declaration, that the edict of January ſhould never be re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and that her ſon was determined to allow the public exerciſe of no other religion than the Catholic. The conference was, of courſe, broken off. Another interview between the chiefs of the Hugonots, the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre, at the village of Talſi, was productive of no better effect: a letter from the duke of Guiſe to the cardinal of Lorraine, which fell into the hands of the prince of Condé, ſufficiently proved the treachery of the

the triumvirs, who only ſought to ſeparate the aſſociates, in order to cruſh them with greater facility.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the parliament of Paris pronounced an arrêt, which amounted to a general proſcription of the Hugonots, by permitting all the Catholics in towns and villages to aſſemble in arms at the ringing of the bells, to purſue and deſtroy them: this arrêt was tranſmitted to the curates of pariſhes to be read every Sunday in the churches; and its publication occaſioned exertions of cruelty diſgraceful to humanity. In Tourain, the peaſants ruſhed into the towns of Liquiel on the Indre, Cormeri, Loches, and other villages, where they committed every ſpecies of depredation; and after tearing out the eyes of a Proteſtant miniſter, they burnt him at a ſlow fire. Theſe barbarities, however, were frequently retaliated. When the prieſts and monks of Saint Carlais, taking advantage of the ſlender guard kept there by the Hugonots, rang their bells, and cut them in pieces; De Coignée aſſaulted them on the retreat of their aſſociates, deſtroyed moſt of them, and hanged two of the ringleaders in the church, where the ſignal had been given at the veſpers.

The Catholic confederates having atchieved the conqueſts of ſeveral towns that, from the ſouth-weſt, communicated by the Loire with Orleans, determined to cut off its intercourſe with the Lyonnoiſe, and the provinces in a different quarter. The reduction of Bourges was their particular aim. Elevated with their ſucceſsful progreſs, they were deſirous, in ſetting out on this attempt, to make the utmoſt diſplay of all their civil authority; for which purpoſe they prevailed with the queen-mother to bring the young king to the camp. Before they left the Bois de Vincennes, Catharine acquainted the prince of Condé, by a meſſenger, that he ought now to take his final reſolution for an accommodation, on the terms propoſed, when the king was ready to ſhew himſelf along with her in the Catholic army, when the foreign auxiliaries had entered the kingdom for his ſervice, and the parliament of Paris had declared the prince's party guilty of high-treaſon. The prince's reply was ſpirited and firm; after recapitulating all the arguments he had before urged, on the ambition of the triumvirs, and the perſecution of the Proteſtants, he obſerved, that it could not be forgotten by her, by whoſe order and entreaties he had raiſed his military forces, when the triumvirate were diſpoſed to ſtrip her of all authority, and the ambaſſador of Spain joined them in this deſign; and that the whole world ſhould ſoon know, by the publication of the letters under her hand, to which of the confederacies the name of rebels to the ſtate could, with propriety, be applied. Though in the parliament's judicial condemnation of his adherents, by a gradation of arrêts, the prince was always perſonally excepted, under the feigned notion of his involuntary detention from the court; it did not prevent him from treating the exception as an inſult, and from proteſting, in a formal writ, againſt the legality of the whole judgment.

But the proceedings of the parliament had conſiderable effect on many of the prince's adherents, who, fearful of loſing their eſtates, expreſſed an inclination to viſit their native provinces. That Condé might have appeared to form a reſolution which he could not avoid, he determined to ſend ſeveral of the chieftains with detachments of troops, into thoſe countries whither they wiſhed to withdraw, and to retire himſelf, with the remainder of his army, to Orleans. In conſequence of this reſolution, the count of Rochefoucaud was appointed to march into Angoulême and Saintonge, Soubiſe into the Lionnoiſe, Duras into Guienne, Montgomery into Normandy, and the prince of Porcien into Champagne.

The Catholic chieftains now had it in their power to carry on their military operations to the utmoſt advantage. The provinces where their adverſaries were moſt formidable, had been already attended to by them: the duke of Aumale being ſent into Normandy; Montpenſier to Tourain; the count de Cruſſol into Languedoc; the chevalier de Montre, into Guienne and Gaſcony. While the king of Navarre went to eſcort their majeſties to the camp, the army, under the conduct of the duke of Guiſe, had moved to Bourges. Being joined by the Swiſs, it conſiſted of three thouſand cavalry, and fifteen thouſand foot. Ivoy, brother to Genlis, commanded the garriſon of the city, which, being reinforced by the prince of Condé, amounted to two thouſand infantry, and three troops of arquebuſiers[23]. The defence was conducted with no leſs courage and vigour than the attack: frequent ſallies were made from the town; and, when a conſiderable breach was effected in the wall, a rampart of earth, raiſed in one night's time, ſurprized and baffled the aſſailants. Having conſumed the greater part of their ammunition, a convoy of artillery and military ſtores from Paris was expected, for the conduct of which the duke of Guiſe had detached four troops of horſe, and ſix companies of infantry. The admiral Coligni having intelligence of its approach, marched in the night from Orleans, and attacked it near Châteaudun. Having ſurrounded the troops, he became maſter of the whole convoy; but the artillery-horſes having been carried off by their drivers, at the firſt onſet, he was compelled to ſet fire to the powder, and demoliſh the guns. Among others, Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was taken priſoner, on his way to the camp, and conducted to Orleans, where the prince of Condé treated him with the greateſt reſpect. Meanwhile, the duke of Guiſe began to induce Ivoy, by promiſes, and an offer of the moſt honourable terms, to ſurrender; and, having no information of the defeat of the convoy, he liſtened too eaſily to the propoſals. By obtaining a moſt preciſe and formal capitulation for the ſafety and free exit of himſelf and the troops, and even for liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants in the town, he thought to obviate all reflections againſt his honour; but this precaution proved inſuffi-

[23] De Thou—D'Aubigné.

cient

cient to ſcreen him from the reproaches of his party; upon preſenting himſelf at Orleans, he was refuſed admittance to the prince, and was compelled to hide his diſgrace in a private retreat.

When the Catholic chiefs had thus added the reduction of Bourges to that of the other towns whence Orleans might be ſupported, the capital undertaking of the ſiege of that city ſeemed to many, in point of expediency, preferable to all others, and not diſproportioned to their military ſtrength. But the opinions, in the council of war, were divided upon this head. It was urged on the one ſide, that Orleans being the main fortreſs of the adverſe party, and their arſenal of war, occupied by the body of their gentry, and their two principal chieftains, a ſucceſsful blow directed againſt it would at once cruſh the root of oppoſition; and that, from preſent circumſtances, it appeared liable to ſuch a deciſive ſtroke, from the diſaſters that had befallen the circumjacent towns, from the diſperſion of many of the leaders, and from the preſent imperfect ſtate of its fortifications. It was known from the computation of their troops, compared with the extent of the bulwarks of the place, that they were ſufficient to environ and aſſault the whole. It was added, that the ſiege of Orleans would not only ſtrike the Proteſtants, in the provinces, with terror, but diſturb the route, and perhaps cauſe the deſertion of their German auxiliaries, who would not be forward to expoſe themſelves by ſupporting a party which would appear reduced to extremity. On the other hand, it was alledged, that the military force of Orleans, conſiſting of four thouſand veteran troops, twelve hundred horſe, and three thouſand militia, trained to diſcipline, and inured to arms, would prove equal to half of the beſieging army, and, though they might receive ſome reinforcements, that their want of many of the materials neceſſary for a regular ſiege rendered it an unſeaſonable and dangerous enterprize: that it became them rather to turn their thoughts upon Normandy, in the ports of which the Engliſh were ready to land their troops; that the ſituation of that province ſo expoſed, and in a great meaſure over-run by the Hugonots, required immediate relief; and that Paris itſelf, ſuffering by the enemy being in poſſeſſion of Rouen, the reduction of this important place ought to be attempted before the ſiege of Orleans. This reſolution, deemed the moſt eligible, was adopted, and the army was ordered, in the beginning of September, to be put in motion for the expedition into Normandy.

That province had been embroiled by the contention of three factions for the ſuperiority; one being headed by the duke of Bouillon, who inclined to favour the Proteſtants, without renouncing his connexions with the court: another by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in Lower Normandy, who was employed in ſupporting the duke of Aumale, appointed to ſuperſede Bouillon in his government: and a third, which was the moſt powerful, conſiſting of the prince of Condé's partizans, and the determined Hugonots guided by the count of Montgomery. The duke of Aumale had already attempted the ſiege of Rouen, but his forces were inſufficient for the undertaking. Matignon

tignon being obliged to retire to Cherbourg, applied to the duke of Eſtampes and Martigues, in Brittany, for their aſſiſtance, and obtained it. The parliament of Rouen, having retreated to Louviers, publiſhed its decrees, in imitation of that of Paris, for condemning all the Hugonots that could be ſeized, and for confiſcating their property, which created a particular ſcene of animoſity and cruel repriſal between the people of Rouen and thoſe of Louviers. It was by a ſimilar conduct, at Toulouſe and other cities, that the miniſters of juſtice lent their ſanction to the acts of barbarity committed by the officers of the army, and, under the pretext of eſtabliſhing their general principles of civil authority, ſubverted thoſe of humanity itſelf. The chiefs of the court-party ſaw the miſerable tendency of ſuch procedure, and Caſtelnau Mauviſſiere was ſent to Louviers to deſire the magiſtrates to deſiſt from their violence [29].

The forts and poſts in the vicinity of Rouen had been repeatedly taken and re-taken by the oppoſite parties. Thoſe of Oire and St. Lo, of Caudebec, Quillebeuf, and Harfleur, upon the Seine, which were the moſt important, had, after the arrival of Eſtampes, ſurrendered to the Catholics. Meanwhile all practicable means for the defence of Rouen had been taken by Montgomery. The city being inacceſſible from the ſouth, and ſurrounded by a chain of hills on the oppoſite quarter, its principal outworks conſiſted in a large fort, built on the higheſt of thoſe eminences, called St. Catharine's. Montgomery had contrived to ſtrengthen this fortreſs, and improve its utility, by forming on the aſcent of the hill a ſtrong entrenchment of earth, in the figure of a demi-lune, which barred the acceſs to St. Catharine's Mount, and ſerved for a battery to ſweep the lower grounds. The ſuburb of St. Hilary was alſo fortified. The garriſon was compoſed of eight hundred infantry, picked from the oldeſt bands, and two or three troops of horſe, beſides many volunteers, with the body of the townſmen, enrolled for the ſervice; and a conſiderable number of the Engliſh, who came from Havre-de-Grace, as the forerunners of the debarkation of their forces. The Catholic army, joined by the German ſtipendiaries, amounted to more than twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand cavalry. Being attended by the king and queen-mother, it appeared in ſight of Rouen, on the twenty-ſixth of September, and next day the city was ſummoned to ſurrender.

It would be foreign from the purpoſe of general hiſtory to record the particular events of every ſiege; in that of Rouen equal gallantry was diſplayed by either party, and the ſlaughter was dreadful on both ſides: after an obſtinate reſiſtance, Mount St. Catharine was taken by ſurprize, which greatly facilitated the reduction of the town: Its capture, however, was retarded for ſome time, by the arrival of a reinforcement of Engliſh troops, who, in repelling the aſſailants, diſplayed the moſt obſtinate valour; at length, the ſiege having continued a month, and the propoſals to ſurrender being treated with con-

[29] Mémoires de Caſtelnau, liv. iii. chap. 12.

tempt,

tempt, the place was taken by aſſault. The havock and plunder equalled the reſiſtance; and the king and queen-mother beheld, from St. Catharine's Mount, the ravage of one of the richeſt and moſt mercantile towns of France. The proclamation againſt pillage being diſregarded by ſoldiers and officers, the plunder became univerſal, and the property of the Catholics ſuffered equally with that of the Hugonots. Of all the military bands which received orders to retire to the camp, the Swiſs were the only corps who obeyed. Montgomery having ſeized one of the galleys that carried the queen of Scotland into her dominions, and kept it ready in the river againſt all emergencies, took his opportunity to embark with the remainder of the Engliſh; and, by the vigorous efforts of the rowers, who were promiſed their liberty, burſt the barricades that obſtructed his navigation, and got ſafe to Havre. To the ſeverities which the city ſuffered, particular examples of judicial and vindictive puniſhment were added. De L'Hôpital had endeavoured to prevent this, by procuring a general amneſty to be paſſed; but it was left to the parliament of Rouen to make exceptions; who, ſufficiently inclined to enforce their penal ſtatutes, paſſed ſentence of death on John du Boſc, lord of Mandreville, preſident of the chamber of accounts; on de Croſes, and Auguſtin Marlorat, one of the twelve miniſters who had been appointed to attend the conference of Poiſſy; and on ſeveral other citizens of note, who were either beheaded or hanged. The chiefs of the oppoſite confederacy thinking themſelves entitled to make retaliation, ſeized Baptiſte Sapin, a magiſtrate of the parliament of Paris, and brother-in-law to the firſt preſident, Le Mâitre; and John de Troye, abbot of Gaſtines, and cauſed them to be tried and executed [30].

The taking of Rouen, which is computed to have been attended with the deſtruction of four thouſand men on each ſide, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre, who, during the ſiege, had received a muſket-ſhot in the ſhoulder. Through his impatience of the neceſſary operation, or the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeons, the ball remained unextracted from the wound; and he expired a few days after the ſurrender of the town; diſtinguiſhed only as the parent of a young prince, who was deſtined to ſave the ſinking monarchy of France, and heal the innumerable wounds the kingdom received in more than thirty years of civil war. Henry, who was born at Peau in Berne, was only, at this time, nine years of age. He was educated by the queen his mother at Nerac, who, with her ſon and an infant daughter, had retreated from the court about the time her huſband had declared himſelf a Catholic [31]. The queen-mother was apprehenſive the king of Navarre's death might produce ſome diſadvantage to the Catholic party, by his immediate vaſſals and partiſans falling off to the other ſide. In the preſent minority of the king, and of the firſt prince of the blood, the prince of Condé might indeed have been ſuppoſed to ſtand in the room of his brother, and to be the only

[30] Memoires de Condé—D'Aubigné—Le Laboureur. [31] Brantôme.

acting

acting guardian of the blood-royal. But, when the political confederacies were already formed, and cemented by the animosities of the civil war, this consideration could have little influence to make a change. In other circumstances, this event might have caused considerable revolutions in the parties of the court: but as things stood, the vacancy of his office of lieutenant-general, instead of becoming a subject of dispute, excited no competition; and as the duke of Guise formed no pretensions to it, it was evident he governed his ambition in a different manner from what he had done in the former reign.

As soon as the reduction of Rouen had appeared inevitable, Dieppe and Caen surrendered to the Catholics, who, after detaching a part of their army to blockade Havre, retired with the remainder to the vicinity of Paris. Before they began their march, a proclamation was issued for pardoning past acts of tumult and rebellion, on condition that those charged with them should retire in peace and live like good Catholics. Notwithstanding several exceptions that were made of the heads and ringleaders of sedition, and of the violators of the churches, many of the Hugonots, tired of the confusions, and apprehensive of the overthrow of their party, chose to take the benefit of this indemnity. The general success of the Catholics elevated them with hopes that the entire subjection of the Protestants would soon be accomplished. But the intelligence received, during the siege of Rouen, of the success of D'Andelot in his mission for German levies, gave a different aspect to the condition of that party, and appears to have been the principal inducement for drawing the army nearer the metropolis, and the center of the kingdom.

The exertions of Spifame, bishop of Nevers, and D'Andelot, the prince of Condé's agents in Germany, in conducting the difficult negotiation with which they had been entrusted, deserved and obtained the warmest thanks of their party. At the diet of Frankfort, where Maximilian, son to Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, Spifame, having obtained three several audiences of the emperor and of his son, and of the electors, got the letters written by the queen-mother to the prince of Condé, the originals of which he produced, entered into the archives of the imperial chamber; and, by his address afterwards, the Rhingrave and count Rokendolf, who were in the service of France, were both put to the ban of the empire. The production of queen Catharine's letters, though necessary for the prince's vindication, excited her indignation against him, and fixed her more immoveably in the interest of the opposite faction. The affected delays of two German captains, who had private reasons for spinning out the time of the levies, being overcome by Spifame, and the landgrave of Hesse engaged to exert himself in the business; D'Andelot was enabled to bring them to a rendezvous at Bacara in Lorraine, about the middle of October. His vigilance in keeping them from desertion for want of regular pay; his well-concerted marches; and his indefatigable labours, (notwithstanding the violent attacks of a quartan ague, contracted in the mountains)

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in directing and guiding the frequent and long circuits he was obliged to make in them, ſhewed the ſpirit of the man, and the abilities of the officer. Having feigned an intention of penetrating the direct way through Lorraine, he turned ſuddenly towards the left, and ſtretching over the difficult roads of Burgundy, he avoided an encounter with the mareſchal de St. André and the duke of Nevers, who had been ſent to oppoſe his paſſage. He brought his whole complement of three thouſand foot in nine companies, and four thouſand horſe in twelve troops, to Montargis, and the neighbourhood of Orleans, in the middle of November. This reinforcement, augmented by a body of French gentry, who joined D'Andelot in his march, and fifteen hundred ſoldiers, collected by the count of Rochefoucaud and Duras, was not only ſufficient to enable the prince of Condé to take the field, but occaſioned his undertaking an enterprize no leſs injudicious in itſelf than it appeared to be diſproportioned to his ſtrength. This was an attempt to beſiege Paris, which, it was evident, could neither be taken, nor forced to a capitulation, by his army.

The abſence or diſperſion of the Catholic forces in different quarters was thought ſufficient to juſtify this hazardous ſtep. The prince had to march through a part of the country, where the towns were occupied by ſmall garriſons of the enemy; and he conſumed time in taking Pluviers, Eſtampes, Montlheri, and Dourdon, which diſcovered his deſigns.

But the interruption he met with at Corbeil was more unfortunate. This town, ſituated on the Seine, almoſt equally defenceleſs with the others, made reſiſtance, and obliged him to begin a kind of regular ſiege of it, until ſome ſuccours being thrown into it by the mareſchal St. André, the prince embraced the pretext of a conference propoſed by the queen to withdraw from the aſſault. The Catholic forces were, by this time, aſſembled in great numbers, and the two armies, ſeparated by the Seine, marched ſometimes in ſight of each other. That of the Catholics was drawn around the city and ſuburbs, while the prince purſued his route to Ville-juif, within two leagues of Paris. Though the hopes of gaining any advantage was now almoſt vaniſhed, yet, reſolved upon ſtriking ſome intimidating ſtroke before he retired, he prepared for attacking the ſuburb of St. Victor. The effect it produced at firſt ſurpaſſed expectation. Six hundred light horſe, who had advanced beyond the ramparts, were driven back in ſuch diſorder, that carrying their terror along with them, the ſoldiers began to fly into the city, throughout which a vaſt conſternation was immediately ſpread. The firſt preſident of the parliament, Le Mâitre, died of the fright, while the populace in confuſion called on the troops to abandon the ſuburbs and ſhut the gates. The alarm, however, was ſoon compoſed by the diſpoſitions made by the duke of Guiſe for repelling the enemy. The prince drew off his forces, and divided them into three bodies, for the ſake of lodging them in covered quarters. Their number amounted to eight thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. The Catholic chiefs, ſatisfied with guarding againſt their attack of the

ſuburbs, anſwered their defiances to battle only by ſome cannonading and ſlight ſkirmiſhes.

On the ſeventh of December, the queen demanded a conference with the prince, but as ſhe was determined to make no conceſſions, it proved ineffectual; the only purpoſe it anſwered was to gain time for the arrival of the Spaniſh auxiliaries, with the troops from Gaſcony, which had now advanced to the Seine. Two projects that were formed by the prince for attacking, in the night, the trenches of the ſuburbs of St. Marceau and St. Germain, were diſconcerted. By the departure of Genlis from the camp, who had reſented the diſgrace of his brother Ivoy, for the ſurrender of Bourges, the prince of Condé believed his deſigns betrayed to the enemy, and therefore determined on a retreat.

He was purſued, for ſome days, by the Catholic army, and at length believing an engagement to be unavoidable, he made a forced march, with his main body, towards Dreux, a town on the confines of Normandy, with the view of making himſelf maſter of this poſt, which was admirably calculated for promoting the plan he had formed of preſerving a communication between Havre and Orleans. He did not take it, but, by his precipitation, he threw the admiral, who led the van, a league and a half behind him, which obliged them to halt a whole day, until the army could recover the order of its march. The Catholic chiefs, who now approached the plains of Dreux, and ſaw, that, by a little expedition, they could oblige the enemy to fight, diſpatched Caſtelnau to the queen to inform her that they had it in their power to bring the Hugonots to action, and only waited for orders. Catharine, ever an enemy to all ſtrokes of deciſion, and ſtill anxious to preſerve her credit with either party, aſked Caſtelnau, whether thoſe great captains thought a woman and a child, better able than themſelves to decide on the propriety of ordering the French to cut each other's throats? Then conducting him to her ſon's apartment, where the council were ſummoned to attend, ſhe found the king's nurſe there, who was going to retire, but Catharine exclaimed—"Nurſe, ſtay where you are, "ſince it has become the cuſtom for generals to conſult women on what they are to do, "ſay, ſhall we give battle or not?[32]." It was the unanimous opinion of the council that the deciſion of the queſtion ſhould be left to the prudence of the commanders.

The battle of Dreux was fought on the nineteenth of December. The prince of Condé having paſſed the river Eure, fordable in all parts, took up his quarters about Neron, a ſmall village beyond it, without the common precaution of ſending out ſcouts, or ordering the villages on its banks to be occupied by detachments. The conſtable Montmorenci, who had brought the Catholic army to the oppoſite ſide, and encamped there unperceived by the enemy, forded the Eure in the night; and, favoured by

[32] Caſtelnau, liv. iv. chap. 4.

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the moon, got his whole artillery moved to the unguarded villages. The noiſe of the drums and trumpets, which was heard when the prince's army began to be put in motion, ſerved as a ſignal for the conſtable to range his forces in order of battle. They conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, ſeparated into two great diviſions; the one forming the van of the army, conducted by the mareſchal St. André, and the other, the main battle, commanded by the conſtable [33]. As the army advanced, the villages of Pigné and Bleville ſtood at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that the conſtable's main body, extended in front, could not eaſily paſs between them; and the different troops which compoſed it ſtretched forward, in the form of a creſcent, a conſiderable way beyond the van-guard. Towards Bleville on the left, the mareſchal de St. André and the duke of Guiſe ranged the battalions of the latter, which, from the ſituation of the ground and the ſhade of many trees, could not be obſerved at any diſtance. The conſtable's main-body, interlined with the cavalry between the diviſions, and having ſome light-horſe advanced on its wings, appeared to be the whole extenſion of the army.

Such was the diſpoſition of the Catholic forces, when firſt perceived by the commanders of the adverſe army, which now conſiſted of from eight to nine thouſand infantry, and from four to five thouſand horſe [34]. While, in the utmoſt hurry, the latter prepared for an action quite unexpected, D'Andelot, diſabled by the attack of his ague from taking his poſt, moved forward on a baggage-horſe, and reconnoitred the enemy. His opinion was to endeavour to paſs without fighting, which he thought might be done by leading to the left, and gaining the village of Tréon, on the road to Châteauneuf. Immediately the prince of Condé, having joined his main battle with the van, conducted by the admiral Coligni, began to move forward according to this direction: But, having now the enemy in full view, he advanced two or three hundred paces before he made his declination. The diſcharge of the conſtable's artillery, from his left wing, reaching his foremoſt ranks, made ſome of his horſe give way, and forced a part of the German Reiters to wheel into a declivity. By this converſion of his troops, he became oppoſite to the advanced guard of the royaliſts, and the admiral with the van ſtood fronting the main battle. The reciprocal diſtance, in both theſe poſitions, was ſtill very conſiderable; when the conſtable, believing the prince's troops to be thrown into diſorder, commanded the Swiſs, who were about three thouſand, and ſome other troops, to advance farther into the plain to intercept them. The prince, intent on their motions, no ſooner perceived them thus expoſed, than, without diſcovering what was before him, and leaving the count of Grammont with his foot, he turned with all his cavalry, and fell on the flank of the Swiſs. Their battalion was ſucceſſively pierced by Moui, and

[33] De Thou—D'Aubigné

[34] La Popeliniére.—Bezé—Relation du duc de Guiſe—Caſtelnau—D'Avila—De Thou—Brantôme—Matthieu—La Noue.

D'Avaret, who gave the firſt charge; by the prince's own ſquadron, and by the Reiters of his diviſion: the havock which they made, however, did not diſſipate this immoveable body, who, as their ranks were thinned, continued to cloſe their files, and kept their ground. Damville advancing to ſuſtain them with three troops of horſe, was encountered by the Reiters, who drove him quite off to the left, until he retreated for ſhelter to the ground occupied by the advanced guard. His brother, Gabriel de Montmorenci Montberon, the conſtable's fourth ſon, fell in this charge. In the mean time, the admiral, having marched forward with more deliberation, directed his attack againſt the conſtable's cavalry, and that part of his centre that ſtood firm. The vollies of cannon he received in advancing having occaſioned no diſorder, his vigorous charge proved effectual to vanquiſh all that oppoſed him. A total confuſion enſuing, the conſtable being unhorſed, and having his jaw-bone broken by a muſket-ſhot, was made priſoner by ſome Reiters, from whoſe hands the prince of Porcien received him. No part of his main battle now remained unrouted but a few Swiſs, who, at laſt, were obliged to retreat. The purſuit towards the river Eure, and much more the plunder of the baggage-waggons, occupied, for ſome time, ſeveral German ſquadrons of the prince's army; when the mareſchal de Saint André, with the van of the Catholics, moved to the combat, from which he had hitherto been detained by the advice of the duke of Guiſe. The delay appeared unaccountable, but the judgment of ſo great a commander was truſted. When the duke obſerved the field unincumbered with the routed ſquadrons of the right wing, the ſignal was given by the mareſchal to his troops to advance. The prince of Condé's infantry, which he had left behind him, were the firſt that were attacked and routed by them. Two troops of Reiters experienced a ſimilar fate, as did the Lanſquenets, who had deſiſted from their aſſault of the Swiſs. The prince of Condé having rallied two hundred of the German troops, could not induce them to charge the enemy, but taking the ſame route the others had done, they left him in their rear, wounded in the hand, and diſmounted, to be taken priſoner by Damville.

Though the battle was reſtored by the admiral, and the prince of Porcien, who, at the head of three hundred French horſe, and a thouſand German Reiters, ſuſtained the combat with ſuch reſolution, that the duke of Guiſe was left, for a ſhort ſpace of time, with not an hundred cavaliers around him; the advantages gained by the Proteſtant chiefs were irrecoverably loſt. Martigues advancing with an old battalion of foot which had not yet engaged, the admiral was obliged to draw off his French horſe, who had broken or loſt moſt of their lances. He made his retreat with ſo much compoſure, that he carried off his artillery, and moſt of the baggage to Neufville, about a league diſtant from the field of battle, where he paſſed the night. The duke of Guiſe, being in no condition to follow him, took up his lodging at Bleville. Many of the French foot, and of the Lanſquenets, ſcattered over the field, remained in his power. The loſs on both ſides was computed to amount to eight thouſand men. The ſlaughter of the Catholic army exceeded that of the Proteſtants, and the field was more fatal to their officers of rank.

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The mareſchal Saint André was ſhot by Mezieres, whom he had induced to kill a kinſman of his own, that he might proſecute him, and obtain the confiſcation of his fortune [35]. The duke of Nevers received a ſhot in the thigh, from the careleſſneſs of his own equerry, in holding a piſtol with the muzzle towards him, of which he died in a few days. Varicarville, equerry to the duke of Guiſe, underſtanding that the enemy intended to direct their principal efforts againſt his maſter, had obtained permiſſion to wear his arms, and to mount his charger; an inſtance of fidelity that coſt him his life. The duke's conduct to his illuſtrious captive, the prince of Condé, betrayed a noble and generous mind. He was careful to keep him from the company of thoſe who, in ſuch a conjuncture, affected the looks of arrogance and contempt, or intimated their flaming zeal by their inſolent language. They ſupped at the ſame table, and ſlept in the ſame bed.

By the flight of the right wing of the Catholics at the battle of Dreux, the ſpeedieſt intelligence was conveyed to Paris of the total defeat of their army. The appearance of D'Oſſun (an officer who had, in Piedmont, acquired the appellation of The Bold Soldier) among theſe ſwift couriers, confirmed it beyond all contradiction. The Pariſians were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, which continued to encreaſe, until the arrival of De Loſſes, who had been diſpatched by the duke of Guiſe, with the certain accounts of his having turned the fate of the battle, and obtained a victory [36]. Public proceſſions were appointed, and bonfires ordered to celebrate the happy event; and the commiſſion of commander in chief of the army, in abſence of the conſtable, was immediately ſent to the duke, with twenty-five collars of the order of Saint Michael, to be diſpoſed of by his direction. Though from a ſenſe of the reproach he incurred, D'Oſſun ſtarved himſelf to death, his boldneſs became an ironical proverb.

The Proteſtant chiefs, who had beat one half of the Catholic army, taken the conſtable priſoner, and carried off ſome ſtandards and booty from the field, were as much mortified at the diſcredit of being obliged to retire before their enemies, as at the diſcomfiture they had ſuſtained. The admiral, who had, with ſignal bravery and conduct, diſputed the honour of keeping the field with the duke of Guiſe, propoſed, in a council of war, to attack him again the next morning. The reduced ſtate of the Catholic forces,

[35] De Thou, p. 682.

[36] It has been aſſerted by many authors, that Catharine of Medicis expreſſed the moſt perfect indifference at the news of the defeat of the Catholic army; careſſing the friends and adherents of the prince of Condé, and exclaiming, "*Well then, we muſt even pray to God in French.*" (*De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.*) But this pretended exclamation, and all the circumſtances attending it, are poſitively contradicted by Garnier, on the authority of Vielleville, who, it muſt be obſerved, was at Paris at the time, and who, being convinced of the truth of the intelligence, was the very perſon that carried it to the queen, who was then at Vincennes: the teſtimony of ſuch a man cannot, ſurely, be called in queſtion.

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by the almoſt total havock of the Swiſs, who were the flower of them, and the rout and diſperſion of their cavalry, in which they had been originally inferior, were the arguments alledged by this judicious commander in ſupport of his ſcheme. The French officers approved the reſolution [37], but the Germans, who had ſuffered leaſt in the battle, declined ſuch a ſudden renewal of the combat. To prevent, however, in ſome meaſure, the unfavourable report of a defeat, the admiral drew up his troops in order of battle, and marched half a league towards the enemy, before he turned off to Gallardon and Anet, on the borders of La Beauſſe. His high reputation immediately eſtabliſhed him, by unanimous conſent, in the principal command of the army, during the captivity of the prince. Having diſpatched meſſengers to ſeveral cities and provinces, with particular accounts of the battle, and ſent the colours taken from the Swiſs to Orleans, whither the conſtable had been directly conveyed, he prepared to draw near that city, the ſiege of which, he had reaſon to imagine, would be the grand object of the duke of Guiſe. Upon the reſolutions of thoſe two adverſe chieftains, the whole ſcheme of the military enterpriſes on either ſide now depended.

While the queen-mother, for many weighty reaſons, was deſirous of a peace, the duke, in the midſt of winter, urged the undertaking of the ſiege of Orleans. To avert or diminiſh the force of this impending blow, the admiral determined on an expedition into Normandy, with part of his forces, while the remainder might form a garriſon ſufficient for the defence of Orleans. Upon a review of the troops, he found that fourteen companies of French and German infantry, and four troops of the oldeſt French cavalry, could be muſtered in the city. The body of the townſmen, too, could be depended on to ſecond the troops with firmneſs and alacrity. D'Andelot, in conjunction with Saint Cyr, the governor, and Feuquiere, an excellent engineer, undertook the defence of that important place. While Coligni made incurſions in Berri and the Sologne, where he extended his quarters, the utmoſt attention was paid to the collecting of proviſions, and whatever might contribute to the ſtrength of Orleans.

A. D. 1563.] The admiral's expedition into Normandy was rather the effect of neceſſity than of choice. To prevent the mutiny of the Germans for want of their pay, it was neceſſary to keep them in motion, and to feed them with hopes. The proſpect of the pillage of the towns they might ſeize, and of their ſhare of a large remittance of money immediately expected from England, induced them to moderate their clamours and complaints, and begin their march. Coligni's ſagacity in the formation of a ſcheme which, while it quieted their murmurs, at the ſame time tended to diſturb the enemy in the proſecution of their chief project, and his ſucceſs in this enterprize, were equally remarkable. Entering Normandy, where the mareſchal Briſſac could muſter no force

[37] Beze—La Popeliniére—Mémoires de Condé.

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ſufficient to oppoſe him, he took Pont-L'Evêque, and laid ſiege to Caen, which, after a ſlight reſiſtance, was obliged to capitulate. Meanwhile eight veſſels arrived at Havre from England, with money and ſome warlike ſtores; and the admiral having thus effected his purpoſe, and recovered the towns of Dieppe and Harfleur, with ſome other places, prepared to return towards Orleans.

The ſiege of that city was begun by the duke of Guiſe, on the eighth of February. The ſuburb, called the Pontereau, was ſeparated from the town by the Loire, the bridge over which was defended by two towers, called the Tourelles, and an entrenchment had lately been raiſed by Feuquiere, to cover the body of the Pontereau itſelf from a ſudden aſſault: though the gate of the city, at the other end of the bridge, was alſo ſtrengthened by a ſquare tower, the duke of Guiſe choſe to make his approaches by this quarter. The redoubts formed on the Pontereau for a temporary defence, became, through the inadvertency and cowardice of the troops that guarded them, the occaſion of unhoped-for ſucceſs to the beſiegers, in their firſt aſſault. When de Cipiere led on the firſt diviſion of the Catholic army, and, after repulſing the ſkirmiſhing parties, had proceeded to aſſail a part of the entrenchments defended by four companies of French foot, he was informed that the German Lanſquenets were obſerved to quit their poſt in diſorder. Animated by the intelligence, and the arrival of freſh troops, he puſhed another attack that way, by which the Gaſcon infantry, who made the only reſiſtance, were almoſt ſurrounded. A general confuſion enſued; the baggage-waggons of the Germans being wedged in at the entrance of the bridge, to which the fugitives preſſed, the retreat formed a blockade of ſoldiers, machines, cannon, and horſes, which could neither face the enemy, nor withdraw into the city. For more than half an hour, the bridge-gate of the Tourelles remained unſhut and impaſſable. Some were ſqueezed or trodden to death, many were killed by the fire of the enemy, and of the cannon diſcharged from the towers, and numbers periſhed in the river. At length, D'Andelot appearing on the bridge with his chief officers, the enemy ſlackened their aſſault, and gave him an opportunity of extricating his troops from this diſaſter. The duke of Guiſe having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the Pontereau, proceeded to take meaſures for battering the Tourelles. Some forts, erected on the iſlands in the river, retarded, for ſome time, the conſtruction and efficacy of the batteries. But two Catholic centinels having made a diſcovery, by ſcaling the towers, that thoſe who guarded them were both negligent and few in number, a ſcheme was concerted to ſurprize and overpower them, which ſucceeded. By the reduction of the Tourelles, the beſiegers acquired the command of the bridge, and the approaches to the town were in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, that the duke of Guiſe had fixed on the morning of the nineteenth of February for delivering a general aſſault, when his death was ſought and accompliſhed by the ignominious de Merei Poltrot. As the duke returned from the works, on the evening of the eighteenth, to his quarters, at the caſtle of Cornei, accompanied only by Roſtaing, one of the queen's domeſtics, the aſſaſſin, watch-

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ing his opportunity, ſhot him from behind with a piſtol. The ball entering his body above the right ſhoulder, the duke fell forward on his horſe's neck, but did not loſe his ſeat. The duke, with difficulty reached his quarters, while Roſtaing, in vain, purſued the murderer, who was quickly out of ſight. But the terrors that ſeized him, joined to the darkneſs of the night, rendered him incapable of effecting his eſcape. Having tired his horſe with wandering, he was taken, in the morning, at no great diſtance from the place where the murder was committed. As he immediately confeſſed it, and threw out aſperſions againſt ſome of the Proteſtant chiefs, as having inſtigated him to the deed, it is requiſite to explain the grounds of this calumny.

When Poltrot, who had been bred a Catholic, and turned Proteſtant, heard, at a conference holden near Vienne, by the baron des Adrets, that the king of Navarre was killed at Rouen, he ſighed deeply, and ſaid, "This one victim is not ſufficient to atone "for the public miſeries; there ſtill remains a greater ſacrifice to be made." When aſked what ſacrifice he meant—"The mighty Guiſe himſelf," replied he; and ſtretching forth his right arm, and elevating his voice, "and here it is,"—added he—"that "ſhall be raiſed to finiſh, by one act, the ſcene of our calamities." He is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in this manner on ſeveral occaſions, and even in preſence of Soubiſe, the commander in Lyons, in whoſe ſervice he was engaged. Such language paſſing for the tranſports of a man oſtentatious of his zeal and reſolution, made but little impreſſion; particularly, as the deed was of ſuch a nature, that no man, who had ſerious thoughts of committing it, would, it was ſuppoſed, be ſo imprudent as to divulge his intentions. Though his acquaintance with Soubiſe rendered that officer moſt obnoxious to the ſuſpicion of having encouraged or prompted him, Poltrot excepted him from the accuſation, and arraigned the admiral, the count de Rochefoucaud, Feuquiere, Brion, Theodore Beze, and another Proteſtant miniſter, as the perſons who had inſtigated him, or were acceſſary to his undertaking the aſſaſſination. His firſt recital of the ſtory, in the moſt favourable light for himſelf, had evident appearances of being the forgery of a wretch who endeavoured to alleviate his crime, by accuſing the chiefs of his party. The additional warning he gave the queen-mother, to guard againſt the machinations of the Proteſtants with reſpect to her; and his aſſeverations, that there were many other emiſſaries in the camp before Orleans, who were prepared to imitate his example, were too ſuſpicious to ſtrengthen the credit of his teſtimony [38]. The confeſſion extorted from him when put to the queſtion, exhibited a confuſed maſs of contradictions. There was not a ſingle perſon he had named in his firſt confeſſion, whom he did not, by turns, exculpate and accuſe; and, in the midſt of his torture, at laſt concluded with ſaying, that if the deed were yet uncommitted, he would not ſcruple ſtill to be the actor of it. The admiral, to whom the ſigned copy of the firſt accuſation was ſent by the queen, anſwered

[38] D'Aubigné—De Thou—Anderſon.

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it by a formal declaration ſubſcribed by himſelf, the count de Rochefoucaud, and Beze, in which he proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he had never ſeen, nor was acquainted with Poltrot, till after the battle of Dreux, when he came to him with diſpatches from Soubiſe and Feuquiere, who recommended him for the employment of a ſpy; that, being retained at Orleans for this purpoſe, he had received from him a hundred crowns, when he ſet out for Normandy; and that the aſſertion of his having received money from him, was the only true article in Poltrot's confeſſion. As for getting rid of the duke by ſuch a method, Coligni declared, that, beſide the principle of honour, he had particular reaſons ſufficient to make him ever hold ſuch a deſign in abhorrence; and that the more ſpecial vindication of himſelf and the other chiefs, depending on the life of Poltrot, he requeſted that his puniſhment might be poſtponed, until, by a truce of pacification, an opportunity was given them to confute his deteſtable accuſations. This juſt and reaſonable demand was not complied with: Poltrot, being conveyed to Paris, in a few weeks underwent the puniſhment appointed by the law for traitors.

Garnier, in his account of this tranſaction, draws ſuch falſe inferences from the aſſertions contained in the admiral's declaration, interprets his expreſſions in a manner ſo ſtrange and unwarrantable, and caſts his reflections with ſuch little regard to juſtice and propriety, as evidently proves him to have been under the pernicious influence of religious prejudice. Many of the Catholic hiſtorians, more candid in this reſpect, acknowledge that the declarations and trial of Poltrot, prove nothing againſt the commanders whom he aſperſed; but ſome of them join him in aſcribing the commiſſion of this infamous deed to his religion, and the harangues of the Proteſtant miniſters. How far the imputation may be *juſt*, it is impoſſible to aſcertain: but that it is not inconſiſtent with *probability*, we readily admit: to what acts of violence the inflammatory harangues of the *Calviniſtical* miniſters in Scotland, ſtimulated a fanatical mob is well known; the aſſaſſination of the preſident Minard proves, that the French Hugonots were not more ſcrupulous: we have already noticed an offer made by one of them at Paris to murder the duke of Guiſe: and a ſimilar inſtance is ſaid to have occurred, during the ſiege of Rouen, which is thus related by Garnier:—A gentleman in the count of Montgomery's army, whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory, thinking he could not render a greater ſervice to the reformed religion, than by cutting off a man who was ſo great an enemy to it, had entered the camp of the royaliſts, where he ſtaid ſeveral days, watching for an opportunity to poniard the duke of Guiſe. His conduct, however, having given riſe to ſome ſuſpicions, he was apprehended, and taken before the duke, to whom he immediately avowed his intentions: when aſked by Guiſe, whether he had unintentionally given him any reaſon for wiſhing to take away his life, he confeſſed that he had no ground of complaint againſt him, and had only conſulted, in this enterprize, the intereſt of his religion. "If your religion,"—replied the duke—"compel you to take "away the life of a man, who, according to your own confeſſion, never offended you,

" mine orders me to forgive you; judge, therefore, which of the two is the beſt:" and he immediately commanded the priſoner to be releaſed [39]. That the enthuſiaſm of the Calviniſts was as well calculated to excite a religious frenzy, as the oppoſite tenets of the church of Rome, appears certain, both from reaſon and example: it is by ſteering a middle courſe between the two extremes, that men are moſt likely to avoid the dreadful effects of bigotry and fanaticiſm.

The duke of Guiſe ſurvived his wound ſix days, and, during that interval, diſplayed that dignified compoſure and manly fortitude, which juſtified the repreſentation given of his exit by the Catholic authors, as worthy of a Chriſtian hero. He declared, with his laſt breath, that the blood ſhed at Vaſſi, maliciouſly imputed to him, had happened without the ſmalleſt deſign on his part; that, far from approving it, he had done all in his power to ſuppreſs the tumult, which had created him the utmoſt vexation and regret. He recommended peace to the queen, and declared every perſon who ſhould give her contrary advice, an enemy to the ſtate. Eſteemed the greateſt general of his time, he poſſeſſed many perſonal virtues, and was eminently qualified to become at once the prop and the ornament of the ſtate: but the humanity of the man was not unfrequently ſunk in the violence of the party-leader. At the time of his death, he is ſaid to have been indebted more than two hundred thouſand crowns. The high ſchemes of his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, were entirely baffled by this event. He entertained the view of forming a league with the pope, and the whole houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of his niece, the queen of Scotland, with the archduke Charles, one of the emperor's ſons, in order to ſet up the Catholic ſtandard in England againſt queen Elizabeth; and to re-kindle a war between the Catholic and Proteſtant princes in Germany [40]. The moſt blameable part of the duke's conduct is aſcribed, with great probability, by the hiſtorians, to the influence of the cardinal's councils.

As the reins of government had now fallen entirely into the queen's hands, the reſolution ſhe had already formed for concluding a peace, could be proſecuted without reſtraint. The prince of Condé himſelf being favourably inclined to it, was farther inſtigated by various arguments ſhe had uſed with him to promote the meaſure. She promiſed to confer on him the rank of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which had been enjoyed by his brother, the king of Navarre [41]; and a truce being concluded, the queen mother, who had come to the camp, having met with the princeſs of Condé at the abbey of Saint Meſmin, one of the iſles in the Loire was pitched upon as the place of conference. As the conſtable obſtinately contended againſt the admiſſion of the edict of January, and the prince of Condé ventured not at firſt to promiſe any modification of it; an agreement

[39] Hiſtoire de France, tom. xxx. p. 194, 195. De Thou—D'Aubigné.
[40] Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, liv. iii. chap. x.
[41] Garnier.

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was made, that being both on their parole, the one ſhould remain in the Catholic army, and the other be permitted to go to Orleans, to uſe their endeavours to conciliate the differences of the parties upon this grand point. After various conferences, a treaty was at length reſolved on. In the place of the edict of January, a more limited rule of toleration was accepted by the Hugonots. In all fiefs, holding directly of the crown, and which had the privilege of *Haubert*, or high juſtice, the barons and nobility were allowed the free and public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, for themſelves and their vaſſals. In other fiefs, the proprietors, when they did not reſide in towns or villages, ſubject to higher juriſdictions, were permitted to enjoy the ſame liberty in their own houſes. In every bailiwick, having an immediate privilege of appeal to the court of parliament, a city or town was to be appointed, in the ſuburbs of which the Proteſtants might aſſemble for public worſhip; and in the places where they enjoyed it at the time of ſigning the convention, the free exerciſe of it was alſo to be retained. In the city and liberties of Paris, and in all other parts of the kingdom not ſpecified, they were prohibited to meet publickly; but private liberty of conſcience was univerſally allowed them. The other articles reſpecting indemnities for the civil war, were conceived in the moſt preciſe and expreſs terms. The prince of Condé and his adherents were not only acquitted, by a general amneſty, from all impeachments, but whatever had been done by them was declared to have proceeded from good intention, and with a view to the ſervice of the king and the royalty. The whole particular ſtipulations, reduced to the form of an edict, ſigned by the king, and dated from Amboiſe, on the nineteenth of March, was ordered to be regiſtered by the parliaments.

The treaty of peace, thus concluded by the prince, without being communicated to any of the foreign powers who had embraced the cauſe of the Hugonots, became the ſubject of ſome animadverſions and complaints. The admiral, in whoſe abſence the whole affair had been conducted, had great reaſon for diſſatisfaction; his authority and intereſt in the army, his recent ſucceſs in Normandy, added to his perſonal merit and ſignal ſervices in the war, gave him a particular title to be conſulted, and to judge of the propriety of the accommodation. Being arrived at Orleans ſome days after it was concluded, he expreſſed, in preſence of the prince and the leading men of the party, his ſurprize at the precipitation they had uſed; and urged ſeveral reaſons, both from the principles of honour and intereſt, that ſhould have prevailed with them not to have given up the edict of January; the infringement of which ſolemn act of government had been, at foreign courts, and on all occaſions, declared by them to be their juſt motive for taking up arms. But unwilling to appear as an enemy to the public peace, he not only deſiſted from his objections, but declared, that the treaty being brought to an iſſue, every one ſhould acquieſce in it[42].

[42] D'Aubigné.

It may, indeed, be maintained, that the change of the general plan of toleration, prescribed by the edict, into the stricter model of the present convention, was a measure fraught with several political disadvantages, especially when considered not merely as an expedient necessary for the attainment of peace, but, in a more extensive view, as a regulation, designed to promote the present and future quiet of the kingdom. It gave the more bigotted Catholics reason to expect a revocation of those extorted concessions; by the suppression of the Protestant assemblies in many places, it cherished the antipathy to their religion, and prevented the abatement of those violent prejudices and resentments of the opposite parties towards each other, which, being inflamed by the civil war, required to be allayed by all the inducements to familiar intercourse and concord, that peace and time might afford[43]. From the more complex tenor of the new edict, some of its articles were liable to controversy, and its execution was rendered inconvenient. D'Amville, the constable's second son, who about this time was created a mareschal, being appointed to superintend its execution in Languedoc, performed his task in such a partial manner, as gave rise to various complaints. The explications he gave of its disputable clauses, which the Protestants alledged to be unfavourable and prejudicial to them, were generally followed in other provinces, and adopted, in some amendments of the edict, by the court. It was evident, that to adjust the various grants and restrictions comprehended in it, such a temperate procedure was requisite, as could scarcely be expected at the close of civil commotions, when, unhappily, several of the Catholic commanders, who entered the surrendered towns and disarmed the Protestants, could not refrain from displaying the most unseasonable airs of superiority and triumph.

The prince of Condé returned to court, where Catharine now reigned with unrivalled sway. Upon the death of the duke of Guise, the constable expected to have the office of grand-master of the household restord to him, and shewed some disgust at its being conferred on the young duke, by absenting himself a while from court; but he, at length, consented to accept the transfer of his government of Languedoc to his son D'Amville as an equivalent for the disappointment. Nothing now remained for the perfect restoration of tranquillity but the expulsion of the English, by the reduction of Havre-de-Grace. Between two powers who were at such open variance any formal declaration of war was superfluous; yet the omission of that ceremony was, by Elizabeth, whose maxims of policy did not often coincide with the maxims of justice, urged, when required to deliver up that town, as a pretence for arresting Paul de Foix, the French ambassador at London, and issuing her warrants for the detention and seizure of all French ships in the ports of England, or in the channel. The English envoy, Throgmorton, had made himself much more obnoxious to such treatment, by the correspondence he maintained with the Hugonots in France. His intrigues had formed a counterpart to

[43] Anderson.

those

thoſe of Chantonnai, the ambaſſador from Spain [44], and, though not ſo apparently inſolent, were no leſs exceptionable to the court. About this time he had repaſſed the ſea; when Elizabeth teſtified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, by demanding from France the reſtitution of Calais, and declaring that ſhe was entitled to keep poſſeſſion of Havre, until that important article of the general peace was fulfilled. The French court replied, that the clauſe of the ſame treaty obliged her to commit no acts of hoſtility againſt France, during the ſpace of eight years; at the expiration of which time, the reſtitution of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been, on that condition, promiſed. When the neceſſary preparations for a ſiege were made, the French troops marched from all quarters into Normandy; and, on the fifteenth of July, encamped before Havre.

The Engliſh troops in that town, commanded by the earl of Warwick, conſiſting, at firſt, of ſix thouſand men beſidesſeven hundred officers, had been already thinned by the ravages of a peſtilential diſeaſe: the heat of the weather, and a dearth of proviſions, encreaſed the fatal effects of this dreadful diſorder, and ſoon reduced Warwick to the neceſſity of capitulating on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. The whole terms of the treaty were ſettled, and hoſtages delivered for the performance of them, when ſixty ſail of Engliſh ſhips, under lord Clinton, appeared in the bay, ſteering towards the harbour. But Warwick having given notice to the admiral that Havre had ſurrendered, Clinton caſt anchor in the road; and, having embarked the troops, immediately ſet ſail for England. The king and queen-mother, who had advanced to the abbey of Fécamp, were witneſſes of the happy iſſue of the ſiege; the more an occaſion of public ſatisfaction, as it ſhewed the amicable concurrence of the Catholics, and the Hugonots in the ſervice of the ſtate. The beſieging army had been compoſed of the troops of both; and the Engliſh were ſurprized to find themſelves attacked, from the trenches, by the Proteſtant ſoldiers, who had fought as their comrades on the ramparts of Rouen. There were only a few of that party diſcontented with the peace, who, under pretence that the Engliſh ought not in honour to be deſerted, had thrown themſelves into Havre.

Tranquillity being now reſtored to the nation, no means appeared to the chancellor ſo effectual for its preſervation, as well as for the ſupport and intereſt of royalty, as that of accelerating the ſolemn declaration of the king's majority. By Catharine's ready compliance with de L'Hopital's advice, and the aſſiduous application ſhe gave to the ſettling both the domeſtic and foreign affairs of the ſtate, it muſt be owned, that, at this time, ſhe ſhewed herſelf abundantly capable of exerciſing, and not altogether unworthy of, that ſupreme authority in the government, to which, with exceſſive eagerneſs, ſhe always aſpired [45]. By her prudence and addreſs, the emperor's demands for the

[44] Additions aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau, liv. iii, chap 9. [45] Idem. Ibid.

reſtitution

reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were eluded in a manner that created no miſunderſtanding with the imperial court. The propoſition to Ferdinand, about the marriage of the king her ſon to his grandchild, the king of Bohemia's daughter, was the reſource ſhe employed for appeaſing him, which proved ſucceſsful. Her endeavour to obtain peace with England no leſs diſcovered her juſt conſideration of the ſtate of the kingdom, and her wiſe and temperate regulation of her political meaſures by it. As the inſult and invaſion of the kingdom by the Engliſh appeared to provoke and challenge reſentment, ſhe at firſt made the ſhew of acting with ſpirit. An opportunity was taken to retaliate the affront offered to the French ambaſſador, by ſeizing Throgmorton, who ventured, along with another envoy from Elizabeth, to return to France without paſſports. But in this ſtep the manner of proceeding was ſuch, as rather indicated an intention to puniſh the inſolence of the obnoxious envoy, than to teſtify indignation againſt the court of England[46]. There was a diſtinction made in the treatment of the two ambaſſadors, and the advantage was gained of excluding Throgmorton from the negotiation, a point of no ſmall importance to the commencement and happy progreſs of a treaty of peace.

It was reſolved in the council, in purſuance of the previous determination of the queen mother and the chancellor, to obtain a formal recognition of the king's majority, who had now entered his fourteenth year, and had conſequently completed the term preſcribed by the edict of Charles the Wiſe. This ceremony was performed, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt[47], at Rouen, whither the court had repaired after the reduction of Havre. The preference given, on this occaſion, to the parliament of Rouen, over that of Paris, was intended as a mortification to the latter, who had, in ſo many inſtances, oppoſed the meaſures of the court, and betrayed extreme violence in religious queſtions. The queen-mother, in teſtimony of her reſignation of the regency, kneeled before the king, who deſcended from the throne to embrace her. The king's brothers, the princes of the blood, and the peers, having done homage on their knees, advanced towards the throne according to their rank, and kiſſed his majeſty's hand. The late edict of Amboiſe was ratified, and the obſervance of it enjoined, until, from the iſſue of the council of Trent, and the king's future deliberation, his royal pleaſure ſhould be farther declared. An arrêt paſſed for diſarming the cities and towns; and it was declared high treaſon to hold ſecret correſpondence with foreign ſtates.

When de Lanſac was ſent to demand of the parliament of Paris the regiſtration of the act of majority, and the other edicts, enraged at the ſlight that had been put upon them, they appointed deputies to remonſtrate on this diſparagement of their ſuper-eminent juriſdiction. The firſt preſident, De Thou, Prevot, and Viol, inſiſted, before the

[46] Mem. de Caſtelnau. [47] Garnier.

king,

king, that it was a tranſgreſſion of all former cuſtoms and precedents, to verify and publiſh, in the firſt reſort, any royal edict in another parliament, than that of Paris, which had been the original and model of all the reſt; and, by a combination of the privileges and dignities of the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, had the diſtinctive rank and title of the court of peers, that ancient and primary judicature of the kingdom. What they added about the edict of Amboiſe being a licence and approbation of ſectaries, and againſt diſarming the citizens of Paris, evinced their adherence to former maxims and popular arguments for ſupporting their oppoſition to the court. But they overſhot their mark, it having been determined in the council to prevent a repetition of ſuch conduct, by giving them a firm and authoritative repulſe. The young king, inſtructed how to anſwer the deputies, firſt required the members of the council, who were preſent, to declare whether advice had not been taken about authenticating the act in the parliament of Rouen. When this was avowed, Charles aſſumed a commanding tone, and told them, "that he would not bear that the magiſtrates of the parliament of Paris ſhould "now behave as they had done in his minority; that their original and proper function "was to diſpenſe civil juſtice, to which it became them to confine themſelves, and no "longer to cheriſh that ancient prejudice of being the coadjutors of royalty, the pro-"tectors of the kingdom, and the guardians of the city of Paris; and that, having once "remonſtrated to him, it was their duty to think of nothing more than ſubmiſſion to "his will." But this was not ſufficient to intimidate the parliament, which, after hearing the reports of their delegates, ſtill debated the regiſtration, and, being divided in opinion, appointed a new deputation to the king. Their reſiſtance became a direct trial of the authority of the court. It was neceſſary to take the moſt deciſive meaſures to ſurmount it. A grand council of ſtate was called to controul their obſtinacy by a decree, which annulled their proceedings, and required them, under the penalty of interdiction from their office, to regiſter the edict without any reſtrictory clauſe, and to eraſe the record of their arrogant procedure. The parliament then deſiſted from the dangerous contention, and ſubmitted (on the twenty-ſixth of September) to the king's command.

It is obſerved, by Father Daniel[48], that the court of France, at this period, reſembled the dramatic repreſentations of the theatre, in which ſome new ſcene or material incident ſtill occurs, ſufficient to keep the ſpectators in ſuſpence for the iſſue of the main action. No ſooner was the king returned from Rouen to Paris, than the eyes of the people were ſtricken with a groupe of ſorrowful figures, which marched ſlowly through the ſtreets to the Louvre. Theſe were the aged mother, the widow and the children of the late duke of Guiſe in their mourning robes[49]. They were followed by a train of women, with their faces veiled in black, and by a numerous company of the kindred and

[48] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 803. [49] De Thou—D'Avila—Memoires de Condé—La Popeliniere.

friends

friends of the family, with the compoſed looks and geſtures of ſorrow. The Pariſian multitude gazed on this ſpectacle, (while the cataſtrophe of the duke's murder ruſhed afreſh into their minds,) and followed it to the gates of the palace, where the whole company of mourners fell on their knees before the young king, and petitioned for juſtice to be done upon the accomplices of the duke's horrid aſſaſſination, at a time when he expoſed his life for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the preſervation of the royal authority. To this application, accompanied with the circumſtance of the tumultuous exclamation of the populace, Charles replied, in general terms, "that he would conſi-"der what ought to be done, and make it his buſineſs to cauſe juſtice to be executed on "the ſubject of their complaint at a convenient time." The intention of this parade was ſufficiently plain; and it was well known againſt whom the family of Guiſe laid their accuſation. Though now the admiral Coligni was not named, they had before arraigned him ſo openly, that the prince of Condé thought himſelf obliged to proteſt againſt this charge, before the privy council. He inſiſted, that the Guiſes ſhould either be commanded to forbear their aſperſions, or to proſecute their impeachment in a legal manner, declaring that all other treacherous attacks of Coligni he would revenge, as done againſt his kinſman and firſt friend. The mareſchal Montmorenci, in his own name, and that of the conſtable his father, and all his family, adhered to the prince's proteſt. From the firſt inſtance of the accuſation, the admiral had demanded a judicial trial, but refuſed the tribunal of the parliament of Paris. The great council of ſtate was propoſed by the king to try the cauſe, which the family of Guiſe as peremptorily declined; and both parties made exceptions to the king's privy-council. The queen-mother and the court, apprehenſive of the revival of freſh contention in the determination of an affair, which already excited the ſpirit of party, adviſed the revocation of the judgment of it to the king himſelf, by whoſe authority all procedure in it was ſuſpended for three years. But the interlude of the proceſſion had the effect to warm the affections of the Pariſians to the children and family of their favourite chieftain, and gave occaſion to the zealous eccleſiaſtics to re-touch in their ſermons the affecting ſubject of the martyrdom of the duke of Guiſe, and to animate the people againſt thoſe that had been his adverſaries.

A. D. 1564, 1565.] The altercations which had ariſen in the different provinces with regard to the tenor of the late edict, and the difficulties that occurred in putting it in execution, ſuperinduced a determination of the council, that the king and court ſhould make a progreſs through the greater part of the kingdom. It was conceived, that the appearance of the young ſovereign would not only ſerve as a check to ſedition, but verify and confirm the principles of loyalty and obedience to the government. To theſe motives, by which alone the chancellor was actuated, queen Catharine joined other views better ſuited to the political caſt of her own mind: beſides an opportunity of inveſtigating the conduct of the governors of the chief cities and provinces, and making ſuch changes among them as might be judged neceſſary, ſhe had propoſed a conference with

with her daughter the queen of Spain, on the confines of the two kingdoms, and propoſed to hold interviews with ſome of the German princes. But before the court left Fontainebleau, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, the object of whoſe miſſion was to prefer an unanimous requeſt to the king for the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which had been cloſed about a month before. This application, ſo ill-timed and precipitate, appeared to the queen and the council to have been effected by the artful intrigues of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the zealous partizans of the papal power at court, who laboured to ſubvert the peace [49]. The conduct of the ſovereign Pontiff, with reſpect to the queen of Navarre, exhibited a convincive proof of the diſpoſition of the court of Rome to expoſe the principality of Bearn as a prey to the Catholic king. As that princeſs had expelled the Catholic prieſts, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant worſhip in her dominions, Pius the Fourth had iſſued a monitory againſt her, in which ſhe was threatened with immediate excommunication and the forfeiture of her territories to the firſt Catholic potentate who ſhould ſeize them. A regard to the honour and intereſt of the crown of France, which were both concerned in the protection of the rights of the queen of Navarre, induced Catharine to make an open declaration againſt this violent and arbitrary invaſion of them. This circumſtance, and the pope's avowed partiality to Spain, rendered her more circumſpect and ſuſpicious, with reſpect to the combination of thoſe powers in the preſent embaſſy. The nature and import of the requiſitions made by them conſtituted as groſs an inſult as could well be offered to the government of France. They amounted to a formal condemnation of all the late meaſures, and an arrogant preſcription of a different ſyſtem, and courſe of political conduct. Beſides the demand for the publication of the decrees of the council, the envoys were inſtructed to inſiſt, in the name of their maſters, that there ſhould be no alienation of the church revenues in France authorized, from which fund, they declared, the courts of Spain and Savoy accounted it ſacrilegious to receive the acquittance of the ſums due to them; that the legal chaſtiſement of heretics, by baniſhment or corporal puniſhment, ſhould be reſumed, the general indemnity granted by the late pacification revoked, and the contrivers of the murder of the duke of Guiſe proſecuted with rigour, and brought to condign puniſhment. Such indecent and prepoſterous demands, which conveyed the tainted breath of faction, would in other times have been treated with a high degree of contempt. But, in the preſent inſtance, the king's council were ſatisfied with directing him to make the following general reply:—that it was his innate and inviolable principle to perſevere in his attachment and fidelity to the apoſtolic church of Rome, and the maxim of his government to engage his ſubjects to conform to it; that he had eſtabliſhed a domeſtic peace, in order to eject his foreign enemies; and that now he had nothing more at heart than to diſpenſe juſtice to all his people. When the ambaſſadors importuned the court

49 Recueil de Dupuis—Le Laboureur—Fra-Paolo—Pallavicini—Mémoires de Condé.

for a more diſtinct anſwer, they were told the king choſe to deliberate upon it, in a meeting of the principal nobles and ſenators of the kingdom.

Though natural ſpirit and political circumſpection induced the queen-mother to reſiſt the concurrence of other princes to impoſe their admonitions on the government; though, perhaps, ſhe was not inſenſible, that the preſent interpoſition of foreign courts was intended to encourage domeſtic faction, the ſcope and aim of her politics were ſo congenial to the principles of their ſyſtem, that all the honour and advantage ſhe contended for, amounted, in fact, only to that of purſuing it in her own way. This, doubtleſs, appeared to *her* a very material point, who had reaſon to be conſcious and vain of her ſkill, in the artificial management of affairs. Perſuaded that, by the help of time, and the advantage of peace, ſhe would be enabled to ſtrengthen the power of the government, and give it vigour ſufficient to encounter and cruſh all oppoſition from party; ſhe endeavoured to attain her political ends under the appearance of promoting the public tranquillity and good of the ſtate. Before ſhe ſet out with the king on the intended progreſs through the kingdom, the treaty of peace with England was brought to a concluſion, and the articles of it were finiſhed and preſented to the king when he came to Troyes. Inſtead of any mention of the controverted reſtitution of Calais, a general clauſe, reſerving to both crowns their ſeveral rights and claims, was ſubſtituted. Elizabeth, ſtill affecting the ſame nicety about the reſignation of that place, and pretending that her ambaſſadors had exceeded their powers, refuſed at firſt her confirmation of the treaty. But, after having vented this artful language for ſome time, ſhe was ſatisfied with the promiſe of a hundred and thirty thouſand crowns for the releaſe of the hoſtages; and Caſtelnau, who concluded the agreement with her, returned to the French court, with a requeſt to the king to accept her compliment of the order of the garter. The renewal of the league with the Swiſs Cantons was alſo purchaſed at this time, with a large pecuniary ſubſidy. But queen Catharine was diſappointed of her hopes of an interview with the king of the Romans on the confines of Lorraine, which was *alledged* to have been the principal motive of her journey thither. She had always maintained an amicable correſpondence with this prince, and propoſed, by connecting him with the houſe of France, by the marriage of the king to one of his daughters, to enlarge her influence among the German princes. The king of Spain's jealouſy was the chief bar to the interview and alliance. Catharine was equally unſucceſsful in her attempt to bind the duke of Wirtemberg, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and Wolfang, duke of Deux Ponts, who were Proteſtant chieftains, by the civil obligations of penſions from the king, to withhold their aſſiſtance from the Calviniſts in France. Her offers of benevolence were rejected by each of thoſe princes: There was only the marquis of Baden, and one of the family of Saxe, that condeſcended to became her ſtipendiaries.

In the king's circuit of the provinces of the kingdom, which commenced with the excurſion through Champagne to the territories of the Duke of Lorraine, almoſt two years were employed.

ployed. In moſt places he viſited, he was tormented with the alternate complaints of Catholics and Proteſtants. The deputies of Burgundy harangued the king againſt the extenſion of the late edict of toleration to their province. The Proteſtants preferred a general complaint of the violent oppoſition made in various parts to its eſtabliſhment, and of the injurious treatment they experienced. Theſe differences were ſeized by the court as a pretext for rendering the late edict palatable to the Catholics; and for this purpoſe another edict was paſſed at Rouſſillon, in which the liberty of the Proteſtants was conſiderably retrenched. The allowance of public worſhip to the poſſeſſors of the ſuperior fiefs was interpreted to extend only to their families and immediate vaſſals, and to exclude all occaſional partakers of the benefit thereof. They were prohibited to hold ſynods, to open ſchools, or to make private or public collections. The regular prieſts and nuns, who, on their converſion, had entered into the matrimonial ſtate, were required, under the penalty of the gallies, perpetual confinement, to ſeparate from their ſpouſes and reſume their vows of celibacy and retirement. Theſe reſtrictions, which too much reduced the edict to the appearance of a ſimple conceſſion in favour of the nobility, diminiſhed the idea and enjoyment of public toleration, and ſubjected the Hugonots to various hardſhips, could not fail to create particular offence and diſcontent. The prince of Condé, who thought his honour concerned in maintaining the articles of it, tranſmitted to the court a remonſtrance on the ſubject of the innovations, by which the edict was ſubverted. The anſwer given him, from its amicable and mild tendency, though not ſatisfactory, appeared to be dictated by the chancellor, who, by ſuggeſting thoſe emendations, ſtudied to convince the court, that the Proteſtants might be tolerated, and at the ſame time reſtrained within ſuch reaſonable bounds as the government choſe to preſcribe to them. The procedure upon this maxim ſoothed the queen-mother, gave to the government that air of authority ſhe required, and furniſhed her with a ſpecious anſwer to the Catholic princes, who excepted againſt the pacification as derogatory to the honour of the crown. To preſerve the dignity of the court, and of the eſtabliſhed religion, the public meetings of the Proteſtants were forbidden in all the places through which the king paſſed. In other reſpects, the court had reaſon to repreſs the unruly zeal of the Catholics; who, in ſome provinces, had formed aſſociations and fraternities to defend themſelves and their religion againſt the ſectaries. In one of theſe, inſtituted in Burgundy, with the title of the ſociety of the Holy Ghoſt, the devotees took an oath never to live in peace with the Proteſtants. The praiſes of the king of Spain—one of the moſt deteſtable characters that ever diſgraced humanity, either in a public or private ſtation!—were frequently heard from the pulpit, and his zealous aſſertion of true Catholic principles was propoſed as a pattern that ought to be imitated by the king and government of France. In theſe efforts might be deſcried the origin of the famous Catholic league, but the indications were then ſo faint as to excite no apprehenſions for its conſequences. The province of Guienne, embroiled by the miſconduct of its governor, the count of Candale, was with difficulty preſerved from an inſurrection by the appointment of the mareſchal Bourdillon in his place.

Upon intelligence received of a confederacy being formed by the family of Guiſe, and ſome of their partizans, in conſequence of a conflict that occurred between the cardinal of Lorraine and the mareſchal Montmorenci, at Paris, the weakneſs and tremor of the court appeared. All the nobles preſent, being aſſembled before the king, were required to declare what they knew of ſecret cabals and combinations, which threatened diſturbance to the ſtate; and to ſubſcribe an obligation never to engage in them, or take arms without his majeſty's authority. After paſſing the winter in Languedoc, the court proceeded, in the following ſpring, to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Bayonne, where the queen of Spain was expected to arrive.

The interview at Bayonne, which took place on the tenth of June, 1565, afforded matter for ſpeculation, not only to France, but to all foreign ſtates, whoſe attention was fixed on every action, and on every plan of that inexorable tyrant Philip the Second. The inordinate ambition, the extenſive power, and the perſecuting ſpirit of the Spaniſh monarch, formed juſt ſubjects of apprehenſion and dread to the ſurrounding nations; and ſome new political phenomenon was daily expected in conſequence of the deciſions of the council of Trent. A league of the Catholic princes having been propoſed, a general alarm prevailed among the Proteſtants, who thought they beheld in the congreſs at Bayonne the image of what they dreaded. It was not believed that queen Catharine deſigned to carry thither the king and court merely to embrace her daughter, or that Philip had ſent Elizabeth, his young queen, and the famous Ferdinand, duke of Alva, on a journey to the borders of Spain, only for the ſake of viſiting her mother and family, and preſenting Charles with the order of the Golden Fleece. But the commencement of ſome great deſign, for the extirpation of hereſy, was conceived to be the true object of the interview, by the Proteſtants in the Low Counties, as well as in France. But what really paſſed there it is impoſſible to aſcertain, as the accounts of contemporary hiſtorians are vague, uncertain and contradictory; and this indeed, muſt have been the caſe, from the very nature of the tranſaction itſelf, even had the paſſions and prejudices of the writers had no ſhare in their miſrepreſentations; for the parties concerned, from whom alone the truth could be known, had the ſtrongeſt motives—if their projects were ſo criminal as they have been repreſented—for conſigning to oblivion every particular of the event. It appears moſt *probable* that the conference terminated in nothing more poſitive than a general agreement of the two crowns to act in correſpondence, and aſſiſt each other, in extinguiſhing, in their ſtates, the cabals and inſurrections with which they were threatened, whether from a religious or political cauſe: though the end aimed at by both had been the ſame, as D'Avila juſtly obſerves, the different circumſtances and intereſts of the two parties muſt have operated as an effectual impediment to a concurrence in the ſame meaſures, or to the adoption of a ſimilar plan of procedure. In external appearance this conference preſented a picture of the pomp of the court, and of the entertainment and diverſions of the age. Various ſcenes of carouſals, martial ballets, ſhews and pageantries were daily exhibited. The ſprightly invention and gaiety of the French vied for ſuperiority with the ſtately pride and grave oſtention of the Spaniards. The poetical compoſi-

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tions of Ronſard, who then followed the court, were rehearſed, and formed the interludes of thoſe entertainments. From deference and reſpect to the Spaniards, the court waited the end of the interview before the king proceeded to Tarbes, to admit the envoy of Soliman, the grand ſeignior, to an audience. It then took its courſe to Nerac, in the queen of Navarre's dominions, and from thence, by various ſtages, to Blois, where it continued till the commencement of the following year, when an aſſembly of the notables was holden at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois.

A. D. 1566.] At this aſſembly, which met in the month of February, the chancellor, ever attentive to the welfare of the ſtate, ſet forth the various defects and abuſes which prevailed in the political government, and in the adminiſtration of the laws. The ſale of the offices of judicature, which, as we have before had occaſion to obſerve, was an emolument of the crown revenue, had cauſed the multiplication of them, and the frequent erection of ſuperfluous courts of juſtice, which had a certain tendency to the encreaſe of law-ſuits; and this encouragement of proceſſes was rendered the more intolerable, from the cuſtom of gratuities and preſents, which were made to the judges themſelves. To ſupply an effectual remedy for theſe grievances appeared a matter of too great difficulty to be attempted at this period; the chancellor, therefore, confined his attention to the amendment of the more groſs irregularities. After deliberating with the magiſtrates of the parliament, and the other judges, he had the honour to digeſt, with their approbation, a compend of regulations, for the procedure of the courts, and the diſpatch of judicial proceſſes, comprehended under eighty-ſix heads; and which, being ſoon after ratified by the parliament of Paris, and eſtabliſhed under the name of the edict of Moulins, became the gloſſary of the law, and was afterwards generally adopted in all the ſupreme and inferior judicatures in the kingdom. This edict contained ſeveral other regulations of leſs importance.

The aſſembly of Moulins concluded with the formal compromiſe of the contention between the family of Guiſe and the Colignis. The admiral purged himſelf, upon oath, from the imputation of being acceſſary to the duke of Guiſe's death, and the Guiſes ſhook hands with him in the king's preſence. The hiſtorians are not agreed about the part acted by the young duke of Guiſe, nor, indeed, whether he was preſent at the time of the reconciliation. The widow had now laid aſide her mourning apparel to eſpouſe the duke of Nemours, who was eſteemed the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed nobleman of the age.

Meanwhile the complaints of the Proteſtants, on the inexecution of the edict of toleration, continued to encreaſe; and Bouchet was deputed, by the nobility of that perſuaſion, to preſent to the king, at Angoulême, a particular reſcript of the injuries and grievances they ſuffered, and to entreat the prevention of a fatal recourſe to extremities. No attention, however, was paid to this remonſtrance. The re-eſtabliſhment of the public

public exercise of the Catholic religion in Berne, and the viscounty of Foix, which the queen of Navarre had there restrained, was effected by the king's authority [50], and even in the last of these districts, where an attempt to invade the privileges of the Protestants had occasioned a public tumult, the judgment of the cause, and the punishment of the insurgents, were resigned, by the will of the court, to the parliament of Toulouse—a tribunal ever notorious for inhuman zeal against the Protestants.

A. D. 1567.] The prince of Condé had strenuously remonstrated against these proceedings, but the queen-mother found means for a while to lull his suspicions, by professions of favour and marks of regard. It was impossible, however, long to deceive the leaders of the Hugonots, jealous of her conduct, and attentive to her motions; and, indeed, her usage of the prince of Condé himself, in his suit for the office of constable, which Montmorenci desired to resign, while it betrayed her aversion from his advancement, showed her partiality to the opposite party. Catharine thought she had contrived an artful expedient for the disposal of that commission, which could give no reasonable offence to any of the competitors for it. The old constable's intention was to surrender it in favour of his son, the mareschal Montmorenci: but the queen having objections to that officer, it was signified to the constable, as the king's pleasure, that whenever his charge was vacated, it should be supplied in no other way than by the appointment of her son the duke of Anjou, to the office of lieutenant-general of the army. This pacified the constable, and might have had the same effect with the prince of Condé, who now solicited the office, had not the queen, in order to frustrate his application, advanced a step farther. The duke of Anjou, her favourite son, whom, at the age of fifteen, she had brought, on some occasions, to preside at the council table, was instigated by her to insult the prince, for having presumed to stand in competition with him [51]. At Saint Germain des Prés, in the presence of the courtiers, the duke called the prince aside, and made use of such threatening and insolent language to him, as would have induced a person of inferior rank to sue for redress or permission to retire.

These circumstances, united with the fears of the Hugonots on account of the late interview at Bayonne, and others occasioned by the march of the duke of Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Belgic provinces, accelerated the renewal of civil commotions. Sensible of the alarm which this last event would excite, the queen-mother was prepared to obviate and silence it, by the utmost stretch of her political craft. Feigning an apprehension of the purposes of the court of Spain, and appearing to resent the approach of the Spanish forces to the borders of the kingdom, she adopted the language, and seemed to concur with the sentiments of the Protestant chiefs, and those who insisted on the necessity of putting the state in a posture of defence. A commission for hir-

[50] De Thou. [51] Idem.

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ing ſix thouſand Swiſs was given, and ſome troops being levied in the Lionoiſe, were ordered to march towards the frontiers of Italy. D'Avila deſcribes the contexture of her policy to be ſo myſteriouſly framed, that the pope, and the republic of Venice, conceived the utmoſt ſuſpicions of her conduct. But however foreign courts might have been deceived by theſe ſtate tricks, they had not, it ſeems, the ſame effect at home: the young king is ſaid to have been highly provoked with the preſumption of the prince of Condé and the admiral; and to have anſwered an embaſſy ſent from ſome of the German princes to implore favour for their Proteſtant brethren, with harſhneſs and diſdain. But when Catharine found that, at the ſolicitation of the principal leaders of the Hugonots, ſhe could draw foreign troops into the kingdom, and that a compliance with their requeſts would lead to the accompliſhment of her own ſecret deſigns, ſhe became too ſecure, and, confident in the effect of her diſſimulation, narrowly eſcaped being herſelf ſurprized by the conſpiracy of thoſe whom ſhe thought to have drawn into a ſnare.

The ſecurity of the court, at this period, is the more remarkable, as the frequent warnings they received ought certainly to have put them on their guard. At Lyons, the Proteſtants were ſuſpected of having run a mine, ſome hundred paces under ground, along the principal ramparts of the city. When the duke of Alva began his march from Lombardy, Mouvans had raiſed eight hundred men, and thrown them into Geneva; and an attempt had even been made by him, to introduce, by a ſtratagem, a part of theſe ſoldiers into the ſtrong town of Metz. The Proteſtant chiefs had once met for conſultation at Valery, and were again aſſembled at Châtillon-ſur-Loing. Some general advice about their intentions, ſent by Montluc from Guienne, was deſpiſed by the queen-mother: and the more preciſe information which Caſtelnau, on his return from Flanders, had collected from ſome Proteſtant ſoldiers[52], met with no greater credit. He was rebuked by the conſtable; and the chancellor told him it was a crime againſt the ſtate to bring falſe intelligence[53]. It is ſaid that Catharine, whoſe obſervations were chiefly directed on the admiral's motions, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her ſpies, with reſpect to the manner in which he ſaw him employed at Châtillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning-knife in his hand, Coligni had mounted a tree in his orchard, and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural ſhades. The rendezvous had been then agreed upon. At firſt, the deſign to renew hoſtilities had been ſuſpended, and the admiral's opinion, that they ſhould ſuffer matters to be carried to a greater extremity, prevailed. But a circumſtance occurred in the month of Auguſt, to overturn this paſſive reſolution. Six thouſand Swiſs, under colonel Fifer, having marched from the borders into the middle of the kingdom, after the duke of Alva had entered Flanders, freſh diſtruſt and animoſity were provoked. The Proteſtant chiefs, convinced that the queen-mother had concerted meaſures for their deſtruction, reſolved to make the firſt

[52] De Thou, lib. xxix. p. 817. [53] D'Aubigné, liv. iv. chap. vii.

aſſault.

aſſault. The conduct of the duke of Guiſe, at the commencement of the late war, was deemed worthy of imitation; and it was accordingly reſolved to make an attempt to ſecure the perſon of the king.

The court reſided at Monceaux, a pleaſure-ſeat of the queen's in Brie, when, (on the twenty-ſixth of September) four years after the pacification of Orleans, this enterprize was planned and attempted. From the diſcovery of ſeveral parties of armed men, reſorting to Châtillon, the queen-mother was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation: and retiring, with precipitation, to Meaux, ſhe diſpatched orders to the Swiſs to advance, without delay, to the aſſiſtance of the court. Roſoy, the place of rendezvous for the prince of Condé and his friends, was not farther from Meaux than Château-Thierry, where the Swiſs were quartered, and their horſe could, with greater celerity, perform the march. In this dangerous perplexity, Catharine had recourſe to her uſual ſubterfuge of a conference, during which the Swiſs had time to reach the place of their deſtination.

Their arrival inſpired the court with courage, and induced the queen to accede to the propoſals of colonel Fifer, who offered to conduct the royal family in ſafety to the capital. The danger of this undertaking was, indeed, much greater in apprehenſion than in reality. The prince of Condé's troops, not a ſixth part of their number, ſcarcely equalled the bands of the royal guards, and the retinue of the nobleſſe of the court: but, as Brantôme obſerves, it was the vigour of their charge, and the undaunted valour of their leaders, that rendered them formidable. Two or three leagues from Meaux, they appeared in ſeveral ſquadrons, and having the opportunity of directing their aſſault againſt whatever quarter they choſe, a diviſion of four hundred attacked the rear of the royaliſts, where the conſtable, and the body of nobles who were in arms, had ſtationed themſelves. The Swiſs ſuddenly halted, and, cloſing their files on that ſide, faced the enemy, who were ſoon obliged to wheel off. A ſecond attack, on a different ſide, attended with ſome piſtol ſhots, and brandiſhing of ſwords, and the repetition of ſome feints and ſkirmiſhes in the courſe of the march, proved the whole of the bloodleſs encounter. While the prince of Condé's horſe withdrew to breathe in ſome neighbouring villages, two hundred cavaliers, under the duke of Aumale and ſome other noblemen, arrived from Paris. The conſtable and the chancellor, anxious to avoid a general action, adviſed, that all the light-horſe being joined to this body, the king and the royal family ſhould proceed the ſhorteſt way, under their eſcort, to the capital, where they accordingly arrived the ſame night. The exclamations of the Pariſians at the ſight of the king, eſcaped from the hands of the Hugonots, and their reflections on the horror of the attempt, joined to Charles's own ſenſation of the violent indignity, added freſh fuel to the former combuſtions of the ſtate, and heightened the rage of the parties againſt each other. Such were the circumſtances of the commencement of the ſecond civil war in France.

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The queen of England deemed this a proper time for diſcovering her inclinations to ſupport the Proteſtant party: notwithſtanding the late treaty of peace, and the apparent marks of amity and concord with the French court, ſhe ſent an ambaſſador to renew the old demand of the reſtitution of Calais. After what had already paſſed on this ſubject, ſhe had, in a manner, excluded herſelf from even the ſhadow of an argument for inſiſting upon this claim. To this unexpected requiſition, France, however provoked, found it convenient, at the preſent juncture, to return a decent refuſal. Elizabeth expected no more. To give the Proteſtants hopes of her aſſiſtance, without declaring for them, was the main end ſhe had in view. It was alſo proper, that ſhe ſhould not appear too forward in engaging with them, who had not adhered to the terms of the league they had made with her; while, by inviting the cardinal of Châtillon to the Engliſh court, it was evident ſhe conſidered this conduct as a pardonable tranſgreſſion.

The bold attempt of the Proteſtant chiefs to ſeize the perſon of the king, was conſidered as a ſignal, by the leaders of both parties, to collect their military forces. The prince of Condé and his aſſociates, inſtead of being diſmayed at the failure of their firſt enterprize, not only kept the field, but acted offenſively, with an intrepid ſpirit, that had the ſhew of ſuperior ſtrength. To diſplay, at the commencement of the war, the moſt daring bravery, and to acquire reputation by the vigour of their meaſures, they determined to form the blockade of Paris. To ſuch a great city, the diſtant proſpect of want, by the partial obſtruction of proviſions, is always formidable. No ſooner had the prince of Condé ſeized a few poſts on the Seine, and burnt a number of mills between the gates of the Temple and Saint Honoré, than the Pariſians began to utter complaints[54]. This made the queen-mother have recourſe to her uſual expedient of a negociation, which only ended in mutual invectives.

To a train of deluſive negociations ſucceeded the open operations of war. With about ſix thouſand troops, the prince of Condé, having ſecured the paſſage of the Seine at Saint Cloud by a bridge of boats, taken poſſeſſion of Saint Ouen, Aubervilliers, and Saint Denis, and from theſe quarters cut off the detached guards of the enemy from ſeveral turrets and ſmall caſtles on the river, endeavoured, by ſeizing the bridges of Poiſſi and Pontoiſe, below Paris, and thoſe of Charenton and Montereau-faut-Yonne above it, to intercept all ſupplies that came by theſe avenues to the city. Amidſt various ſkirmiſhes, this was almoſt effectually done for ſome time; it was not ſurprizing, therefore, that the Pariſians ſhould exclaim againſt the conſtable, whoſe army was, by this time, conſiderably encreaſed. The alarm had no ſooner been given by the Proteſtants, than the principal Catholic nobility began to muſter their forces, and to conduct them to the metropolis. The different corps of the Swiſs, and of the old and new levies of the

[54] De Thou.

French infantry, and the gendarmerie, formed an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Beſides volunteers, the city furniſhed a complete regiment, which made a ſplendid ſhew, with their arms finely poliſhed and gilt. The conſtable, by a ſucceſſion of well-conducted ſallies, ſoon recovered many of the beſt poſts which had been taken by the enemy, whom he expected to vanquiſh and ruin by ſkirmiſhes as effectually as in a pitched battle. But the citizens of Paris, and ſeveral of the nobility, were too querulous and impatient to be ſatisfied with this conduct. It was ſaid, that he ſympathized with his kinſmen, and was unwilling to come to blows with his nephews. Montmorenci, who, in the exerciſe of his duty in the field or the cabinet, uſed to deſpiſe all ſuch reflections, heard them now for ſome time without much concern; but the continual repetition of them, in a city ſo populous and thronged with ſoldiers, was unſupportable. Moved with indignation, he ordered part of the army to march to Chapelle, half-way to Saint Denis, which was the prince of Condé's head quarters. Having detached five hundred picked cavalry to harafs the enemy for a day and a night, early on the tenth of November he began to move his whole force from the capital. As he paſſed through the gate, turning to thoſe around him, "This day"—ſaid he—"ſhall acquit me from the de-"tractions of my enemies, and the calumny of the vulgar; for either I ſhall return "alive and victorious, or meet death in a field revengeful and bloody to the king's "foes[55]."

Unalarmed at the great ſuperiority of the royaliſts, the prince of Condé reſolutely determined to meet them in the field; the Proteſtant chiefs accordingly drew out their troops from their different poſts, choſe their ground in the plain of Saint Denis, and arranged their battalions with all the compoſure and intrepidity of men, about to engage in the moſt equal combat. The admiral from Saint Ouen formed on the right; Genlis, Lavordin, and de Vardes, from Aubervilliers, ranged their corps on the left; and the prince of Condé, with the main body from Saint Denis, compoſed the centre. The probability there was that the conſtable would direct his principal force againſt Aubervilliers, where the plain widened, induced them to run a trench along that quarter, till it joined a mill, which they filled with arquebuſiers; their left cloſing with the banks of the Seine, which could not be doubled by the enemy. In each of the three diviſions, the cavalry formed the van, and the foot, ſeparated into as many different bodies, were drawn up behind them. The conſtable, who moved ſlowly from the city, was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing them ranging their little army in order of battle[56]. The diſpoſition of his own army on the right, being calculated for the aſſault of Aubervilliers, the main body of the Swiſs, the flower of the French infantry, and all his cannon were placed there. The mareſchal de Coſſe and Biron, covered this diviſion, with their troops of horſe; while the mareſchal Montmorenci was advanced, with a large detachment of cavalry, before his centre, and

[55] D'Aubigné, liv. iv. chap. 9. [56] De Thou—Caſtelnau.

the

the reſt of the gens d'armes, together with the Pariſian regiment, and ſome muſqueteers, were ranged on the left wing. A body of reſerve, commanded by the duke d'Aumale, and Henry d'Amville, was formed in the rear. The action began on the right by the diſcharge of the conſtable's artillery. Genlis, finding his diviſion galled by the fire, ordered his lieutenant De Vardes to advance with a party, and charge the enemy. The repulſe of this briſk attack having brought moſt of the cavalry to the ſide of the trench, they were there ſaluted with a ſharp fire: at the ſame time Genlis opened his ranks, his foot advanced, and poured their ſhot on the enemy, while he again forming his line in order, proceeded with de Vardes to make a vigorous aſſault on the broken troops of the Catholics. The admiral perceiving that the action on the right had become general, put the troops in motion, and having apprized the prince of Condé of his intention, began to engage the enemy in the ſame manner as Genlis had done, by advancing his foot before his cavalry. By the regular fire the line of infantry made, and the impetuous charge which followed it, the troops on the left of the enemy were broken, and their horſe wheeling on the regiment of Paris, a general confuſion, approaching to a total rout, enſued. Immediately after this the prince of Condé puſhed forward with his diviſion to attack the conſtable's centre, which on the left lay open and expoſed. He alſo marched his foot before him: but, as he advanced, the mareſchal Montmorenci obſerving his aim, made a wheel to fall on the flank of his ſquadron. The prince, leaving his foot, and part of his line, to encounter the mareſchal, ruſhed, with great impetuoſity, on the gendarmerie of the centre. Diſorder already begun there, by the rout of the left wing, facilitated the impreſſion of the charge. In a few minutes the main body gave way. The old conſtable, deſerted by his troops, and wounded in the face, was ſeen exerting his utmoſt efforts for rallying the fugitives. Diſdaining to ſurrender, when required by Robert Stuart (the Scotchman who had been accuſed of aſſaſſinating the preſident Minart) and reſiſting, with a vigour of body and ſpirit uncommon at his age, he daſhed the pommel of his ſword, which was broken, in his adverſary's face, and knocked out ſeveral of his teeth: when a piſtol-ſhot from behind pierced him in the reins, and ſoon after he fell to the ground. At no great diſtance, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the prince of Condé's horſe being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty he could be extricated from the danger which threatened him[57]. The mareſchal Montmorenci had, by this time, not only routed the detachment ſent againſt him, but, ſome troops of the left wing that were not broken rallying about him, he had already made a conſiderable impreſſion on the admiral's ſquadron. D'Aumale and d'Amville, who had not engaged, being aſſured that the Swiſs on the right ſtill kept their ground, and that the mareſchal Montmorenci was victorious, haſtened to advance their body of reſerve from the rear. But while the hurry on the one ſide to reſcue the conſtable, and on the other the attention to recover and remount the prince of Condé, ſuſpended the

57 Brantôme—D'Aubigné—D'Avila.

renewal of the combat, the approach of night put an end to the conflict. The prince drew off his troops to Saint Denis, and the mareſchal Montmorenci was only anxious to ſave the life of his father, who recovering his ſenſes, aſked why the victory was not aſcertained by the purſuit of the enemy. "I die," ſaid he, to his friend Sanſac, "but "could I have contrived or wiſhed a fairer death, or a funeral in a nobler tomb? Tell "my king, and the queen, that I have found at laſt, in this day's wounds, the happy "and laudable exit I ſo often ſought for under his royal father and grandſire." It was with the greateſt difficulty he could be prevailed on to ſuffer himſelf to be conveyed to Paris, where, ſtretched on the bed of death, he made this memorable reply to a prieſt who fatigued him with his exhortations—"Do you think that I have lived near eighty "years in the world without learning how to die[58]?" He expired the ſecond day after the battle.

Not more than three or four hundred men on either ſide periſhed in the action, which may juſtly be termed a drawn battle; but the Proteſtants experienced the greateſt loſs, on account of the number of their officers who were killed: the Catholics loſt forty gentlemen, none of whom, however, were of diſtinguiſhed rank, except the count de Chaune. Beſides the ſlaughter of fifty of the Proteſtant nobility, the fall of the count of Saux, the vidame of Amiens, and ſeveral others of eminent fame and dignity, conſiderably aggravated the loſs of the Hugonots. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops was witneſſed by the Ottoman ambaſſador, who had taken his ſtation with ſome of the courtiers in an adjacent tower: his ſurprize was teſtified by exclaiming—"If my maſter had only two thouſand of theſe white ſcarfs to place at the head "of his different armies, the univerſe would not ſtand againſt him for two years."

D'Andelot and Montgomery having refitted ſome pontoons on the Seine, and joined the army on the night after the battle, the Hugonots again dared their enemies to meet them in the field: their defiance not being accepted, the prince of Condé inſulted the capital, by beating off the out-guards, ſetting fire to ſome mills, and extending his incurſions into the very ſuburbs of Paris. Having received information that duke Caſimir, ſon to the elector palatine, was on his way to join him, with a ſtrong reinforcement from Germany, the Proteſtant confederates were no longer at a loſs whither to direct their courſe. Though during the blockade of Paris[59], La Noue, by a rare inſtance of valour and conduct, had, with ſcarce a troop of ſoldiers, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orleans, and even reduced the citadel: though the city of Rochelle had, by the election of Truchart to the mayoralty, been ſecured to the prince of Condé, and a conſiderable body of forces, under the chieftains Saint Cire, Soubiſe, Pluviaut, and Saint Martine had advanced from Guienne and Saintonge into Poitou, and, having taken Dorat and

[58] Le Gendre, tom. iii. p. 44. [59] D'Aubigné.

Luzignan,

Luzignan, threatened the capital of the province, yet the great ſuperiority of the Catholics in the numbers and appointment of their main army, and their power of obſtructing the progreſs of thoſe provincial reinforcements, were ſufficient to have created a pauſe in the preſent counſels and operations of the Proteſtant leaders. After ſome days repoſe in their quarters near Paris, they turned off to Montereau-fant-Yonne, whence they meant to proceed towards the confines of Lorraine. The prince of Condé led the van with his main battle, the admiral followed with the left wing; and D'Andelot, with all the muſqueteers they could mount on horſeback, covered the flanks and foraged for the army; De Moui, having the command of the light cavalry, cloſed the rear. After encountering various difficulties, and eſcaping from an attack of the royaliſts, on the ſeventeenth of December, at Sarri near Châlons, the prince of Condé was ſo fortunate as to accompliſh the object of his expedition, by effecting a junction with the German forces.

On the death of Montmorenci, the duke of Anjou was, at the inſtigation of Catharine of Medicis, appointed to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, notwithſtanding the repugnance of Charles to ſuch a promotion, who was heard to ſay, "I am able "enough to bear myſelf the conſtable's ſword, and have no occaſion to appoint a "younger lieutenant to command my armies." A change of the principal commanders in the army, agreeably to the wiſhes of the queen, was the immediate conſequence of the duke of Anjou's promotion: from the appointment of the mareſchals de Coſſe and de Tavannes, to be his chief counſellors in war, and the pretenſions of the duke of Montpenſier, as a prince of the blood, to have the precedency in the field next the general, the mareſchal Montmorenci, and his brother D'Amville, deemed themſelves excluded from their rank, and even the duke of Aumale conceived ſome ſecret diſſatisfaction.

A. D. 1568.] The flames of civil war were ſpeedily enkindled throughout the different provinces of the kingdom, where continual ſkirmiſhes took place between the Catholic and Proteſtant chieftains: towns were reduced and detachments defeated on either ſide, but no conqueſt of importance was either atchieved or attempted, until the prince of Condé, on the twenty-firſt of February, inveſted the town of Chartres, which was vigorouſly defended by the chevalier-de Linieres, with a garriſon of four thouſand men. After ſome ineffectual attempts to open a breach, the enterprize of turning off the river near D'Eure, was undertaken and executed by the Hugonots. The ſuſpenſion of the corn-mills, which enſued from thence, and the ſcarcity of other proviſions, would ſoon have reduced the city to the neceſſity of capitulating; but while Linieres, by his courage and conduct, protracted the defence of the place, a treaty of peace was on the twentieth of March concluded with the royal commiſſioners, by the cardinal of Châtillon, at Longjumeau. Upon the point of religion, the articles were reduced to a general head, that of the full reſtoration of the laſt edict of pacification ſigned at Amboiſe, without the reſtrictions afterwards annexed to it. The king being of age, there was no reference

ence made to his future will and pleaſure, but the edict was declared to be ratified until it ſhould pleaſe God to unite France in the bond of one religion [60]. The moſt ſpeedy promulgation of the articles by the parliaments, and their punctual execution, were ſtipulated by the court. It was agreed that all the foreign troops ſhould be forthwith diſmiſſed; thoſe of duke Caſimir, as well as others, being paid their arrears, and contract money by the king; part of which was to be reimburſed by the Proteſtants [61]. Such was the termination of the ſecond civil war, and of that treaty, which was called the *little peace*, from its ſhort duration.

Scarce three months had elapſed from the concluſion of this treaty, before an evident diſpoſition in the court to renew the war was evinced: each party accuſed the other of having violated the treaty, and, indeed, it is highly probable that the complaints of both were well-founded; for though a ceſſation of arms had taken place, a natural miſtruſt and animoſity ſtill continued to obtain; many of the towns refuſed to receive the king's troops; while Charles inſiſted on levying the three hundred thouſand crowns, which the Proteſtants had conſented to reimburſe him, on their leaders alone, whom it was his aim to impoveriſh: this circumſtance, concurring with the pope's bull for enabling the king to levy a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns (by a partial alienation of the church revenue) for the extirpation of heretics in France, left no doubt of the hoſtile intentions of the court: Catharine, who delighted in exertions of fraud and diſſimulation, laid a plan for ſeizing the perſon of the prince of Condé and the admiral, who had retired to their reſpective ſeats; by the generous probity of the chancellor, and the military honour of the mareſchal de Tavannes, they were warned of their danger, and adviſed to accelerate their eſcape. In the midſt of the enemy's troops, to gain a place of ſafety was a point not eaſy of accompliſhment. From a tender regard for the protection of their wives and children, the expedition of the chiefs was retarded. The princeſs of Condé, big with child, and followed by an infant family, and the wives of the admiral and D'Andelot, attended by their train of children, became an inſeparable part of the convoy. Encompaſſed by a body of one hundred and fifty horſe, they bent their courſe towards the Loire, which, by the accident of an uncommon drought in ſummer, was found fordable near Sancerre. They had ſcarcely paſſed it, and endeavoured to ſecure their rear by poſting a party commanded by Bois on the banks of the river, when Martinengues came up and attacked this feeble ſquadron, who were obliged to fly into the fortreſs of Boni, where they ſoon ſurrendered. A ſudden ſwell of the river, regarded as providential by thoſe who felt the advantage of it, concurred to prevent all immediate purſuit; and, on the nineteenth of September, having been previouſly joined by great numbers of their adherents, who flocked to them from all quarters, the Proteſtant chiefs entered the city of Rochelle, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

[60] De Thou—D'Avila. [61] Caſtelnau.

By

By the ſpeedy arrival of the queen of Navarre, with her infant ſon Henry, the foundation of a firmer aſſociation of the blood royal ſeemed to be laid, and the Proteſtants prepared for war with more than uſual confidence. Meantime the chancellor de l'Hôpital, too virtuous for a corrupt adminiſtration, was diſmiſſed from his office, and the ſeals were beſtowed on Morvilliers, biſhop of Orleans, a bigotted Catholic. A declaration was now publiſhed by the court, offering the king's protection to the Proteſtants, and a redreſs of grievances, if they would return peaceably home; but two rigid edicts appeared immediately after (on the firſt of October) in direct contradiction to thoſe moderate profeſſions. In one of them, which was declared to be perpetual, the religion of the Proteſtants was capitally proſcribed, and all their miniſters, under penalty of death and confiſcation, were required to quit the kingdom in fourteen days. In another, all who profeſſed any other religion than the Catholic were deprived of their rank, charge and offices in the kingdom. Theſe edicts were regiſtered with extravagant ſymptoms of joy, and a voluntary ratification of them, by a new-invented oath, was ſubjoined.

Henry, duke of Anjou, was now employed in preparing his army to march into Saintonge, where that of the Proteſtants, which, after the acceſſion of Henry of Navarre to it, was called the army of the princes, had conſiderably encreaſed in number and ſtrength. D'Andelot, in his march to join the princes, ſeized Parthenay: Niort ſurrendered to his brother, the admiral; and Fontenai, taken by capitulation, added to their conqueſts[62]. The ſurprize and reduction of ſeveral other places gave them, with exception of the capital of Luſignan, the entire dominion of Poitou. On the ſame plan of extending and fortifying their quarters in the country adjacent to Rochelle, the main body of the army was led by another route to the Angoumois, the capital of which, well fortified, and defended by a garriſon, was reduced after a ſhort ſiege. Blas, a ſtrong fort on the Garonne, and St. Jean D'Angely, likewiſe ſurrendered. The duke of Montpenſier, reinforced by large detachments under Matignon, and the count of Briſſac, ſcarce made any attempt to interrupt their progreſs, till they were engaged in the ſiege of Pons, where the Catholic ſoldiers, who were expelled from ſeveral other towns, had rallied. Theſe early enterprizes were diſtinguiſhed by an exceſs of ferocity: ſurrenders at diſcretion, after reſiſtance, were marked, on ſome occaſions, with cruelty and ſlaughter; and the inferior officers were, with difficulty, compelled by their chiefs to obſerve the terms of capitulation. In an affair which concerned not only military diſcipline, but the preſervation of the firſt principles of humanity, in the midſt of the civil war, it is obſerved, that the admiral Coligni diſtinguiſhed himſelf by that indignation and juſt ſeverity againſt the offenders, which were ſuited to his character. On this head, an incident which occurred on the reduction of Augoulême is related[63]. Pluviaut, one of the chieftains, had, contrary to the terms of capitulation, ſeized ſome horſes belonging to the Catholic officers.

[62] D'Aubigné—De Thou. [63] De Thou—D'Aubigné.

ficers. The admiral, after demanding them to be delivered up, being incenſed at Pluviaut's attempt to juſtify his conduct, ſtruck him with his ſtaff of command, and was ſcarcely prevented, by the interference of the prince of Condé, from carrying his reſentment to a greater length. Pluviaut, who was a man of courage, being inſtigated by ſome of his friends to ſeek for vengeance, made this reply, "I bear every thing from my acknow-"ledged ſuperiors, but nothing from my adverſaries. By my behaviour I teach my "followers to underſtand what they owe to me." Pluviaut, it is ſaid, was more extolled for this anſwer, than for all his martial atchievements.

To correſpond with the ſcheme adopted in the chief council of war, by forming ſtanding battalions, and providing the ſoldiers with neceſſaries, for a diſtant and hazardous march, required extraordinary efforts of labour and conſtancy from the warriors in the different provinces. The levies made on this footing in Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc, and which compoſed what was called the army of the *provincials*, are very remarkable, on account of their number, and the expedition with which they were prepared[64]; enrolled and muſtered by the indefatigable induſtry of the warlike chieftains, Montbrun, Mouvans, and Pierre Gourdes, and commanded in chief by D'Acier, count de Cruſſol, they are computed to have amounted, with the followers of the camp, to more then twenty-three thouſand men. D'Acier's company alone conſiſted of two hundred gentlemen. The paſſage of the Rhone was a difficulty which the principal diviſion of this army had to ſurmount. De Gordes, the king's lieutenant in Dauphiné, had taken all meaſures poſſible, by guards and armed veſſels, to obſtruct it. Their numbers and induſtry prevailed. Mouvans, who brought up the laſt detachments, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by encountering a great part of the forces of de Gordes, and while he maintained ſkirmiſhes with them every day, he erected a large fort on the bank of the river, and defended it, until his troops, gradually, in one boat, were conveyed to the other ſide. His preſumption, however, and diſdain of D'Acier's orders, afterwards occaſioned a fatal blow to be given him and the party he commanded.

The body of troops, aſſembled under the duke of Montpenſier, finding no employment ſuited to their ſtrength, kept on the defenſive at Chatelleraud in Poitou; when the commanders received information of the arrival of the Provincials in the neighbouring county of Perigord. What was at firſt reported of thoſe troops being a tumultuary crowd, and not ſo conſiderable as they really were, either in number or diſcipline, induced Montpenſier to throw himſelf in their way. Approaching nearer to them, though he knew their numbers, he found information verify what he expected, that ſeveral of the detachments in which they marched did not always lodge in ſuch contiguity as to be capable of ſuccouring each other. It was even underſtood, that Mouvans, with his ſe-

[64] D'Aubigné—Addit. aux Mém. de Caſtelnau.

parate

parate body, appeared to chuſe his own route, and often outmarched D'Acier's main-battle, or deviated from the order he preſcribed. At this time Mouvans had made one of thoſe capricious digreſſions, and had taken up his quarters at Menſignac with about four thouſand foot, unfurniſhed with pikes and unprotected by cavalry. An attack was immediately concerted, part of which was directed againſt D'Acier, to embarraſs and amuſe him, while another diviſion was ordered to fall on Mouvans. D'Acier was no ſooner charged, than dreading the danger to which Mouvans might be expoſed, he ſent a courier to apprize him of his apprehenſions, and to order him to keep cloſe in his quarters. Perſuaded with difficulty by his friend Pierre Gourdes to obey this order, the latter ſuſtained and eaſily repulſed the count de Briſſac's aſſault on Menſignac with twelve hundred horſe. But this ſpirited officer deviſed a ſtratagem, which anſwered better than his open attack. He made ſhew of retreating to Perigeux; and no ſooner did Mouvans perceive the plain over which he intended to paſs clear of the enemy, than he reſolved, in ſpite of all argument or entreaty, to puſh forward toward Riberac, the place of rendezvous, which he inſiſted, might be effected with ſafety, by gaining an adjacent wood. Upon his advancing into the plain, however, he was ſoon ſurprized by the re-appearance of the enemy. A brave reſiſtance was, at firſt, made; but the combat of new-raiſed infantry, againſt the diſciplined troops of horſe, proved too unequal to be long maintained. A thouſand of Mouvans' troops periſhed in the field; and he, whoſe obſtinacy wrought their deſtruction, juſtly ſhared their fate. Pierre Gourdes alſo loſt his life on this occaſion. Above a thouſand more were ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the peaſants; while all that could effect their eſcape joined D'Acier. Elated with this ſucceſs, Montpenſier thought of converting his partial attack into a general action with the Proteſtant commanders; but he ſoon dropt his intention, and found it prudent to regain his former poſt; while D'Acier proceeded to join the prince of Condé at Aubeterre.

The duke of Anjou's army, augmented by the bands of the nobility, the Swiſs brigade, and a great train of artillery, now conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe. The princes, on their ſide, beſides the troops in garriſon, muſtered in the field to the number of eighteen thouſand infantry and three thouſand cavalry. Never before did the contending parties oppoſe each other with ſuch a formidable force, and appear ſo nearly matched. Though it was the middle of winter, both armies took the field. On the twenty-ninth of November their advanced guards approached each other, in the vicinity of Luſignan, and, by a ſingular accident, the camp-maſter on either ſide met at Pamprau to arrange their reſpective quarters. Both parties refuſed to quit the ground, though no advantage could be reaped by maintaining it: the reſpective leaders entered into the diſpute with great eagerneſs; Martigues was ſoon diſpatched with eight hundred horſe to ſupport the Catholics; while the two Colignis, with ſomewhat more than half the number, haſtened to oppoſe them. A party, ſent by the admiral to reconnoitre the enemy, precipitately engaged: ignorant of each other's ſtrength, the chiefs declined a general charge; and yet neither would retire. The admiral, firſt apprehend-

ing the riſque he run of being attacked by the whole van, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill in order of battle; and their appearance on the eminence, while a party of them ſkirmiſhed on the plain below, deceived Martigues in his opinion of their numbers, and induced him, under favour of the night, to ſecure his retreat. This rencounter was the prelude to the famous ſkirmiſh of Jazeneuil. The prince of Condé, to whom the admiral had ſent for aſſiſtance, diſappointed at the eſcape of Martigues, which he had endeavoured, by a forced march, to prevent, reſolved to attempt, the next day, an aſſault on the enemy's van-guard, ſtationed at Sanſay, a league from Jazeneuil. The ſky being obſcured by a thick ſtorm, his van and main-battle ſeparated on the road; the one, led by Coligni, arriving according to the courſe intended at the former of theſe places, and the other, conducted by himſelf, at the latter. The prince perceived his dangerous miſtake, but thought it neither prudent nor ſafe to retire in the front of the duke of Anjou's army. While he made the beſt diſpoſitions he could, to avoid a diſcovery of the abſence of his van-guard, various couriers were diſpatched to find Coligni, and to apprize him of his ſituation. On this occaſion the prince diſplayed the ſkill and addreſs of an able general: he availed himſelf of the advantages afforded him by the nature of the ground, and, by means of the ditches and banks, which fenced the vineyards, in a manner entrenched his infantry, whoſe fire flanked the Catholic troops, as they advanced to the encounter. While the duke of Anjou plied all his artillery to diſcomfit the charge of the light-horſe, and filled the plain with clouds of ſmoke, the prince of Condé, at a convenient paſs between two riſing grounds where a conſiderable body of his troops were left, had drawn a ditch acroſs the high-way, behind which the reſt gradually retired from the hedge-fights and ſkirmiſhes in the plain. By the aid of four-field pieces he maintained this poſt againſt all the efforts made by the enemy. But the ill-choſen camp of the Catholics contributed to the ſucceſs of this enterprize. Their army, ſtraitened in its poſition, was incapable of acting, and, as the generals afterwards agreed, expoſed at Jazeneuil to a total defeat. When the admiral, on the other hand, heard the continual volleys of the cannon, he gueſſed at the prince's ſituation, and quitting a certain victory over the advanced guard at Sanſay, which was the original object of the enterprize, he haſtened to his relief, though he did not arrive till the danger was paſt. After this ſkirmiſh, in which the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, the duke of Anjou moved to Poitiers, and the prince of Condé to Mirebeau.

Some ſkirmiſhes afterwards occurred between the rival armies, but the extreme rigour of the ſeaſon at length compelled them to put their troops into cantonments, after loſing, each of them, four thouſand men, chiefly from the inclemency of the weather[65]. The winter was paſſed in preparation for opening, with additional vigour, the enſuing campaign: the Proteſtants were openly encouraged and aſſiſted by the queen of England

[65] De Thou, lib. xliii. p. 878.

and

and many of the German princes, while the perfidious Catharine ſought to avert the threatening ſtorm by new negociations; the propoſals for which were rejected with diſdain.

A. D. 1569.] Nothing of importance was attempted during the winter, by the provincial chieftains, who were ſeparated from the main armies, except the ſiege of Sancerre, by a Catholic party, under Martigues, and that of the abbey of Saint-Michael, by a body of Proteſtant ſoldiers. In the firſt, three hundred Calviniſts, ill-provided with arms or ammunition, and having only Joanneau, an advocate, for their captain, defended themſelves, for near ſix weeks, againſt a body of three thouſand foot, and a troop of horſe, under the command of Martigues, and other experienced warriors, who battered the walls with light pieces of cannon. Nine hundred of the Catholics were killed, and, after various aſſaults, the ſiege was raiſed. In the abbey, which was a fort of very antique ſtructure, Chateaupers, a monk, in the abſence of the prior, took upon him the defence of the ſacred walls; and, with the aſſiſtance of his fraternity, and two or three hundred Catholic refugees, who had depoſited their beſt effects in the monaſtery, ſtrove to rival the memorable obſtinacy of the calviniſts of Sancerre. The marſhy grounds, impaſſable to cannon, gave him an advantage in reſiſting the attacks of a detachment of the Proteſtants, equal to the enterprize. When, after ſeveral bloody rencounters, ſome culverins, tranſported by the ſea-coaſt, were brought to bear on the towers, and all farther defence was vain, a confidence in the aid of St. Michael, founded on a traditional faith, ſtill animated the courageous votaries to withſtand the laſt ſummons to ſurrender, or expect the aſſault without mercy. A barbarous carnage enſued, without regard to age or ſex, and the cells were floated with blood.

At the opening of the campaign, the duke of Anjou, having received an expected reinforcement of two thouſand Rheiters, and a ſtrong body of troops from Provence, was reſolved, if poſſible, to bring the enemy to action; while the prince of Condé, on the contrary, whoſe reinforcement was not yet arrived, determined to avoid an engagement. The Proteſtants directed their march along the banks of the river Charente, which the Catholics, notwithſtanding their utmoſt precautions, found means to paſs unobſerved in the night of the twelfth of March. There was no diſcovery made of their motions till La Noue, before ſun-riſe, on the thirteenth, making the round of the different poſts with fifty horſe, perceived the blue ſtandard of Martigues waving in the midſt of a ſquadron, which advanced towards him. By his retreat on full gallop, the admiral was ſoon informed of the enemy's approach. The paſs of a rivulet was immediately ſecured, and the different detachments received orders to haſten to their rendezvous at Baſſac[66]. As Martigues could not, without farther ſupport, venture to puſh beyond the brook, and the ſafe paſſage of it required conſiderable force and caution, there was

[66] Caſtelnau.

ſtill ſufficient time to make an orderly retreat with the van. But full three hours paſſed before the captains Montgomery, Pluviaut and others, could draw together their ſtraggled detachments of horſe, which had been previouſly ſtationed in the vicinity of Chateau-Neuf. La Noue, meanwhile, bravely maintaining, with ſome troops of cavalry, the vigorous charge of the count de Briſſac and Martigues, who ſtrove to encompaſs him, was obliged to yield his defence of the rivulet, and, overpowered with numbers, before he could reach Baſſac, was thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. His ſoldiers, driven towards the village, were rallied by D'Andelot, who, with undaunted courage, advanced to the charge. This daring commander, after this ſhort exhortation to his men—"*Act now as I do.*"—was ſeen, immediately on cloſing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monſalez's helmet with one hand, and with the other to diſcharge a piſtol in his face, which laid him dead on the ground. By his bravery, Martigues was driven out of Baſſac with conſiderable loſs, and an opportunity given to the admiral to range the remainder of the van, when compelled to evacuate the village, in an advantageous ground behind it.

As not only Montpenſier, with the whole left wing of the Catholic army, but alſo de Tavannes, with the German Rheiters, was on the point of charging the admiral, matters were brought to a critical and dangerous extremity, in which the reſolution to ſacrifice a part of his troops, in order to ſave the reſt, hardly afforded the proſpect of eſcaping. It was then a courier was diſpatched to the prince of Condé, with intelligence of the ſituation of the van. That gallant commander, unuſed to linger when ſummoned to the field, and undiſmayed by danger when honour called for his exertions, took the brave and unfortunate reſolution of haſtening to the aſſiſtance of the admiral, with a choice body of cavalry, while the remainder of his army had orders to follow him, with all poſſible expedition. This reinforcement only conſiſted of ſeven troops of horſe, amounting in the whole to about three hundred and fifty men. As they drew up around him, and were told what he expected from the valour of men whom he conſidered as the flower of his army, the duke of Rochefoucaud's horſe reared, and fractured the bone of the prince's leg. Superior to pain, with an undaunted countenance, ſuffuſed only with the glow of courage—"Remember," ſaid he, "nobility of France, that Lewis of Bourbon "this day verifies his motto, and eſteems the condition in which he now goes to en-"counter the enemy for the ſake of his religion, of you, and of France, a circumſtance "not unfavourable to his renown." In diſpoſing his troops to the beſt advantage, in fighting with the moſt heroic courage, the prince diſplayed the moſt eſſential qualities of a ſoldier and a general. To give a minute deſcription of a battle, of which no previous plan had been formed on either ſide, would be ſuperfluous: to confirm the obſervation that has been often juſtly made, that the accounts of eye-witneſſes and commanders themſelves, of what paſſes in the heat of the action, cannot altogether be depended on; father Daniel remarks[67], that the memoirs of Tavannes, and thoſe of Caſtelnau,

[67] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 902.

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Singleton del.t Jones Sculp.

The Death of the Prince of Condé.

Publish'd as the Act directs. by C. Lowndes. Sep.r 22. 1792.

who were both preſent in the battle, diſagree in ſome material points. The general account given by the latter of thoſe authors, is adopted by moſt of the hiſtorians. After a charge by the prince of Condé, that exceeded any of the former inſtances of reſolution, and by which Montpenſier's van was repulſed, he was attacked on the flank by the duke of Anjou's main body, ſupported by de Tavannes and the Rheiters, which overwhelmed his ſlender battalion. Valour alone prolonged the reſiſtance, till the prince, thrown from his horſe, which was wounded, and able only to raiſe himſelf upon one knee from the ground, ſurrendered himſelf to D'Argens, to whom he delivered his ſword. Being placed under a tree, Monteſquieu, captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiſs guard, coming up, and being told who he was, ſhot him through the head with a piſtol. The infamy of this brutal aſſaſſination, which was generally abhorred in the Catholic army, was not ſolely confined to the perſon who committed it[68]. Brantôme acknowledges that the duke of Anjou's intimates had encouragement to believe, that ſuch a ſacrifice would not diſpleaſe him; and ſo far from concealing his ſatisfaction, he is ſaid, upon hearing Cloud de Saintes' panegyric on his victory, (from which, by the bye, he could derive neither honour nor credit) to have entertained the deſign of erecting a chapel on the ſpot in which the prince of Condé was murdered; but the prudent intelligence of his governor, Carnavalet, prevented him from raiſing ſuch a monument of his own infamy. Robert Stuart, the Scottiſh captain, was alſo killed in cool blood, by Honorat de Savoy, marquis of Villars. The body of the prince of Condé, thrown on an aſs, was carried to the caſtle of Jarnac, and after being expoſed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to his nephew, who interred it with thoſe of his anceſtors at Vendôme[69].

Though the battle of Jarnac laſted ſix hours, only four hundred Proteſtants periſhed on the part of the vanquiſhed, but a fourth part of theſe were gentlemen. If, in obedience to the orders they had received, the main body of the Proteſtants had marched up to the field, they would inevitably have been involved in the defeat. But D'Acier, who commanded the infantry, having advanced to the village of Jarnac, and learned from the fugitives how things were ſituated, judged it proper to proceed no farther, and, having broken down the bridge, made a ſafe retreat to Cognac. A conſiderable part of the cavalry, by the ſame means, gained Saintes. The admiral and his brother, with a reſolute band, taking an oppoſite courſe, made their way to Saint Jean D'Angeli.

It might now have been expected, that the loſs of that chief, whoſe name and quality, joined to his approved integrity and reſolution, upheld the reputation of their cauſe and intereſt, both at home and abroad, would prove a fatal blow to the Proteſtants. But the ſame miſtaken policy of the court, which had alienated the prince of Condé from it,

[68] Elogo de Condé. [69] Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 344.

ſtill

ſtill contributed to divide the blood-royal of France, and place the branches of it in oppoſition to each other. The queen of Navarre, with inherent ideas of her independence, and a maſculine vigour of ſpirit, had reluctantly borne, and ſometimes oppoſed, the decrees and eſtabliſhments preſcribed by the king, with reſpect to the religion of her vaſſals. Expoſed to various diſguſts, from the pride and jealouſy of the queen-mother, and to the prevailing faction of the court, ſhe had quitted it with the view of educating her ſon in her own religion, and training him in a manner different from the uſual habits of a courtier. The perfidious attempt to ſeize the perſon of the prince of Condé had rouzed her reſentment; and the letters which ſhe wrote on that occaſion to the queen-mother and the royal family, as well as her expoſtulatory epiſtle to the cardinal of Bourbon, afford ſpecimens both of her political and literary endowments. The moment ſhe was informed of the event of the battle of Jarnac, ſhe haſtened to Cognac, with the two Henry's, her ſon, and the young Condé, the one fifteen years of age, the other ſixteen. Her introduction, ſoon after, at Tonnay Charente, to an aſſembly of the Proteſtant chiefs, her affecting and animating ſpeech to a muſter of the officers and troops appointed in the city, and the tender ſhe made of the two youthful princes to ſucceed to the title and authority of their principal head, ſhewed at once her ardour to ſupport the intereſt of her family, and her knowledge of the diſpoſition of the admiral, and the other commanders, to concur with her wiſhes. An oath of fidelity to the prince of Bearn being taken by the troops at hand, and Saint Jean D'Angeli pitched upon for their retreat, and the ſecurity of their perſons, the councils of war proceeded with little difficulty or interruption. Montgomery was detached to Angoulême, with ſeven troops of horſe; while Piles, who brought a ſmall reinforcement from Perigord, received orders to throw himſelf into Saintes. The duke of Anjou, as was expected, made an attack upon Cognac, in the hope of cruſhing the remaining part of the Proteſtant army, by one ſucceſsful ſtroke; but D'Acier, who commanded in the place, with eight thouſand foot, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege in four days. The duke then entered the Perigord, and reduced ſome trifling places with the loſs of ſeveral of his beſt officers. At the ſiege of Mucidan, the gallant count de Briſſac was killed. On the other ſide, after many hazards in the field, various encounters ſuſtained, and military toils undergone, the brave D'Andelot, juſtly deemed one of the firſt commanders of the age, whoſe intrepidity had gained him the ſurname of *The Fearleſs*, was carried off by an epidemical fever at Saintes.

The hopes of the Proteſtants were revived by the arrival of Wolfang of Bavaria, duke of Deux-Ponts, with a formidable army of German auxiliaries, amounting to ſeven thouſand ſix hundred Rheiters, and ſix thouſand Lanſquenets; who marching through the heart of France reduced the town of La Charité on the Loire, and effected a junction with the forces of the princes on the banks of the Vienne, to the great diſgrace of the Catholic army, which had been recently reinforced by two thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred Rheiters, ſent from Flanders by the duke of Alva. The duke of Deux-Ponts died on the eleventh of June, the day before this junction took place, of a quartan ague

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at Chaſtus; having previouſly appointed Volrad, count of Mansfeld, to the chief command of his troops, and exhorted the German officers to perform with fidelity the ſervice expected of them. To the encomiums beſtowed on their military proweſs, and the ſurprizing conduct of their march, the admiral added various preſents of chains of gold, and medals, engraved with the queen of Navarre's and her ſon's effigies, and the Latin inſcription—*Pax certa, Victoria integra, aut Mors honeſta* [70].

Though the royaliſts, independent of the reinforcement we have already noticed, had received, from the pope, a body of five thouſand Italian foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the count of Sanctafiore, it was determined, in a council of war, that the duke of Anjou ſhould remain on the defenſive. With this view he pitched his camp at La Roche-la-belle, near Saint Irier in the Limouſin, where he formed ſuch entrenchments, as, joined to the natural ſtrength of his ſituation, might well be deemed inacceſſible by a ſuperior force. A deep valley near a riſing ground, encompaſſed with marſhes, ſupplying on one ſide the place of artificial lines of defence, the greateſt part of the artillery was placed there, under the cuſtody of the Swiſs battallions. All the troops were protected by the circumvallation, except two regiments of foot, which choſe to take their ſtation on the outſide of the marſh, on ground fenced only by hedges and trees. Againſt theſe regiments the admiral, who had unexpectedly approached the camp, directed his attacks, and thereby occaſioned the combat of La Roche-la-belle, (on the twenty-fourth of June) which was reckoned among the moſt ſignal ſkirmiſhes in the civil wars. Begun by the brave Piles, who threw himſelf, with ſome light troops, into the midſt of the enemy's infantry, and ſuſtained, on the other ſide, by Strozzi, who then firſt acted as general of the French foot, the conflict ſoon became vigorous and of doubtful iſſue. A ſpectacle to the two armies, who beheld the valour of the combatants, and balanced their ſtrength by alternate ſucceſſes; pride and obſtinacy urged and prolonged the bloody conteſt. Strozzi's indignation, excited by the French ſoldiers, who could not help repeating the name of their favourite commander, the count of Briſſac, led him to over-act his part. By running headlong into danger, he expoſed his party to an entire defeat, and himſelf to fall into the hands of the enemy. Four hundred Catholic ſoldiers, and no leſs than two-and-twenty of their officers ſlain on the field, ſhewed the advantage their antagoniſts had gained, and the little quarter that had been given. Fluſhed with this victory, the Proteſtant ſoldiers puſhed forward, and expoſed themſelves to the fire of the artillery, until the admiral reſtrained their impetuoſity, and recalled them from the dangerous attempt. Their loſs did not exceed fifty men.

The count of Montgomery was now detached, with a ſmall body of forces, to effect the reduction of Bearn, which had been ſeized by the count of Terride, the king's go-

[70] A certain peace, a deciſive victory, or an honourable death.

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vernor of Quercy; and he fulfilled his commiſſion with ſuch intrepidity and addreſs, as greatly enhanced his military fame. Pluviaut's activity and proweſs, which ſaved Niort, when beſieged by the Catholics, were equally conſpicuous and memorable. "Behold your colours,"—ſaid he to his ſoldiers, pointing to the two ſteeples of the beſieged town, when he marched up to throw ſuccours into it—"to them we muſt reſort "in life and honour." Lamed and half-dead with the wounds he received, he refuſed to hear of any capitulation, but ordered himſelf to be carried to the breach, that he might die on the ſpot, or behold the repulſe of the enemy. Equally ſucceſsful was the baron de Guerchy in defending La Charité, which was beſieged by the count of Sanſac with ſeven thouſand men.

The ſiege of Poitiers was the firſt enterprize of importance attempted by the main army of the Proteſtants, after the battle of Jarnac; but the young duke of Guiſe, emulous of his father's fame, threw himſelf into the town, and by his reſolute conduct inſpirited the garriſon to an obſtinate and ſucceſsful defence. After loſing two thouſand men before the place, by wounds and an epidemical diſorder, the admiral drew off his troops, and compelled the duke of Anjou to raiſe the ſiege of Chatelleraud, which he had recently formed. Conſcious, however, of the ſuperiority of the enemy's forces, he was ſtudious to ſhun a deciſive engagement; but the two armies meeting, on the thirtieth of September, at a ſhort diſtance from the ſmall town of Montcontour, his deſign was defeated by the impatient and uneaſy temper of his own troops [71].

Already had Coligni, with his vanguard, reached Saint Cler, within two leagues of Montcontour, and the chieftains La Noue and La Loue, detached with ſeven troops of horſe and a party of foot, had taken poſſeſſion of that village, when the duke of Montpenſier, commander of the Catholic van, informed that La Noue, who brought up the admiral's rear with two hundred cavalry, and about the ſame number of muſqueteers, marched ſlowly, and without apprehenſions of an attack, redoubled his pace to fall upon him. La Noue, contrary to his uſual diligence, had both deceived himſelf with reſpect to the diſtance of the enemy, and miſinformed the admiral, who had charged him with the buſineſs of intelligence. Confident of the certainty of the report he had made, that there were only ſome flying parties of the enemy at hand, he received the firſt charge of Montpenſier's troops as if he had been wholly a match for them, and boldly ſtood his ground, till Martigues came up, and cut off a fourth of his party, and put the reſt to flight. At this inſtant the two main diviſions of the admiral's troops, having croſſed a part of the plain, or moor, that led to Montcontour, were ſtricken with ſurprize, and confounded at the rout of the rear, which brought the firſt intelligence that the Catholic van was cloſe behind, purſuing the blow already given. In order to draw up the troops in proper order,

[71] De Thou, lib. xliv. p. 914.

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it was neceſſary to paſs a brook which lay before them, bordered with a defile; and this could not be done without encreaſing the confuſion and diſorder. But the duke of Montpenſier neglecting to puſh his advantage with ſpirit and reſolution, allowed the admiral time to form his van on the other ſide, and recover the conſternation into which his troops were viſibly thrown. One error generated another. Montpenſier's irreſolution was miſtaken for weakneſs, and it was preſumed that he had not ſtrength enough to reſiſt an attack, if urged with vigour. Under this perſuaſion the rivulet was repaſſed by the Proteſtants, and the enemy aſſaulted. In the firſt charge, which was well ſuſtained, a conſiderable repulſe was given to Martigues; but the duke of Montpenſier being reinforced by the freſh troops of the main battle, the retreat became difficult and perilous. The previous diſpoſition concerted on the bank, in caſe of a diſaſter, prevented the ſlaughter of the troops, but did not hinder their confuſion. Clermont D'Amboiſe, unrecovered from ſickneſs, and without his armour, and with only twenty horſe, diſtinguiſhed his valour, by defending a paſs of the rivulet for a conſiderable ſpace of time, againſt a great body of the Catholics. The action was now changed into a cannonade by the latter, which galled the German Rheiters, who kept their poſt on the bank. When their attempts to force a paſſage failed, and the fire of the cannon ceaſed, the admiral, under favour of the night, drew off his troops, and encamped between the rivulet and the Dive; thence he next day extended his quarters to Montcontour and the adjacent villages, where he was covered by the Dive, a narrow river, but not every where fordable. Such were the previous movements and combats of the two armies in the interval of three days before the general engagement enſued.

The apparent advantage obtained by the Catholics tended to elevate the courage of their troops: and it is even affirmed, that private advice was ſent to the admiral, by ſome of his friends in the Catholic camp, to caution him againſt riſquing an action, under the preſent circumſtances [72]. The admiral himſelf, anxious to avoid an engagement, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to march before day-break to Ervaux, upon the river Thoue, whither the enemy, who muſt have made a circuit by the head of the Dive, could not have ſoon come up with him. But, at the rendezvous in the morning, ſome of the German corps became mutinous about their pay; and before the diſorder could be quelled, for which purpoſe the two young princes of Navarre and Condé exerted their utmoſt influence, the day advanced, and the duke of Anjou's army appeared. No alternative then remained: the order of battle was ſoon formed on both ſides, and, after a cannonade of ſome hours, the action commenced, on the third of October, 1569.

The two armies were drawn up in an open plain, deſtitute, on either ſide, of any natural advantages, and interſected only, at unequal diſtances, by a few eaſy declivities.

[72] D'Aubigné, lib. v. chap. 16.

The Catholics amounted to twenty-ſeven thouſand men; the Proteſtants to eighteen. The former appeared to derive confidence from the ſuperiority of their numbers, the latter from their hardy and determined courage. Compoſed to obedience and unanimity, and touched with the pathetic admonitions of the young princes, the German lanſquenets, according to their conſtant cuſtom, on the eve of battle, kneeled on the ground, and promiſed to fight and die like men of honour. Each of the armies was ranged in two great diviſions, but ſo diſpoſed, that they could all engage at the ſame time. The admiral's main battle, under count Naſſau, was rather advanced towards Ervaux, before the left wing, which he commanded himſelf, and which ſtood more directly oppoſed to the enemy, as if he had ſtill aimed at cutting ſhort the combat by a retreat. To his uſual practice of interlining his ſquadrons of horſe with ſome foot arquebuſiers, he added that of covering the flanks of the diviſions of the Rheiters, with a troop of French cavalry. The Germans, after their firſt rank had fired their long piſtols, uſed the method of wheeling to the rear, in order to charge them again, which expoſed them to be more eaſily thrown into diſorder by the enemy. The ſide-long line of French horſe, who ſtood firm, and fought chiefly with their lances and their ſwords, was a well-contrived remedy for this inconvenience. The troops, on both ſides, equalled the bravery of their ſeveral commanders. After the firſt charge, given by a part of the left wing of the Catholics, under the duke of Montpenſier, by which La Mouy's horſe were driven back on ſome of the infantry advanced before the admiral, the action on the left became general. The body of Catholic Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave, puſhed forward in the opening made, and endeavoured to break the line of foot. Coligni, who had ſent to count Naſſau for a ſquadron of Rheiters to oppoſe them, led on, in the mean time, ſome French arquebuſiers to the charge. The Rhingrave turned and faced him, and both of them advancing near thirty paces before their troops, diſcharged, at the ſame inſtant, their piſtols at each other. The admiral's jaw was ſhattered by the Rhingrave's ſhot, while his own laid his adverſary dead on the ground. Coligni concealed the hurt he had received, till being almoſt ſuffocated by the blood, he ſuffered himſelf to be led off the field. This accident did not prevent the total defeat of the Rheiters, which was accompliſhed by Volrad, count Mansfeld, at the head of his Germans. Nearly the whole of the left wing of the Catholics was thrown into confuſion, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of the duke of Aumale, and the marquis of Baden, who were detached from the main body to ſupport them. The troops of both theſe generals were routed by Mansfeld, and the latter of them was killed in the charge. As count Naſſau now advanced againſt the duke of Anjou, the battle became furious and bloody: the duke's horſe was wounded, his ſquadrons began to give way, and the Proteſtant troops repeated their ſhouts of victory. But the efforts of their courage, now ſtrained beyond their numbers and ſtrength, required that ſupport which the Catholics ſtill had in a body of reſerve. It was the arrival of the Swiſs, brought forward by the mareſchal de Coſſe, that changed the fate of the day. While three freſh regiments of the reſerve withſtood and repelled the thinned and drooping ſquadrons of the counts

Naſſau

Naſſau and Mansfeld, they moved in cloſe files to aſſault their hated rivals, the German Lanſquenets. The broken Rheiters, having rallied around them, firſt pierced the ranks of the Germans, when the Swiſs ruſhed in like a torrent, and completed their ruin. Here was the principal ſlaughter; of four thouſand Germans, not four hundred were ſpared by the mercileſs Swiſs, who continued to maſſacre them after they had thown down their arms. A ſimilar fate would have befallen a body of French infantry, that ſtood their ground beſide the lanſquenets, but for the timely interpoſition of the duke of Anjou, who, after ſome hundreds of them had been ſlain, called out, "Spare the "French." After ſeveral vain attempts made by the chief commanders of the Proteſtants to reanimate their ſcattered troops, and to renew the fight, they found themſelves compelled to provide for their own ſafety. While the fugitives fled to Parthenai and Niort, count Naſſau, having collected a body of three thouſand Rheiters, faced and repulſed the purſuers; then proceeded to Ervaux, where he croſſed the river Thoue. The admiral's prudence, in ſecuring, by ſome detachments, placed there before the battle, the paſſes of the defiles on that road, proved the ſafety of a conſiderable part of the routed army.

This was the only battle of the four they had now fought, in which the Proteſtants could be ſaid to have been completely vanquiſhed. By a moderate computation, near ſix thouſand of their ſoldiers periſhed in the field, beſides the havock made among the ſuttlers and followers of the camp, who were in arms. All the baggage-waggons of the Germans, which were numerous, and almoſt all the equipage of the infantry, fell into the hands of the victors. La Noue and D'Acier were among the priſoners. The one was with difficulty reſcued from ſlaughter in cold blood; and Sancta-Fiore was blamed by the pope for taking the other alive. About ſix hundred of the Catholic cavalry, chiefly Germans, were ſlain, and nearly as many wounded [73]; but they loſt few of their infantry.

It was the peculiar characteriſtic of Coligni's mind, that it ever acquired freſh fortitude in adverſity, and its ſpirit and ſagacity invariably encreaſed in proportion to the dangers it had to encounter. The parliament of Paris had recently publiſhed an arrêt, calculated to ſtimulate the hand of the aſſaſſin, by which they offered a compenſation of fifty thouſand crowns, to any man who ſhould produce the admiral, dead or alive [74]. Deſpiſing theſe ungenerous proceedings, Coligni was only intent on extricating his party from the difficulties in which their late defeat had involved them. He immediately ſent off diſpatches to England, to the Proteſtant princes of Germany, and to the Swiſs cantons, with a repreſentation of the iſſue of the battle, that leſſened the idea of the diſaſter of the Proteſtants, while it implied a want of aſſiſtance in their preſent cir-

73 Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 355. 74 D'Avila—D'Aubigné.

cumſtances. It was reſolved to garriſon the three towns of Niort, Angoulême, and Saint Jean D'Angeli; while the chief commanders, conducting the young princes, along with the remains of their army, directed their courſe to Rochelle.

The duke of Anjou advancing, with his victorious army, met with no oppoſition till he came to Niort, the defence of which was entruſted to La Mouy. That gallant officer exerted his uſual courage on this occaſion, but, on his return from a ſally, he received a mortal wound from the hand of an aſſaſſin, Louvriers Maurevel, who ſhot him in the reins with a piſtol, and eſcaped, on a horſe which Mouy had given him, to the Catholic camp. This blow had been deſigned for the admiral; but the wretch who undertook it having failed of his aim, endeavoured to make ſome amends for his diſappointment, by transferring it to La Mouy, eſteemed the next to Coligni in authority and intereſt among the Proteſtants. It occaſioned the ſurrender of Niort, and the death of that intrepid chieftain, who expired, ſoon after, at Rochelle, whither he had retired for his cure. Aggravated with the circumſtances of perfidious villainy and baſe ingratitude, the atrocious deed expoſed the public ſanction given to ſuch attempts, by the parliament's arrêt againſt the admiral, the count of Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres. The family of Guiſe, whoſe creature Maurevel was, acknowledged that, from motives of private vengeance againſt Coligni, they had inſtigated the aſſaſſin. It will afterwards appear, that the gratification of that revenge correſponded to the cabinet policy of the court, and that Maurevel was introduced to perform his part in the tragedy of Saint Bartholomew.

In the month of November the royaliſts came to the reſolution of beſieging the town of Saint Jean D'Angeli, and, in order to encourage the ſoldiers, the king made his appearance in the camp. Envious of his brother's military fame, Charles could not be hindered from ſhewing himſelf in the trenches, and from partaking of the labour and danger of the common ſoldiers. "With all my heart,"—ſaid he—"would I conſent, "that my brother and I ſhould reign by turns, and that he ſhould wear the crown for "ſix months in the year, while I took the command of the army." At Saint Jean D'Angeli the Catholics experienced a moſt daring reception: the town, the fortifications, and the garriſon were of moderate ſtrength[75], but the reſolution of the inhabitants, who were Calviniſts, the preſence of ſeveral valiant officers, and of Piles, who was chief commander, ſupplied the want of numbers and other defects. Though breaches were frequently made, yet the beſiegers gained no ground, for entrenchments, at which men and women laboured, continually roſe to baffle the aſſault. An honourable capitulation was at length propoſed, but Piles would hearken to no terms, till ſome aſſurances were given that a general treaty was on foot. That he might have an opportunity of

[75] D'Aubigné, liv. v. chap. 18.

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knowing the reſolution of the princes, with reſpect to peace or ſuccours, a truce for ten days was agreed on. In the night of its expiration, forty ſoldiers were introduced into the town, and Piles anſwered, to the demand of ſurrendering according to the conditions, that he was reinforced. The attacks were now renewed with additional fury: more than ſix weeks had elapſed, while the beſieged ſtill reſiſted, amidſt the ruins, and the Catholics ſeverely felt what their victory at laſt would coſt them, by the fall of Martigues from a ſhot, and the carnage of many of their beſt ſoldiers. When Piles and valour could do no more, of a garriſon which conſiſted of near two thouſand men, nine hundred marched out, with their arms, colours and baggage. By the terms of ſurrender, they were bound not to appear in arms for four months; but the Catholic ſoldiers, in ſpite of their officers, having plundered their baggage, Piles, when eſcorted to Angoulême, declared himſelf acquitted of the capitulation, and ſoon marched to join the princes. The ſiege protracted to December occaſioned diſeaſes and epidemical ſickneſs to ravage in the Catholic army; and when the town was reduced, the duke of Anjou found his loſs amounted to full ſix thouſand men. The troops immediately went into winter-quarters, and the duke of Anjou retired, with the court, to Angers.

As ſoon as the ſiege of St. Jean D'Angeli was begun, the admiral had marched with expedition from Saintes into Quercy, paſſed the Dardonne, and placed himſelf in a poſition to co-operate with the advancement of the count of Montgomery, from Bearn, on the other ſide of the Garonne, to join him [76]. By the ſeizure of Aiguillon at the confluence of the Lot with this laſt river, and the poſſeſſion of Pont St. Marie upon it, he not only defied and bridled the excurſions of the enemy from the confines of Guienne and Languedoc, but having, by his previous march to Montauban, firſt compelled the mareſchal D'Amville to raiſe the ſiege of Mazeres, and then forced Montluc to ſhut himſelf up in Agen, he began, and, in a ſhort time, completed the conſtruction of a large bridge of boats, over the Garonne. It was ſecured by piles and chains, and rendered paſſable to cavalry. But the troops, under Montgomery, laden with the ſpoils of the Catholics in Bearn, advanced ſo ſlowly, that the bridge, by the contrivance of a mechanic, was deſtroyed before their arrival. After Montgomery appeared, ſo much time was loſt in ferrying over his troops, that the admiral ſaw it neceſſary to drop his deſign on Guienne, and turn back towards Montauban, in order to penetrate through Languedoc.

Meanwhile an attempt was made, by a ſtrong detachment of royaliſts, to blockade Rochelle, which produced innumerable ſkirmiſhes. The honour of defeating this project was due to the gallant chieftain La Noue, who, after various atchievements in which he ſignalized his ſkill and courage, marched to beſiege a fort, lately erected to cover Luçon, and cut off the communication of Rochelle with that quarter of Poitou. Puy-Gaillard,

[76] De Thou.

flushed with some recent advantages, and eagerly wishing for such an opportunity to fall on the main body of the Protestants, had formed the scheme of surprizing them on their march. But La Noue discovered his designs, and turned them to his ruin. His little army, composed of several old battalions, and the flower of various garrisons, amounting to full six thousand men, was totally vanquished, with the slaughter of five hundred men and the captivity of a greater number. This victory paved the way to the re-establishment of the Protestants in the pays d'Aunis, in Saintonge, and the borders of Poitou, though the brave atchiever of it, in besieging Fontenay soon after, received a shot in his arm, which, to prevent the effects of a gangrene, he suffered to be cut off. De Thou, in his description of the battle of Luçon, observes that La Noue, no less remarkable for modesty than courage, had altogether sunk, in his commentaries, the exemplary figure of his valour and humanity on this occasion. When the Lansquenets, in revenge for the cruelty they experienced at Montcontour, were putting all who fell in their way to the sword, he obliged them to give quarter. When Luçon capitulated, and a complaint was made by the Catholic commander of some baggage being taken, contrary to the terms agreed on, he made good the damage out of his own private fortune. Such behaviour was then as rare among the warriors, as reserve, equal to that of La Noue, in the display of their own actions, has proved uncommon in modern authors of memoirs[77].

A. D. 1570.] The admiral, having been disappointed in his project of fixing his quarters in Guienne, undertook, in the midst of winter, to traverse the kingdom by a march from Mantauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence, along the course of that river, and that of the Saone, to the entrance of Burgundy and the head of the Seine. This arduous undertaking he successfully accomplished, and, surmounting every obstacle that opposed his passage, after pillaging above fifty, and burning a hundred places, he astonished the court, which believed him entangled in a train of inextricable difficulties, and totally incapacitated from giving them annoyance, by the news of his arrival in the confines of Burgundy. He gradually approached to La Charité on the Loire, still occupied by a Protestant garrison; but his army, by disasters, desertion and disease, in a march of more than four hundred French leagues, during the course of eight months, with scarcely a week's intermission of fatigue was worn out and reduced to half its former number. Recruited with some companies from Dauphiné and Geneva, and a party brought from La Charité by Briquemaut, it amounted not in foot and horse to five thousand men. Yet this small number of combatants, under the conduct of bold and experienced commanders, preserved the honour of their party, and forced peace to themselves and to France, by defeating the mareschal de Cosse, who attacked them, at Arnay-le-Duc, on the twenty-third of June,

77 Anderson.

with

with thirteen thouſand men, and twelve pieces of cannon. The attack laſted ſeven hours, at the expiration of which the Catholics allowed the admiral to march forward with his army, and pitch his camp between La Charité, Sancerre and Vezelai, three towns garriſoned by his confederates, which was the ſtation he ſought for the repoſe of his troops, the re-aſſemblage of the ſcattered forces of the Proteſtants, and the revival of the war in the heart of the kingdom.

During theſe operations ſome overtures for a negociation had been made by the court, but the refuſal to allow the public exerciſe of the reformed religion, had hitherto prevented the concluſion of a treaty. When, however, the admiral's troops began to extend their excurſions to the vicinity of the metropolis, a ſudden alteration took place, and a ſolicitous diſpoſition to peace, on the part of the court, appeared. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of Auguſt, at St. Germain-en-Laye, containing forty-ſix articles. Beſides the public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, unconfined by the reſtrictions of the edict of Rouſſillon, and an amneſty conceived in the moſt ample terms, with a declaration of the nullity and repeal of all proſcriptions, civil and criminal of the Proteſtants during the war, and a recognition of their privileges of admiſſion into all employments and dignities civil and military; the Hugonots were allowed, in proceſſes before the provincial parliaments, to except, without aſſigning any reaſon, againſt three judges in each chamber. In the parliament of Bourdeaux they could object to four; and with reſpect to that of Thouloufe, on account of its moſt notorious bigotry and prejudice againſt the Proteſtants, authority was granted them to decline its juriſdiction, and carry their cauſes to any other parliament, or to the court of requeſts in Paris. But what diſtinguiſhed this edict of pacification from every preceding one, was the aſſignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, to the Proteſtants, to be holden by them, for the ſecurity and the fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years. It was not only publiſhed by regiſtration in the court of parliament, but its punctual obſervance and execution were to be ſworn to, by the lieutenants and preſidial magiſtrates of the provinces. Such was the concluſion of the third civil war, and the tenor of the peace obtained by the Proteſtants in France, who having experienced, as Sully ſays [78], ſeveral hard reverſes of fortune, yet through the wiſe conduct of their chiefs, and the auſpicious genius of Henry, king of Navarre, ſupported themſelves with reputation and honour till this period, at which that inſtructive and valuable piece of hiſtory, his *memoirs* begin.

Soon after this peace, Charles united himſelf to the archduchefs Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor, Maximilian the Second; an amiable princeſs, who, with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal conſort, which had been long engaged to his miſtreſs,

78 Memoires, lib. i.

the

the beautiful Mary Touchet. Foreign ſtates and princes conſidered the choice of the daughter of Maximilian for his conſort, as a happy preſage of the termination of the national broils about religion, by a conformity to the wiſe policy and pacific conduct of that prince. Among other congratulations the king received one, preſented by the envoys of the princes of the Augſbourg confeſſion, lately met at the Diet of Spires, which was remarkable for turning chiefly on the propriety of the late edict of peace, and the benefit of religious toleration. Charles's anſwer was decent, and not unfavourable to the point aimed at in the addreſs: and he ſeemed both capable and determined to act with vigour in maintaining the treaty, which he choſe to call his own peace.

A. D. 1570, 1571.] The advantageous terms of this treaty, and the ſolemn profeſſions which Catharine and Charles made to maintain it inviolably, did not ſoon throw the Proteſtant princes and chiefs off their guard. Experience had taught them circumſpection, and they ſcarcely dared encourage the hope of finding ſincerity where they had ſo often met with deceit. Willing, however, to judge of the truth of thoſe amicable declarations from facts, they kept together in a body, and choſe Rochelle for a retreat, and the place of their common conſultations [79]. During their reſidence there a variety of circumſtances occurred to rouze their apprehenſions and provoke their jealouſy. It afforded them grounds for reflection, that the ſecret articles of the pacification were not yet regiſtered in the parliament; that the marquis of Villars, an inveterate foe to the Proteſtants, was appointed to the lieutenancy of the province of Guienne, of which the prince of Navarre was governor; and that queen Jane, his mother, was excluded from the poſſeſſion of one of her towns. Other complaints which preſently aroſe on the oppoſition made by the Catholics in ſome places to the freedom of the Proteſtant worſhip, and the renewal of former inſults by them, would ſoon have made an additional impreſſion, that might not have been ſo eaſily effaced. But the king appeared peculiarly anxious to remove every ſubject of diſcontent: he ſent the mareſchal de Coſſe and La Proutiers, maſter of requeſts, to Rochelle, with ample inſtructions to obviate conteſts about the explication of the edicts, and to conſult with the Proteſtant chiefs about the propereſt methods of enforcing its general obſervance. Such obſequious attention, which they had never before experienced, tended to blunt the edge of their complaints. De Coſſe performed his commiſſion to more advantage, from the favourable idea the Proteſtants entertained of his character: the encouragement he gave them to hope for every equitable conceſſion from the king, and the repreſentation he made of the favourable turn of the politics of the court, were credited; and that part of his meſſage, which reſpected the marriage of the king of Navarre to Margaret, Charles's ſiſter, appeared to be a confirmation of thoſe aſſurances. Having, by this introduction, ſmoothed the way to friendly intercourſe, the mareſchal returned to court, whither he was ſoon

79 Matthieu—Sully.

followed

followed by Teligni, Briquemaut, and the counſellor de Cavagne, whom the princes had appointed to ſound the diſpoſitions of the miniſtry, and to proſecute the full execution of the articles of the edict.

Theſe deputies had every reaſon to be contented with the reception they experienced from the king, whom they found employed in checking the reſtleſs ſpirit which the civil war had engendered by the moſt vigorous and determined meaſures. When intelligence was received that the Proteſtants at Rouen had been attacked by the ſoldiers as they were going to their conventicle, Charles waited not for ſolicitation, but directly proceeded to do juſtice againſt the offenders. The mareſchal Montmorenci, attended by a preſident and other judges of the parliament of Paris, being diſpatched, on purpoſe to take cognizance of the riot, the ringleaders of it were puniſhed with death; others fined; and a capital ſentence was denounced againſt all who fled. On ſeveral other occaſions the ſame favourable diſpoſition appeared: De Villars's commiſſion of lieutenancy was ſuſpended, and aſſurances were given that the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon, ſhould be allowed the full exerciſe of all their rights and privileges.

Of the ſincerity of theſe proceedings the propoſed marriage of the king's ſiſter to Henry the young king of Navarre, and the alledged deſign of entering into a war with Spain, ſeemed to afford plain and inconteſtible evidence. De Biron, grand-maſter of the artillery, whoſe conduct during the war, as well as his general character, rendered him an acceptable negotiator, was commiſſioned by the king to repair to Rochelle, and make the formal propoſition of the firſt of theſe points to the queen of Navarre, and to declare his intentions about the ſecond. The arguments he was inſtructed to inſiſt upon, with reſpect to the match, were ſuch as not only tended to remove difficulties, and ſubdue ſcruples, but to produce a conviction, in the minds of the Proteſtant chiefs, that the king's aim and motive in it were entirely amicable. Charles, indeed, expreſſly declared, that he beſtowed his ſiſter upon the prince of Navarre with a view to render the connubial tye a general one, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to baniſh their apprehenſions concerning the immutability of his edicts of peace. The refuſal of Pius the Fifth to grant a diſpenſation for the conſanguinity, inſtead of ſlackening his intention, ſerved rather to move his ſpleen againſt the court of Rome. Even the princeſs Margaret's known inclination for the duke of Guiſe, animated Charles to a pitch of reſentment againſt the favoured lover, whoſe preſumption he thought might lead him to offer an indignity to the houſe of France [80]. In a fit of indignation he preſented two ſwords to the baſtard of Angoulême, requiring him to take one of them and kill the duke of Guiſe, or expect his own death by the other. His rage however was calmed by the ſpeedy marriage of the duke to the widow of the prince of Porcien. The

[80] Matthieu, p. 333.

chief pretence urged for breaking with the court of Spain, was the recent death of Elizabeth, ſiſter to Charles and wife to Philip, whom that inhuman monſter, after he had cauſed his ſon, the unhappy Don Carlos, to be poiſoned, was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having ſacrified to his jealouſy. Queen Catharine perſuaded the Proteſtant chiefs that ſhe had thus an intereſting motive to concur with them in hating the Spaniſh monarch, and revenging upon him the miſerable death of her daughter [81].

The articles of the contract of marriage between Henry and the princeſs Margaret were ſpeedily arranged: the dowry to be given with the princeſs was three hundred thouſand crowns, valued at fifty-four ſous each; and the queen of Navarre reſigned to her ſon the rents of the county of Armagnac, and twelve thouſand livres out of her own jointure lands. On the part of the king every thing was facilitated. A brief conceived in fuller terms, to remove the objections of the cardinal of Bourbon, was obtained from Gregory the Thirteenth, who now ſucceeded to the pontificate, upon the death of Pius the Fifth. It was even known to be the king's intention, that part of the nuptial ceremony, required by the Roman ritual, ſhould be diſpenſed with.

In conſequence of the nuptial compact, the intercourſe of the Proteſtant chiefs with the court, became more unreſerved and frequent; and even the admiral, and the more prudent leaders, who were ſtill inclined to circumſpection and reſerve, began to be moved to confidence by other conſiderations. The connection which Charles affected to enter into with the court of England, where queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou was ſolicited, firſt by the cardinal of Châtillon, and then by the mareſchal Montmorenci [82]; his employment of Gaſpar Schomberg in Germany, to court the alliance of duke Caſimir and ſome other princes, and to ſolicit levies for the war in the Low Countries; and ſome military preparations that ſeemed to be made both by ſea and land, for a rupture with Spain, were conſidered as unequivocal demonſtrations that the king was determined to ſhake off the political fetters of the bigoted party at court, and laboured earneſtly to aſſert his own independent authority in the government of the ſtate, and to conſult the intereſt and honour of the nation. It was upon this judgment of Charles's intentions that count Lewis of Naſſau repaired in diſguiſe, along with ſome of the Proteſtant chiefs, to Blois, where the court then was, in order to inform the king of the ſtate of the war in the Netherlands, and to perſuade him with what advantage he might now engage in it [83]. His reception was favourable; and the anſwer given by Charles about the war, artfully ſerved as a proof that he wanted not inclination, but encouragement and freedom to act in the manner the count and his partiſans wiſhed him to do. Charles ſignified, that however well diſpoſed he might be to adopt their political plan, not only the difficulties that might attend the enterprize of the Spaniſh war, but his own ſituation with

[81] Sully. [82] D'Aubigné, tom. ii. liv. i. chap. ii. [83] De Thou, lib. xviii. p. 1018.

reſpect

reſpect to proper confidents in that buſineſs, embarraſſed him; and therefore, as a previous and neceſſary ſtep to his final reſolution, he deſired to have the aſſiſtance and counſel of the admiral Coligni. The peculiar circumſtances of this chieftain required that ſuch addreſs ſhould be uſed with him. As the pillar of his party, during the whole courſe of the civil war, more the object of reſentment, and more dreaded than any other, and one againſt whom the family of Guiſe ſtill maintained an avowed enmity, he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to be cautious how he ventured his perſon at court and in the capital. Eſteemed and reſpected by foreign princes, he had inducements, both from ambition and intereſt, not to be precipitate in engaging himſelf with the court; but to preſerve, during the public peace, a kind of independency, which while it was moſt conſiſtent with his perſonal ſafety, would ſecure the attachment of the Proteſtants to him, and ſtrengthen their party. But in circumſtances thus critical the admiral was ſwayed by his principles of patriotiſm, which rendered him ever anxious to ſerve his king and country. He yielded therefore to the concurring entreaties of his friends, the mareſchal de Coſſe and Montmorenci, who joined with count Naſſau in perſuading him to diſmiſs his remaining apprehenſions. Having taken his reſolution, he left Rochelle and repaired to the court at Blois, in the month of September; whither the qneen of Navarre, ſoon after, prepared to follow him, in order to put the finiſhing hand to the marriage treaty.

The queen of Navarre, her children, and all the Proteſtants chiefs, experienced from Charles and his mother, the moſt flattering reception; the king in particular ſpoke of the noblemen of that party in the higheſt terms of commendation. The admiral he always addreſſed by the endearing appellation of father, and took upon himſelf the taſk of reconciling him with the princes of the houſe of Guiſe: nor were his actions leſs expreſſive of friendſhip than his words: a hundred thouſand livres, as an indemnification for his private loſſes in the late war, were aſſigned to Coligni, and, by a ſpecial grant, he was allowed to enjoy a year's revenue of the rich benefices that belonged to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, who had recently died in England. The admiral's ſeat and rank at the council table were alſo reſtored to him, and the king ſeemed to depend on his advice both with regard to the alliances to be formed and the meaſures to be taken, in conſequence of the pretended reſolution to declare war againſt Spain:" ſuch was the deep-laid ſcheme of deception now practiſed by Catharine and her ſon, that Sully juſtly calls it, "an almoſt incredible prodigy of diſſimulation:" and ſuch indeed it muſt have been to have completely impoſed on a man of Coligni's ſagacity and penetration.

A. D. 1572.] In the midſt of theſe auſpicious appearances, the queen of Navarre was ſeized (at Paris, whither ſhe had repaired to provide for the ſolemnity of her ſon's nuptials) with a diſorder, which, in the ſhort ſpace of five days, put a period to her exiſtence; her death is, by all the Proteſtant hiſtorians, aſcribed to the effects of poiſon, adminiſtered in a pair of ſcented gloves, prepared for the purpoſe by René, a Florentine, perfumer

ſumer to the queen-mother; but this is ſtrenuouſly denied by the Catholics, and the teſtimony of De Thou and Matthieu, who mention an internal abſceſs as the cauſe of her diſſolution, appears to be concluſive.

While Charles, who had ſecretly permitted the levying ſoldiers, under Genlis, and La Noue, for the ſervice of the prince of Orange, ſtill, under various pretences, evaded an open declaration of hoſtilities with the Spaniſh monarch, accounts were brought of the entire defeat of that auxiliary band, by the duke of Alva's forces. Affected with this intelligence, and believing that, in ſuch a criſis, he might puſh the king to an abſolute determination for war, the admiral repaired to Paris, whither he had been ſolicited to come by letters from his majeſty[84]. He found the court, on his arrival, in deep mourning for the queen of Navarre, and Charles under apparent diſquiet for the diſaſter of the French troops in Flanders (though, Sully ſays it was ſtrongly reported that their defeat had been occaſioned through the connivance of the French court); and ſuch precaution uſed by him, for preventing any commotion or diſturbance, either of the factious nobles, or of the populace of Paris, as were ſufficient to confirm him in his honeſt reliance on the king's gracious intentions with reſpect to himſelf and his aſſociates[85]. Inſtructions were diſpatched to Mondoucet, the French envoy in the Netherlands, to inſiſt with the duke of Alva for the liberation of the French gentlemen, who were taken priſoners; and Coligni was empowered to renew his commiſſions for raiſing a freſh body of troops. Beſides ſeveral rigorous edicts againſt carrying arms, and for maintaining the public tranquillity, four hundred picked ſoldiers were added to the ordinary guard about the Louvre.

But Coligni was unable to impart to many of his aſſociates the confidence he himſelf repoſed in the ſincerity of Charles; to their vague admonitions, however, conveyed both in words and writing, the gallant veteran replied, in a manner that evinced at once the fortitude and integrity of his heart[86]. "The peace is made," ſaid he, "and I have "taken my reſolution to truſt the faith of the king; and will rather be dragged through "the ſtreets of Paris than have recourſe again to a civil war." Credulity, influenced by ſuch ſentiments, muſt command our admiration, while it encreaſes our abhorrence of the wretches who were ſo baſe as to impoſe on it. In one of the remonſtrances, ſent to the admiral by ſome of his adherents, he was called upon to reflect on that authorized maxim of the church of Rome—that faith was not to be kept with heretics. Queen Catharine was repreſented as the true progeny of Rome, and the diſciple of Machiavel: her ſon, trained up in the ſame principles, was ſaid to emulate her vindictive ſpirit, and to have ſworn never to forget the attempt of the Proteſtants at Meaux, that in ſpite of their ſubtle conduct, it was alledged, they had ſometimes betrayed their diſſimulation; of which, what was heard to paſs between Catharine and the king, upon the queen

[84] De Thou, lib. lii p. 1044. [85] D'Aubigné. [86] De Thou—D'Aubigné.

of

of Navarre's arrival at Blois, was a manifeſt proof. "Have I not"—ſaid Charles—"acted my part well?"—"Admirably!"—replied his mother—"you have begun, but "you muſt continue it to the end."—"I will not finiſh"—returned Charles, with horrid execrations, to the uſe of which he was greatly addicted [87]—"until I bring them all into "the toils"—Coligni, excuſing the violent ſtile of theſe remonſtrances, gave a calm reply, while the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to whom they were alſo addreſſed, treated them with a degree of ſcorn and contempt.

The brief granted by Gregory the Thirteenth, for the marriage of the king of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, being arrived, the ceremony was performed, by the cardinal of Bourbon, and according to the agreement was neither altogether after the Popiſh nor the Proteſtant form [88]. A variety of magnificent entertainments which followed the marriage for ſeveral days, diffuſed the reliſh of ſocial joy and feſtivity, in the participation of which, not only all the ſparks of former diſcord ſeemed to be quenched, but a happy pledge to be given of the future union of the jarring parties, and of the tranquillity of the ſtate. But the dark deſigns, for promoting which Catharine and Charles had ſo long bent the efforts of their diſſimulation, were now brought to a criſis. Their ſcheme of drawing the principal leaders of the Proteſtants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and their deluſion of the admiral, ſucceeded almoſt beyond their hopes. Above ſeven hundred of the nobility and gentry of that perſuaſion, the flower of their chieftains, who followed the young king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral to the court, were now lodged in the city or ſuburbs, diſarmed, unprepared, and incapable of reſiſting the force, that might be ſuddenly raiſed againſt them.

The aſſaſſination of the admiral was the firſt ſtroke of vengeance reſolved on by the deteſtable junto of Catharine and her ſon; and the duke of Guiſe, who was known to harbour an inveterate enmity to Coligni, was the perſon appointed to conduct this infamous tranſaction. Louvriers Maurevel, who had already been employed by Guiſe on a ſimilar occaſion, willingly accepted the commiſſion, and repaired to the place appointed by his *worthy* patrons, for the perpetration of the deed. The admiral, on his return from the Louvre to his own apartments, had to paſs by the cloiſter of the church of Saint Germain L'Auxerrois. At this place, within the houſe of Ville-Mur, one of the canons, who had been preceptor to the duke of Guiſe, the aſſaſſin had fixed his ſtation; and, on the morning of the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, as the admiral paſſed the houſe, at a ſlow pace, (being employed in reading a paper that was preſented to him on the way) Maurevel fired his arquebuſs at him, loaded with two bullets, one of which tore a finger of his right hand, and the other lodged deep in his left arm [89]. While all who attended him

[87] Sully. [88] Matthieu—Le Grain. [89] De Thou—D'Aubigné.

were

were ſtricken with amazement, Coligni coolly pointed to the window whence the ſhot came; and having directed Piles and Monnins to go and acquaint the king with what had happened to him, and got his arm bound up, he walked home, ſupported by his domeſtics. To ſome who expreſſed their apprehenſions that the balls might be poiſoned, he ſaid, with perfect compoſure, "Nothing will befall me but what is the pleaſure of God." The painful operations of wrenching off his ſhattered finger, with a blunt inſtrument, and of extracting the bullet from his arm, he endured with undiſturbed looks, and an admirable firmneſs.

Many of the Catholics expreſſed their utter deteſtation of this atrocious attempt; and the king being informed of it, while playing at tennis with the duke of Guiſe, evinced the ſtrongeſt emotions of rage, and throwing down his racket, exclaimed, "Shall I never "have peace? Shall I always be expoſed to new troubles[90]?" Then retiring to the Louvre, he ſwore he would find out the aſſaſſin, wherever he lurked. Maurevel, however, had eluded the ſearch of the admiral's attendants (who had inſtantly forced open the door of the houſe) and having a freſh horſe prepared for him—from the king's ſtables, as Sully aſſerts—at the gate of Saint Antoine, effected his eſcape from the city.

The Proteſtants were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, with ſeveral of their followers, repairing to the palace, implored the king's permiſſion to leave the metropolis, where they were hourly expoſed to the mercileſs fury of their unprincipled enemies. But Charles attempted, by execrable oaths, and every expreſſion of reſentment, to convince them how deeply affected he was with the commiſſion of the crime, and how reſolutely bent upon puniſhing every one that might be found acceſſary to it, as well as the perpetrator himſelf[91]; aſſuring them, that the enquiry and acts of juſtice he would inſiſt upon, ſhould be ſuch as might be exemplary in the ſtate, and fully ſatisfy them and the admiral, who was the ſufferer; adding, that it was fit they ſhould ſtay in Paris to be witneſſes of his conduct. The queen-mother was equally loud in her expreſſions of abhorrence, and her threats of revenge. The meaſures taken for the diſcovery of the aſſaſſin, and the king's public declaration of his ſentiments, convinced the princes of his ſincerity, and, though it did not remove the grounds of their apprehenſions, left them no reaſon for inſiſting upon their reſolution of leaving Paris.

Coligni received a viſit from ſome of the Catholic chiefs, and afterwards from the king himſelf, attended by his mother and brothers, when the ſame declarations which had been made to the princes were renewed. A general conſultation of the Proteſtant leaders was holden ſoon after, on the ſubject of providing for their common ſafety; at which the

[90] Memoires de Villeroy, de Tavannes, &c. [91] D'Aubigné.

vidame

vidame of Chartres and ſeveral others inſiſted on the neceſſity of their immediate removal from Paris, to ſome place of greater ſecurity [92]. But this reſolution was too ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Teligni, whoſe arguments prevailed with the majority. A meſſage, however, was ſent, in the admiral's name, to the king, informing him, that the temper of the Pariſians, which was always violently biaſſed againſt him and his friends, now appeared to be ſuch as to render ſome extraordinary precaution neceſſary for reſtraining them from acts of violence; and the appointment of a guard about Coligni's lodgings was propoſed as a proper expedient. This imprudent propoſal, which tended to put the admiral in the immediate power of his enemies, was chearfully acceded to by the king and the duke of Anjou. Coſſeins, captain of the royal guard, attached to the duke of Guiſe [93], was ordered to take his ſtation, with a company of picked men, before the houſe where the admiral lodged, (at an inn in the Rue Betiſy [94]) and, to prevent ſuſpicion, a few Swiſs belonging to the king of Navarre's body guard, were intermixed with them. A farther advantage was yet taken of this injudicious requeſt: it was deſired by the king, that for the better protection of the admiral, the Proteſtant nobility ſhould be all lodged in the neighbourhood. The city officers were appointed to provide apartments for them, and public proclamation was made, prohibiting all Catholics, under pain of death, from approaching them.

A ſecond conſultation, however, was holden by the Calviniſts, and the admiral again preſſed to retire, but, ſteady to his purpoſe, Coligni rejected the ſolicitations of his friends; and to their arguments replied, "By a retreat, I muſt diſcover either my fear or "my diſtruſt. By the one my honour would ſuffer, by the other, an injury be done to "the king. I ſhould be again compelled to have recourſe to a civil war; and my choice "is, to die rather than behold the miſeries I have witneſſed, or endure the diſtreſſes I "have already ſuſtained." The conference about quitting Paris being thus reſumed, the vidame of Chartres, and many others of his opinion, having declared their fixed reſolution to retire to the ſuburbs; intelligence of the debate among them, and of the uncertainty how it might conclude, was carried to the queen-mother, by one of the Proteſtant chiefs, ſuppoſed to be Bouchvananes, on account of his intimacy with her.

In conſequence of this intelligence, a ſecret council was immediately holden at the palace, at which the propoſal for the horrid maſſacre which enſued, is ſaid to have been made; but being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the count de Retz, who painted it in its proper colours, no reſolution was adopted, and the council broke up. But, after ſome private conſultation between Charles and his mother, the former called back his counſellors from the gate, and told them, that there was an end of his government, unleſs the propoſal

[92] De Thou. [93] D'Avila. [94] Memoires de Sully.

that

that had been made was adopted, and that he ſhould hold all ſuch as diſapproved the meaſure to be diſloyal [95].

The meaſures already taken facilitated the execution of this abominable enterprize, the accompliſhment of which was fixed for the next day, which was the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew. The duke of Guiſe, whoſe retreat from court after the admiral was wounded, together with the king's affected indignation againſt him, had been made uſe of to deceive the Proteſtants, was again called upon to act his part [96]. In the mean time, to irritate the populace, a report was induſtriouſly circulated through the city, that the king had ſent for the mareſchal Montmorenci from Chantilly, whither he had retired, and that he was expected in Paris with a large body of horſe to quell the citizens. Their agitation became perceptible in the ſtreets, where they aſſembled in crowds; while the loads of arms, and bands of ſoldiers that paſſed to the Louvre, provoked their commotions. The king of Navarre was told by Charles, with the utmoſt ſhew of amity and confidence, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs, it was neceſſary to be upon their guard againſt the turbulence of the people; and that it was fit he ſhould not only keep all his domeſtics about him in the Louvre, but that he ſhould call others of his moſt truſty attendants to lodge there in caſe of any tumult. Teligni, who heard vatious alarming reports, interpreted every thing favourably, concealed part of them from the admiral, and confirmed him in his fatal ſecurity. After Coſſein's guard was doubled, and the night was far advanced, the duke of Guiſe, having permiſſion from the king, called ſome captains of the Swiſs and French companies of guards, and informed them that the hour was come, in which the king was determined to avenge himſelf of a race of men, odious to God and his church, and offenſive to human ſociety; that a ſmall exertion of their obedience and courage was neceſſary to the accompliſhment of this object, which would atchieve what numerous battles had failed to effect [97]. He then ordered them to range their ſoldiers on both ſides of the palace, and to ſuffer none of the prince of Bourbon's ſervants to paſs without the gates. A command was then delivered by Guiſe to Charron, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and lately admitted to the office of provoſt of the merchants, to aſſemble the officers of the city militia in the town-hall, and, after iſſuing orders for arming their people, there to wait for farther inſtructions. The late provoſt-marſhall was employed to communicate the import of the king's orders to the aldermen and burgeſſes, who were told "That it was his majeſty's will and decree to make an "utter extirpation of the rebellious Hugonots, againſt whom they had now full liberty "to uſe their arms: that orders would be immediately diſpatched, for the ſame purpoſe, "to the other cities of the kingdom, to which the Pariſians ought to ſet an example, by "neither ſparing nor concealing any of the impious tribe: that, to avoid confuſion, and "to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their adverſaries, ſleeves of white linen ſhould be worn

[95] De Thou—D'Aubigné—Matthieu. [96] De Thou—D'Aubigné. [97] D'Aubigné—De Serres, p. 749.

"on

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H. Singleton del.t J. Jones Fecit.

Catharine of Medicis, extorting from her Son, Charles IX.
the order for the Massacre of S.t Bartholomew.

Published as the Act directs by C. Lewnder Jan.y 26. 1793.

" on their left arms, and croſſes of the ſame in their hats: that torches and lanthorns " ſhould be lighted in the windows of every houſe; and that they ought to proceed " quietly, and avoid all noiſe, until the ſignal to begin the work ſhould be given, by " ſounding the great bell at the palace." All the neceſſary orders being thus iſſued, the murderers, at the dead hour of midnight, took the ſtations aſſigned them; and the files of ſoldiers, drawn up in the different ſtreets and croſs-ways, only waited for the expected ſignal to fall with fury on the Proteſtants.

As the fatal hour drew nigh, Charles is ſaid to have been goaded by the ſtings of remorſe, and to have betrayed ſuch fear and irreſolution, that all the art of his mother was requiſite to extort from him an order to the aſſaſſins to begin their dreadful buſineſs. " Shall the occaſion"—ſaid the blaſphemous Catharine—" that *God* preſents, of aveng- " ing the obdurate enemies of your authority, be ſuffered to eſcape through your want " of courage? How much better is it to tear in pieces thoſe corrupt members, than to " rankle the boſom of the church, the ſpouſe of our Lord?" This impious exhortation expelled from his boſom every ſentiment of humanity, and, with eyes glaring with rage, he thus pronounced the horrid mandate—" Go on then, and let none remain to reproach " me with the deed[98]." Having thus obtained her aim, Catharine anticipated the fixed hour of the ſignal, which was given by ringing the bell of the church of Saint Germain de L'Auxerrois[99].

The duke of Guiſe immediately iſſued forth, with a ſelect party, to perpetrate the murder of the admiral, and meeting ſome Proteſtants in the ſtreets, who had been alarmed by the ſound of the bell, a firing of piſtols enſued, which being heard in the palace, Charles's terror and irreſolution returned, and a meſſage was diſpatched by Catharine to countermand the duke of Guiſe, which ſhe well knew would arrive too late, and be totally diſregarded. Already had that princely aſſaſſin beſet the admiral's lodgings, the gate of which being ſhut and guarded, would have required ſome time to force open; but Coſſeins having demanded admittance in the king's name, La Bonne, who kept the keys, having no ſuſpicion of what was going forward, admitted him, and was inſtantly ſtabbed. Some of the king of Navarre's Swiſs ſoldiers flew to the inner gate, and endeavoured to barricade it. The noiſe awakened the admiral, who, unuſed to apprehenſion, believed it to be only ſome riot of the populace, which the guard would ſoon quell. But the clamour encreaſing, and ſeveral ſhots being fired in the court, he roſe from his bed, and covered himſelf with his night-gown, when he was ſoon convinced, by his attendants, who hurried to his chamber, that the worſt was to be feared. Being few in number, and moſt of them only domeſtics, their pale looks and trembling geſtures denounced the immediate fate they expected. " This inſtant,"—exclaimed one of them—" God calls us to meet

[98] Mathieu—De Thou—D'Aubigné. [99] Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 404.

" death." " It is enough"—ſaid Coligni—" that I know it." He leaned for ſome moments againſt the wall, while the miniſter Merlin prayed. Then, with a countenance undiſmayed, " Away," ſaid he, " my friends, ſave yourſelves, if poſſible: now I have " no need of your help; to that of God I have commended my ſoul. But let not your " unprofitable ſtay be mourned by your wives and children, as a ſad infelicity, occaſion- " ed by your attendance upon my exit." All but two of them, whoſe fidelity to their maſter roſe ſuperior to the fear of death, fled into the upper rooms of the houſe. In a few minutes the door was burſt open, and a groupe of ſeven armed ruffians entered the apartment. Beſme, a German, ſtept before the reſt, and flouriſhing his ſword, exclaimed " Art thou Coligni?" " I am," replied the admiral, with a ſteady voice and firm countenance, " and you, young ſoldier, ought to reſpect my grey hairs. But come on," ſaid he to Beſme, " do what thou wilt, thou canſt ſhorten my life but little[100]." At that inſtant he received the villain's ſword in his breaſt, which rather courted than ſhunned the blow, and a repetition of ſtabs ſoon deprived him of life, which he yielded up without uttering a groan. The aſſaſſins themſelves were ſtricken with the invincible intrepidity of his ſpirit; and one of them, whoſe name was Attin, declared, that never had a man been ſeen to brave ſuch a death, with ſo much magnanimity. His body was thrown from the window into the court-yard, where the duke of Guiſe waited to enjoy his daſtardly triumph. Having wiped the blood from the face, he exclaimed, in a tone of exultation, " We have begun well, my friends, let us proceed to complete the reſt " with courage; it is the king's command, we obey." Immediately the alarm-bell of the palace was rung, and the populace were rouzed to ſpread the maſſacre. The admiral's body being found by theſe Pariſian blood-hounds, it was maimed, gored, and dragged through the kennels, and, after ſerving at intervals as the paſtime of their fury, for two days was ſuſpended on the gibbet of Montfaucon. But neither the inhuman maſſacre of Coligni, nor the horrid indignities committed on his corpſe, have, ſays Le Gendre, effected the ſmalleſt diminution of his fame, or tarniſhed in the leaſt the merit of a character, illuſtrious for thoſe qualities and virtues, which have formed the heroes and the patriots of all nations. The body of Coligni, half conſumed with fire, was, under favour of the night, conveyed to the vault of the Montmorencies at Chantilly, and from thence transferred to the family vault at Châtillon.

The maſſacre continued, with unrelenting fury, among the Proteſtant chiefs, who were aſſaulted by the aſſaſſins, when deſtitute of all means of defence, and were inhumanly butchered by a daſtardly crew who had often fled before them in the field. The count de Rochefoucaud had paſſed the early part of the night with the king at the Louvre, where the pleaſant ſallies of his wit and facetious humour had entertained the cour-

[100] Matthieu—De Thou—D'Aubigné—De Serres—D'Avila.

tiers,

J. Jones fecit.

ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

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tiers, and diſpoſed Charles to ſave him[1]. Believing, when the chief of the aſſaſſins knocked at the door, and ſaid he had a meſſage to deliver from the king, that it was ſome frolic intended by his majeſty, he opened it, and ſpoke in a humorous ſtrain to thoſe who anſwered him by drawing their poniards, and plunging them into his boſom. Teligni, unſuſpicious to the laſt, endeavoured now to eſcape over the roofs of the houſes; but being diſcovered, he was dragged down, when the ſweet engaging form which nature had given him, made a momentary impreſſion on the aſſaſſins, who ſtood, with looks of ſuſpence, before they gave the fatal blow. At the ſame time periſhed the counts of Revel and Quellenec[2], with the barons de Lavardin, Beaudiſner, and Pluviaut, and others of diſtinguiſhed valour, driven through the ſtreets by the duke of Anjou's guards, and maſſacred in the view of the windows of the Louvre[3].

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were awakened, about two hours before day-break, by a band of ſoldiers, who ruſhed into their chamber in the palace, and inſolently commanded them to dreſs themſelves, and attend the king, unarmed. They were, by Catharine's orders, led through vaults and dark paſſages, lined with troops, who ſhook their ſpears at them as they paſſed along. In the mean time, the cries from without were diſmal and terrifying; while all that party of their friends and followers, who were invited to take up their abode in the Louvre, were precipitated from the windows, or dragged forth in crowds to be aſſaſſinated in the court-yards. Here, Saint Martin, Pardaillan, Beauvois, and the gallant Piles, with many others, ſuffered death; while the indignant expreſſions of the laſt, as he caſt a look on his murdered companions, were thus uttered aloud. "Are theſe the teſtimonies of the king's faith; of "the peace he hath ſworn; and of all the gracious promiſes he hath made? But the "Almighty God will revenge ſuch monſtrous perfidy[4]." Leiran, beſmeared with blood, and deſperately wounded, found his way into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and threw himſelf upon the bed of that princeſs, who ran forth ſcreaming, and met with ſuch objects in her way, as made her fall into fits, from which ſhe was with difficulty recovered, and conducted by Nanſey, captain of the guards, into the apartment of the ducheſs of Lorraine. Her huſband and the prince of Condé, after whom ſhe enquired with great eagerneſs, had been introduced into the king's chamber; when they were thus addreſſed by Charles, in a tone and accent fierce and imperious—"To day, I revenge

[1] Brantôme, tome iv. p. 10.

[2] The ladies of the court, unreſtrained either by humanity or ſhame, ſurveyed the dead bodies of the murdered Proteſtants; but their curioſity was more particularly excited by that of the baron of Quellenec, on account of a proceſs, for impotency, which had been inſtituted againſt him, at the ſuit of his wife, Catharine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs to John de Soubiſe.—*Memoires de Sully, liv.* 1.

[3] De Thou, p. 1053. [4] Matthieu—Sully—Pere Daniel, p. 972.

" myſelf of my enemies, and ſuch I may juſtly reckon you to be, who have ſupported " them by the authority of your names, and your preſence among them. Nothing " but a reſpect to my blood deters me from inflicting the ſame puniſhment on you. But " this regard hath its conditions. When I pardon your paſt conduct, I require and in- " ſiſt on your immediate renunciation of that impious faith which contradicts mine, " and teaches you to affront heaven, and inſult my authority." The king of Navarre's anſwer was given in a low and embarraſſed voice, but in terms that promiſed ſubmiſſion. But the prince of Condé boldly teſtified his diſcontent at the indecent violence uſed with them; complained of the breach of honour in this treatment; and declared, that his fear of death was not ſo great as to render him an apoſtate from his religion. Charles, provoked by his reſiſtance, called him obſtinate, ſeditious, a rebel, and the ſon of a rebel; and threatened that he ſhould ſuffer the death of a traitor, if, in three days, he did not yield obedience. " Remember"—ſaid the mercileſs tyrant—" it is *Maſs, Death, or Baſtile*[5]." Upon the apparant compliance of the king of Navarre, Charles granted him the lives of the count de Grammont, de Duras, and Bouchavannes; and a few others were ſaved at the earneſt application of his ſiſter of Navarre.

In a former part of our hiſtory we have ſhewn of what horrid acts of barbarity the Pariſians, when inſtigated by hatred, bigotry, malice, or revenge, could be guilty. Their preſent rage and ferocity had nothing human in them. Wherever their ruffian bands were led by the municipal officers, their track was marked by violence, bloodſhed, and brutality: neither age nor ſex was ſpared: pregnant women and helpleſs infants were alike ſacrificed to their barbarous fury. Brion, the venerable preceptor of the prince of Conti, was murdered, while claſped in the arms of his infant pupil: Francis Nonpar de Caumont was maſſacred in his bed between his two ſons, one of whom was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, concealing himſelf under the bodies of his father and brother, fortunately eſcaped[6]. Briſſonet, neice to the biſhop of Meaux, a woman of exemplary manners, projected an eſcape from the city in diſguiſe, with her young daughter in her hand, and followed by Epina, the miniſter, in the habit of a domeſtic; but being diſcovered in the attempt, and refuſing to abjure her religion, ſhe was ſtabbed with iron rods, and thrown, half-dead, into the river, where, floating on the ſurface, the watermen purſued her as their prey, and put her to a ſlow and lingering death.

Upon the firſt noiſe of the tumult, a report was carried to that party of the Proteſtant chiefs, who, by the advice of the vidame of Chartres, had fixed their quarters in the ſuburbs of Saint Germain, that the populace had taken up arms. The ſound of the bells and the ſhouts of the mob confirmed the intelligence. Anxious and doubtful what might be the ground of the inſurrection, they continued long in ſuſpence, and

[5] Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 416. [6] Sully.

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from ſome perſuaſion that it was promoted by the Guiſes, againſt the will of the king, they were on the point of paſſing the river, in order to venture their lives in ſupporting his authority and defending their friends. The morning light, however, ſoon diſpelled their error, and ſhewed them the river covered with boats full of ſoldiers coming to attack them, and Charles himſelf, from the windows of the Louvre, firing his carabine upon ſome wretched fugitives[7]; and ſcarce did time and aſtoniſhment permit them to eſcape with precipitation from their blood-thirſty purſuers.

For three days the maſſacre was continued with unabated fury: it is certain that the populace would have readily proceeded to the deſtruction of thoſe who were ſaid to favour the Hugonots, as well as of the Hugonots themſelves; and that the queen-mother might have conſummated her diabolical ſcheme, by inſtigating them to aſſault the Montmorencies, as friendly to the admiral; but intimidated from proceeding ſo far, on account of the abſence of the mareſchal Montmorenci, and other obvious reaſons, ſhe allowed the popular outrage to take its courſe. From the dread of it many Catholics were obliged to be on their guard; and de Biron, who commanded in the arſenal, ordered two culverins to be placed at the gate, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence.

After various inſtances of violence and ſlaughter committed upon the Catholics, and when the carnage became noiſome[8], an order was publiſhed by the king, requiring all the citizens to retire to their houſes, and not to ſtir from them under pain of death. What remained ſtill to be executed was intended to be performed by a more regular proceſs of the king's guards through the city. But the ſanguinary rage of a ferocious people was more eaſily excited than reſtrained; and the violence and plunder on the ſecond day, nearly equalling thoſe of the firſt, it only ſubſided by degrees. The deſtruction of above ſix thouſand Proteſtants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal iſſue of this dreadful maſſacre, which was called, by ſome, *The Pariſian Matins*, as the maſſacre in Sicily, in 1281, had been denominated *The Sicilian Veſpers*.

That the maſſacre of the Hugonots was the reſult of premeditation will ſcarcely admit of a doubt, though the hiſtorians differ moſt eſſentially in their accounts of its origin. Some maintain that the plan of it was concerted between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, at the conferences at Bayonne: others fix the period of its con-

7 This anecdote is related by Voltaire (in his notes to the Henriade) on the authority of the mareſchal de Teſſe, who, he tells us, was acquainted in his youth, with an old man of ninety, who had been page to Charles the Ninth, and had himſelf loaded the carabine with which he fired on the Proteſtants. It is there likewiſe aſſerted, that Charles went with his court to view the body of the admiral, while ſuſpended on the gibbet of Montfaucon; and that one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The "body of a dead foe always ſmells well."

8 De Thou—D'Avila—P. Daniel.

cluſion

cluſion immediately previous to the laſt peace made with the Hugonots, after the battle of Arnai-le-duc; and a third claſs ſay that no reſolution had been taken on the ſubject till a few days before the deed was perpetrated. The different ſtatements and opinions have been carefully collected and impartially diſcuſſed by father Griffet, who thus concludes his reſearches:—"Let what will be ſaid to the contrary, men will with difficulty "be brought to believe that this horrible maſſacre was not a premeditated buſineſs, "and that the peace concluded with the Hugonots, the profeſſions of eſteem and marks "of confidence laviſhed on the admiral de Coligni, were not ſo many ſnares and arti- "fices employed with a view to deceive and deſtroy them. It is poſſible that the laſt "meaſures adopted for their extermination, may have been reſolved on only a few days "before their execution; it was then that the number of the victims, the choice of the "aſſaſſins, and the day of the maſſacre, were fixed in the ſecret councils (holden at "the Louvre); but it appears certain that the project was formed at the time of the peace, "and of the propoſal for marrying the ſiſter of Charles the Ninth to the king of Na- "varre[9].

The king vainly hoped to retrieve his honour by the pitiful ſubterfuge of a diſavowal. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces he endeavoured to throw the whole of the blame upon the Guiſes, and aſcribed the maſſacre to their hatred of the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, and Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms[10]. The Guiſes, however, having obtained their chief aim, began to be ſenſible of the diſhonour and danger attending ſuch an accuſation, which, at a future period, might render them obnoxious and accountable, and poſitively refuſed to acquieſce in this determination. The duke of Guiſe, indeed, after the murder of the admiral, had rather repreſſed the king's rage[11], and inſtead of imitating his ferocity, had ſaved D'Acier, brother to the count de Cruſſol, and ſome others of the nobility. Having exerted this political lenity, while Charles had expoſed himſelf by the natural violence of his temper, the Guiſes now left him to find what pretence he could, to extenuate the infamy of a ſcene, to which they, with the aſſiſtance of Catharine, had chiefly prompted him.

There is no doubt but the queen-mother and her council made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of his diſavowal; for, at the expiration of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he held a bed of juſtice in the court of parliament, and ordered the regiſtration of other letters-patent, by which it was declared, that nothing was done on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands, iſſued for the purpoſe of puniſhing the Hugonots, to the principal leaders of which party

[9] Traité des differentes ſortes de Preuves qui ſervent à établir la verité de l'Hiſtoire, p. 153, & ſuivantes.
[10] Sully. [11] D'Aubigné.

a capi-

a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. As Coligni's papers had been ſecured by the queen-mother's orders, hopes were entertained of finding ſome memorial on which to ground an article of impeachment againſt him; but his manuſcripts only ſerved as an honourable teſtimony of his integrity. In the brief he had drawn up on the ſubject of the Spaniſh war, he remarked to the king the evident intereſt which England had to undertake the defence of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and the danger that would accrue to France, by the Engliſh, her ancient enemy, gaining footing in that country. To provoke the ſpleen of queen Elizabeth, who had maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the admiral, and to incenſe the duke of Alençon at his memory, theſe private notes were communicated to them. The anſwer made by Elizabeth and by the duke was much the ſame: "It was manifeſt"—they ſaid—"whatever they might object to the "admiral on account of theſe advices, that the king had no reaſon to complain, ſince "they had marked his attachment and zeal for his majeſty's intereſt and ſervice." The king, when requeſted by Pibrac, the attorney-general, to paſs a formal edict upon the point, only declared he would iſſue his orders about it. But the proceſs againſt the admiral and his accomplices was immediately inſtituted, and the ſentence of high-treaſon was, ſoon after, executed upon his effigy with all the appointed forms of infamy. A jubilee, or public thankſgiving for the happy diſcovery of the pretended plots of the Proteſtants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and, by another edict, the day of St. Bartholomew was ordered to be annually ſolemnized by religious proceſſions.

The orders diſpatched into the provinces upon the eve of St. Bartholomew, produced their fatal effects in moſt of the cities and great towns in the kingdom. At Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Thouloufe, and many other places, the cruelties of the Pariſians were emulated; and thirty thouſand people, according to the loweſt computation, were murdered in cold blood. But though the king's infamous orders were too generally obeyed by the commanders and magiſtrates in the different towns, ſome honourable exceptions muſt be made, and the names of thoſe patriots whoſe generous exertions tended to preſerve the lives of their countrymen be recorded in the page of hiſtory. To Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny [12], it was owing that only one Proteſtant was killed in the whole province of Burgundy. When the king's letters were brought, by la Mole, to Claud of Savoy, count of Tende, governor of Dauphiné, he inſiſted that theſe orders, ſo contradictory to what he had received a few days before from his majeſty, could not come from him; and that he would adhere to his firſt inſtructions as moſt becoming the king. Though he died in a few days, his lenity and reſolution, being imitated by Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, proved almoſt an entire protection to the Calviniſts of the province. In Auvergne, St. Heran, the gover-

[12] D'Aubigné—De Thou—Sully.

nor,

nor, a man trained up in the violence of civil war, declared, when he looked upon the orders, "that they were ſuch as he could not obey, unleſs the king himſelf were pre-"ſent to give them." Tanneguy-le-Veneur exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to prevent the maſſacre at Rouen, but wanted power to reſtrain the fury of the populace; and ſeveral of the deputies in the governments of the Montmorencies acting with ſimilar moderation, from a conformity to the ſentiments of their conſtituents, prevented or controuled the appointed ſlaughter. But the anſwer made by the viſcount de Ortez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles, who had written a private letter to him, is peculiarly worthy of notice: "You muſt not, on this point, expect any obedience from me. I "have ſignified the orders ſent from your majeſty to the inhabitants of the town, and "the troops in the garriſon; and I found them all ready to act like good citizens and "brave ſoldiers; but not one hangman among them." After it was known, by various expreſſes from the lieutenants in the provinces, what confuſion was occaſioned by the maſſacres, the edict to prohibit all inſurrections and violences was publiſhed. As in one clauſe of it, the king's will was ſaid to be not to derogate from the edicts of peace; and in another, that the religious aſſemblies of the Proteſtants ſhould be reſtrained, ſeveral of the governors were at a loſs how to interpret its import, and proceeded differently, according to their particular diſpoſitions and attachments [13].

Charles, though he occaſionally expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the ſcene he had occaſioned, and though the agitation of his mind had a viſible effect on his conſtitution, was yet incapable of feeling that deep remorſe which proceeds from a full conviction of having acted wrong. He ſtill continued to inſiſt on the immediate converſion of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who having made the abjuration of their errors and received abſolution, appeared with their families at high maſs. The king and court rejoiced at their victory, as the ſpecial fruit of St. Bartholomew [14]. The cardinal of Bourbon, obſerving that the king of Navarre had the appearance of attention and gravity while maſs was performed, ſaid to Bellievre, "Think you not that my nephew is "ſincerely converted to the church?"—"No"—replied the other—"I plainly ſee "that he bears, with great difficulty, his preſent conſtraint."

When intelligence of the maſſacre was received at Madrid, the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of joy were evinced by the court of Spain. Philip wrote a congratulatory letter to Charles on the ſubject, and offered public thankſgivings to Heaven for the deſtruction of his enemies. The courier, who carried the diſmal tidings to Rome, was rewarded by the cardinal of Lorraine (who had long reſided in that capital) with a thouſand crowns; and a decree was immediately formed in the conclave for a jubilee to be celebrated throughout Chriſtendom [15]. After a proceſſion had been made to St. Mark's

[13] De Thou. [14] Matthieu. [15] D'Aubigné—De Thou.

church,

church, and all the cuſtomary demonſtrations of joy were exhibited in the city, the cardinal walked in proceſſion to the church of St. Lewis, where, performing maſs himſelf, he ſaid, "that the prayers and vows of Gregory the Thirteenth and the members of the "ſacred college might now be ſeen to have produced ſtupendous effects."

The court now believed they had effected the total extinction of the Proteſtant party. There were only four cities in the kingdom that dared to receive ſome diſperſed bodies of the fugitive nobles and their families, who, after the deſtruction of their principal leaders, ſeemed to carry only conſternation and deſpair along with them. Of the four towns granted for the ſecurity of the articles of the pacification, Montauban and Rochelle only remained in the power of the Hugonots[16]. When Reſnier, who had eſcaped the maſſacre, through the lenity of de Veſins, his perſonal enemy, preſented himſelf, with a ſmall troop of horſemen, at the gates of the firſt of theſe places, he found the inhabitants in ſuch confuſion and diſmay, that he could not prevail with them to ſtand on their defence; until he had defeated, by a wonderful effort of deſperate courage, a party of four hundred of Montluc's ſoldiers. Though the flight of the moſt numerous parties being directed to Rochelle, the concourſe of fifty gentlemen, as many miniſters, and about a thouſand ſoldiers, appeared to claim the protection, and animate the courage of the townſmen, yet the fleet commanded by the baron de la Garde, and Strozzi, hovering in their bay, and the land forces drawn together in their neighbourhood by de Biron, convinced them of the dangers they would incur by any act of diſobedience to the court. As la Chaſtre had alſo been ordered with ſome troops to draw near to Sancerre, it was believed by the king's miniſters that the precautions they had taken, joined to the general ſurprize and terror, would be ſufficient to obtain the poſſeſſion of theſe towns, from which only reſiſtance was apprehended.

A. D. 1573.] But the expectations of the court were fruſtrated, and both theſe towns prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance. Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, never equalled but in the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian, obtained an honourable capitulation, by which the troops were allowed to march out with their baggage, and liberty of conſcience and impunity were ſecured to the inhabitants. Rochelle reſiſted all the efforts of the duke of Anjou, who went in perſon to beſiege it, for ſeven months, during which time many eminent commanders and officers among the Catholics loſt their lives. The duke of Aumale, Coſſeins, Goa, and Vergani, a celebrated engineer, were killed, and in the end ſixty captains were reckoned to have periſhed by wounds or diſeaſes. Though informed of his election to the crown of Poland, and adviſed of the promiſe given by the biſhop of Valence—the French envoy in that kingdom—to grant the Rochellers advantageous terms, the duke of Anjou ſtill thought of ſhewing himſelf,

[16] D'Aubigné.

to the laſt, the indiſputable vanquiſher of the Hugonots. Being at laſt required by the king to conclude the military operations on any plauſible terms, and having narrowly eſcaped a mortal wound, which one of his domeſtics warded off at the expence of his own life, a treaty was concluded, in its conditions advantageous to the beſieged; while, after the employment of an army of fifty thouſand men againſt them, and the deſtruction of half of them, it could only be conſidered, on the Catholic ſide, as a ſpecious cover to the king's honour and to that of the duke of Anjou. It comprehended, along with Rochelle, the two cities of Niſmes and Montauban as her confederates [17]. By its articles, reduced to the form of a royal edict, the free exerciſe of their religion was permitted to the Proteſtant inhabitants of theſe towns, together with the reſtoration of the Catholic worſhip in the churches where it had been ſuppreſſed. The gentry, or poſſeſſors of fiefs-nobles, who had borne arms in thoſe places, were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptiſms in their houſes, in companies not exceeding ten perſons; and all abjuration forced by penalties being declared null and void, the Proteſtants every where were indulged with liberty of conſcience. The privileges of theſe towns remained ſecure and undiminiſhed; the king only claiming the power of appointing governors, without obliging them to have other garriſons than their own, or inſiſting on building citadels without their conſent. Four hoſtages from each of theſe cities were to be ſent to the king; by whom a general amneſty was granted.

From the paſſionate deſire which queen Catherine had to ſee her favourite ſon proclaimed a ſovereign, and from the no leſs eager, though more ſecret, wiſhes of Charles to rid himſelf of one, whom he regarded as the rival of his reputation and authority in the kingdom, the conſideration of the public diſquiet was for a time ſuſpended, and all the thoughts of the court and miniſtry were engroſſed by the preparations for the reception of the Poliſh envoys, in a manner ſuitable to the honour of both nations. The biſhop of Langres was diſpatched to receive them at Metz; and, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, they arrived at the gates of Paris. The French court had not, for many centuries, beheld ſo ſplendid an embaſſy. Their whole train of cavalry amounted to near three hundred, of which more than the third part were gentlemen, beſides the twelve chief delegates. Their aſpect, dreſs, and equipage were no leſs a novelty to the Pariſians, who gazed on the large ſize of their bodies, their long beards, their grave and ſtern countenances, the rich furs on their habits, and the brilliant furniture of their arms and horſes. The chief nobility of the court and the magiſtrates of the city went forth, in proceſſion, to meet them, at the gate of St. Martin, which was decorated in the ſame manner as on the king's public entrance into the capital; and through it they were carried in fifty chariots, painted with various devices. It was remarkable that the Poliſh gentlemen could all ſpeak Latin, many of them German and Italian, and ſeveral

[17] D'Aubigné, chap. 20—De Thou—P. Daniel, p. 991.

of

of them expreſs themſelves with propriety in French; while, among the whole chief nobility of the court of France, there was none who underſtood the Latin language, though, at that time, the foundation of almoſt all literature; and the baron de Millau, and Caſtelnau Mauviſſiere, were ordered to attend the court as the only two gentlemen who had this qualification [18], the want of which now appeared to expoſe the faſhionable ignorance of the courtiers.

After their introduction to the queen-mother, the ambaſſadors, in their moſt pompous equipage, made a proceſſion through the ſtreets, to offer their ſubmiſſion and obeiſance to the duke of Anjou their ſovereign. A courſe of ſumptuous feaſts and entertainments attended theſe viſits, till the grand ceremony of preſenting the decree of their king's election took place. After Henry, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, had ſworn to the conditions enacted by the diet of Poland, it was performed, with the utmoſt magnificence, in the ſpacious hall of the palace, where Charles, being ſeated under a canopy, with his brothers and the royal family at the *Marble Table*, and all the nobility and officers of the ſtate placed according to their rank, while the trumpets flouriſhed, the Poliſh delegates were introduced, and advanced towards the throne, two of them bearing on their ſhoulders a ſilver cheſt, in which the decree, having an hundred and ten ſeals affixed to it, was depoſited. This ſhew of ſtate was followed by another ſtill more coſtly, which was the triumphal entrance of the king of Poland by the gate of Saint Antoine [19]. Upon this occaſion the queen-mother, who gave the entertainment in the garden of the Thuilleries, contrived to embelliſh it with a kind of theatrical repreſentation, ſuited to the taſte of thoſe times. When the tables were removed, ſuddenly, from behind a curtain, appeared, hovering in the air, a huge rock, cruſted with ſilver. In its niches ſixteen nymphs, repreſenting by their different ornaments the ſeveral provinces of France, played upon various muſical inſtruments, and recited harmonious verſes and ſongs in praiſe of the new king, and the enſuing felicity of his reign; then, deſcending to the ground, they preſented Henry with their peculiar tributes, and forming themſelves into rows, exhibited whatever was curious or graceful in the French dances. The Poles, notwithſtanding their natural gravity, ſeemed highly pleaſed with theſe gay diverſions, and had reaſon to be ſatisfied in general, with the grandeur and liberality of the court of France.

The king of Poland left Paris, on his way to his new dominions, on the twenty-firſt of September; while Charles repaired to Villers-Coterez, where he firſt perceived the ſymptoms of freſh tumults in the ſtate [20]. Two ſets of deputies from the provinces followed him thither, and preſented their ſeveral petitions. The Proteſtant commiſſioners

[18] Matthieu, p. 362. [19] D'Aubigné, liv. ii. chap. 1. [20] Sully—De Thou—De Serres.

from Languedoc were the one, and those of the nobles of Dauphiné and Provence the other. The petition of the former respected the toleration of their religion, and the security of all who professed it; and that of the latter insisted on the suppression of some late taxes. From their conjunction at this time, in demands equally disagreeable to the court, the prevalence of animosity and turbulent counsels, both among the Calvinists and Catholics, and the confidence those parties had in some powerful support, were sufficiently manifest. The import and style of the demands of the Hugonots shewed they were not afraid of offending the court. Though destitute of their former conductors, and of the authoritative names of the princes of Bourbon, by which union and good order had been preserved in their designs, they had, in a great measure, supplied this defect, by the two great confederacies of Nismes and Montauban, which divided all the power of their adherents in Languedoc into two governments; the viscount Saint Romain being elected chief of the one, and Paulin of the other. By the communication of their counsels and resolutions they had strengthened their partizans; so that all important questions came to be determined by them as a body. As that of conforming to the capitulation of Rochelle, and other matters contested between them and the Catholics, required to be discussed, the king had permitted a general meeting of their nobility and ministers at both these cities. Elevated with the apparent recovery of their former vigour and importance; flattering themselves with the reports of the intercession of the Polish ambassadors for them; and believing that the removal of the duke of Anjou from the kingdom would produce a change in the measures of the court to their advantage, they had convened at Nismes, upon Saint Bartholomew's day, to deliberate about the general submission to the terms of the late edict of Rochelle. At this meeting it was not only agreed to testify their disapprobation of the edict, but their remonstrances against it bore all the marks of their indignant and resentful remembrance of that day of the year in which they were framed. No treaty or composition with the court, yet insisted on by the Protestant chiefs during the civil wars, equalled the conditions of their present petition. After declaring that the treacherous massacre at Paris had so far sapped the foundation of the public faith, that they could not, without particular securities, safely rely upon it, they demanded the general and public toleration of their religion, without distinction of places or persons; the retention of the cities they held, with the addition of two more in every province, to be furnished with garrisons of their soldiers, maintained at the king's expence; the establishment of courts, composed of judges of their persuasion; the reservation of the tythes paid to the Catholic clergy, for the maintenance of their ministers; the prosecution and punishment of the authors and contrivers of the massacres, with various other articles of the same nature and tendency; which so much amazed the queen-mother, that she declared—"If the prince of Condé had "been alive, and master of half the cities in the kingdom, with an army of twenty "thousand horse and forty thousand foot, he would not have presumed to propose them." This paper was signed and delivered to the king by Paulin, Gourdon, Verlac, and Cavagnac Yollet, who now placed themselves at the head of the Hugonots. These men,

men, who thought themſelves entitled to act upon principles of reſentment againſt the government, which had broken the ties of honour and faith with them, had put the affairs of their party in ſuch a ſtate, in the remote and extenſive quarters they poſſeſſed, as rendered them formidable. Inſtead, therefore, of a harſh or imperious reply, as might have been expected, the king thought fit, in the preſent conjuncture, to give them a mild, though eluſive one, by referring them to the mareſchal D'Amville for redreſs in ſome grievances of which they complained. The petition of the Catholic nobles of the other provinces was anſwered much in the ſame manner, by promiſes of a future diminution of the *Tailles*. From this period may be dated the more general diffuſion of a ſpirit of diſaffection to the government among the Proteſtants, and ſuch a diſregard of all the ties of allegiance as exceeded all former inſtances that occurred during the civil wars. Not only were the maſſacres conſidered by them as an apology and a juſtifiable motive for embracing any opportunity of revolt, but the manifeſt diſaffection of a great number of the Catholic nobility proved an additional inſtigation to it.

A. D. 1574.] By the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland, the important poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom had become vacant; and his brother, the duke of Alençon, who now exchanged his title for that of Anjou, aſpired to the poſſeſſion of it. But his views being fruſtrated by the interpoſition of his mother, that prince entered into a correſpondence with the Proteſtant chiefs, and projected his eſcape from court. The latter were, indeed, already in arms; ſome of their old provincial leaders, as Montbrun, Montguion, Le Caſe, and others, having begun their excurſions in the remoter diſtricts, where the truces were ſeldom maintained between them and the Catholics. By the confederacy of Languedoc, and La Noue's declaring himſelf convinced of the neceſſity of taking arms, the commotions ſoon became more general. Rochelle made ſome ſcruples, which, however, were ſpeedily removed by an attempt that was made, by certain adventurers, who were believed to act under the authority of the queen-mother, to ſurprize the town. Though the king—who was now in a very bad ſtate of health—diſavowed any concern in this breach of the peace, the ſuſpicions of the Rochellers were confirmed by the declarations of the priſoners they took. It is certain that, though Catharine could not aſſume all the royal authority, ſhe ventured ſo far, on account of the king's indiſpoſition, to act upon her own plan, that the Montmorencies and their party, as well as the Proteſtants, had every thing to fear from her abſolute ſway in the ſtate, upon the event of the king's death. It was generally credited among the latter, from private informations ſent them from the malecontents about the court, that the maſſacres would be renewed at this juncture. In this temper, and under theſe apprehenſions[21], the general inſurrection of the Hugonots, called the *rebellion of Shrove-Tueſday*, took place. Beſides what they held in Languedoc, it was attended with the ſeizure and

[21] Sully.—D'Aubigné.

revolt

revolt of many towns and places in Saintonge, Dauphiné, and the Vivarez, and, by the count of Montgomery's return from England into Normandy, extended into that province, and ſome other diſtricts. It was La Noue's advice to fix upon that feſtival for the execution of the enterprize, as the pleaſures in which the Catholics then indulged themſelves afforded an opportunity to attack them unawares, and the event proved the advantage of it. But that part of the deſign, which connected it with the eſcape of the duke of Anjou, was defeated. Though, in conſequence of a determination entered into by Thore, the viſcount Turenne and others, who were in habits of intimacy with the duke, to put his reſolution to the teſt, Guitri, an experienced captain, with two hundred of the beſt appointed cavalry, took his ſtation in the neighbourhood of Saint Germain-en-Laye, the mutability of the duke of Anjou was ſuch, that La Molle, either ſtill fearing it, or deſirous to augment his credit with the court, in the view of turning it afterwards to the ſervice of his maſter, thought fit to reveal the circumſtance of his intended flight to the queen-mother. Her ſurprize was great; and to increaſe the king's alarm, ſhe affected the utmoſt conſternation. After cauſing a ſearch to be made through every corner of the caſtle for hidden aſſaſſins, and aſſuring the king that the aſtrologers had bidden him beware of Saint Germain, ſhe pronounced his ſtay there to be unſafe, and hurried the whole court to Paris, and from thence to the Bois des Vincennes. Here the king of Navarre and the duke were detained, though not as priſoners, yet under watch, and without the liberty of leaving the caſtle. They were alſo obliged to publiſh their diſavowal and deteſtation of this conſpiracy, that their ſecret friends might believe they were deſerted by them. Thore and Meru (brothers to the mareſchal Montmorenci) with ſome others, privately withdrew; and the prince of Condé, being occaſionally abſent at Amiens, found means of eſcaping with them afterwards into Germany.

The queen-mother was careful to improve this plot to her purpoſes. In the languiſhing condition[22] of Charles's health, the quick and ſenſible[23] impreſſions it made upon him were altogether favourable to her procedure, and ſhe ſo exaggerated the informations ſhe pretended to have received about the nature of the conſpiracy, that the preſidents of the parliament, Thou and Hanneguin, were commanded by the king to enquire into it, and proſecute, with the utmoſt diligence and ſeverity, all that could be diſcovered to have any knowledge in the treaſonable deſign[24]. In the mean time, the duke of Anjou, repenting of his unſteadineſs and facility, which reduced him to the ſtate of a priſoner, and the king of Navarre, juſtly conceiving apprehenſions about Catharine's practiſes againſt him, had formed a freſh deſign in Eaſter-week of eſcaping in diſguiſe. A diſcovery of this being alſo made, the queen-mother was enabled, by means of Brinon, who had become one of her ſpies and informers, to give a new turn to

[22] Brantôme, Eloge, tom. iv. [23] D'Aubigné. [24] Matthieu, p. 374.

the

the accuſations and the whole proceſs. Being introduced as an evidence, he accuſed La Molle, and the count de Conconnas, a Piedmonteſe, who was alſo a favourite of the duke of Anjou's, and a number of other partiſans of the malecontents; ſome of whom were immediately apprehended and brought to trial [25]. The two noblemen above mentioned, with one or two more, after undergoing a ſevere examination, were, upon doubtful evidence, condemned, and immediately beheaded.

But the queen-mother's aims reached higher than to the impeachment and death of ſome of the inferior partiſans of the duke of Anjou and the malecontents. She had an eye to the apprehenſion of thoſe whom ſhe conſidered as the moſt formidable leaders of the faction. Though Thore, Meru, and others had eſcaped, the mareſchals de Montmorenci and Coſſe remained within the graſp of her power; and, notwithſtanding there were only ſuch vague and trivial accuſations againſt them as could not found a plauſible charge, it was enough that they were ſuſpected as abettors of the conſpiracy. Charles, the more liable to miſtruſt, and to yield to her dictates, the more his ſpirits were waſted, was eaſily prevailed on to agree to the meaſure of ſecuring their perſons. To conceal the intention [26], they were only ordered to attend the king, and they obeyed without taking the alarm. The quarters aſſigned them in the innermoſt apartment of the caſtle created ſuſpicion, and they were adviſed by their friends to provide for their ſafety by a retreat, which they could eaſily have accompliſhed: but, reſtrained by a ſenſe of honour, and confident that his enemies could make nothing of their charge againſt him, Montmorenci would not extricate himſelf from the hazard at the expence of his reputation; and de Coſſe adhered to his ſentiments. In three days they were made priſoners by D'Auchi, captain of the king's guard, and carried to Paris, and from thence to the Baſtile, in the midſt of the exultations of the Pariſians; who from enmity to the Montmorencies, and the moderate Catholics, readily agreed to furniſh an additional guard of eight hundred men, during the time of their impriſonment. Upon the ſame day guards were placed about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou; and queen Catharine, willing to make every thing ſecure, and to loſe no part of her triumph, had taken meaſures for depriving the mareſchal D'Amville of his government, and ſeizing his perſon; but the grounds of ſuſpicion given him, by the arrival of D'Acier, now duke of Uſez, in the province, who had lately attached himſelf to the court, and was his adverſary, and by ſome packets intercepted, had ſo forwarned him of his danger, that he immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of Montpelier, and three other towns in Languedoc, without making any declarations. Saint Sulpice and the ſecretary Villeroy being ſent by the court to him, under colour of accommodating the diſſenſions of the province, he by various pretexts avoided an interview with them, till Martinengues came with the king's orders to

[25] Additions aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau, liv. vi. [26] De Thou, p. 1160—D'Aubigné.

ſeize

ſeize him, and to forbid the military officers every where to obey him. But being, by this time, adviſed by his friends at court of the fate of his brother, the mareſchal, he prepared to oppoſe the execution of theſe menaces, and to ſtand on his defence.

The meaſures neceſſary to be taken for quelling the inſurrection of the Hugonots completed the abſolute ſway of the queen-mother, by giving her the direction of three armies, which were immediately ordered to be formed in Normandy, Poitou, and Dauphiné, and to be commanded by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in the firſt of theſe provinces, by the duke of Montpenſier, and his ſon in the others[27]. The count of Montgomery's attempts upon Normandy being chiefly dreaded, the attention of the court was directed to fruſtrate his deſign of ſeizing ſome of the maritime towns, the effecting of which would open a paſſage for Engliſh, or other foreign ſuccours, and might expoſe the kingdom by the revolt of places ſo contiguous to the capital. Upon that ſide, therefore, the greateſt diligence was uſed to draw together the beſt troops. But Colombiere and Guitri having ſurprized Saint Lo and Domfront, the count landed at the former of theſe places, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of Caranten and Valognes. While they were occupied in ſtrengthening the fortifications of theſe places, Matignon, having with the utmoſt expedition aſſembled his forces, advanced into Lower Normandy; and after making a feint of turning towards Valognes, ſuddenly puſhed the van of his army to that ſide of Saint Lo which communicated by the river with the ſea, and ſoon ſhut up all paſſage from the town, either by water or land. Montgomery, unprovided with forage for his cavalry, and ſenſible that his defence of a weak town might fruſtrate all his other projects, reſolved to force one of the enemy's poſts, and retire to ſome place where he might act with greater effect. Having encouraged Colombiere to make the beſt reſiſtance he could, he ſallied out with a hundred and fifty horſemen in the night, broke through ſeveral guards and entrenchments of the royaliſts, and, with ſcarcely the loſs of a man, reached Carentan, whence he paſſed to Domfront, to meet ſome Proteſtant gentry lately arrived there from the interior parts of the province. His departure cauſed a council of war to be holden by the Catholic commanders, in which it was deliberated whether they ought to continue the ſiege or follow him; and Matignon, whoſe inſtructions directed him to conſider the capture of Montgomery as a main object of his enterprize, procured a determination that, without raiſing the ſiege of Saint Lo, ſuch a large detachment ſhould be made from the army, as would be ſufficient to inveſt Domfront, or any of the other towns to which he might retire. This unexpected meaſure proved ſucceſsful. By the expeditious march of ſix hundred cavalry and two regiments of foot, conducted by Saint Colombe, and followed by another body of troops under Matignon himſelf, the count, having no intelligence of their approach, was ſurprized in

[27] De Thou, 1160—D'Avila—D'Aubigné.

Domfront,

Domfront, where he had ſcarce two hundred ſoldiers to form a garriſon, and among them ſeveral of the gentry, unwilling to ſhare his hazardous fate, began to parley with the Catholics, and deſert to them. In this extremity, Montgomery performed all that could be expected from his experience and valour, and, after defending the town for ſome days, made his retreat into the caſtle. Here he ſuſtained an aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with conſiderable ſlaughter, and the loſs of Saint Colombe, and ſome other officers of note. An anecdote recorded of one of them marks the ſpirit and gallantry which prevailed among the warriors of thoſe times. Having received a ſhot in his head, which deprived him of ſpeech, he went into the neareſt tent, and made a ſign to have a pen and paper brought him, and ſitting down to write a letter to his miſtreſs with his blood, he died the moment he had finiſhed it. By this time almoſt every one of Montgomery's companions, as well as himſelf, had received wounds, and their number was daily diminiſhed by deſertion: unable, therefore, to hold out any longer, he, at length, ſurrendered to the enemy. D'Aubigné affirms, that the count had only ambiguous promiſes of life and a ſafe diſmiſſion given him, while other hiſtorians aſſert that the promiſe was abſolute. To truſt the ſmalleſt ambiguity was, in his circumſtances, improper, and unworthy of his fortitude; he had reaſon to be convinced of what he ought to have done when the Catholic forces returned to the ſiege of Saint Lo. Being prevailed on by Matignon to ſolicit Colombiere to avoid the grand aſſault, and accept of honourable conditions, this reſolute chieftain, diſdaining to be reduced to the ſame ſituation in which he ſaw the count, reproached him with not dying like a ſoldier in the breach, rather than be expoſed to ſuffer like a criminal. "It becomes you, indeed,"—ſaid he, in an ironical tone—"to propoſe your behaviour as a pattern to me, when mine "will now be of no ſervice to you. But I ſhall take care to teach my companions how they "ought to die." He, accordingly, took his ſtation in the middle of the breach—now ſeventy paces in length—with his two ſons on each ſide of him; one of them being twelve, and the other only ten years old. The character of the man, as well as of the brave commander, was diſcovered in this action. "In yielding my life to God,"—ſaid he to thoſe around him—"I at the ſame time offer to him what I hold deareſt in "the world. It is better for them to die undiſhonoured and uncorrupted with their "father, than to fall into the hands of the reprobate tribe, who may pervert them." A ball having pierced his head, he ſoon fell, and the breach was ſpeedily abandoned by his followers. Compaſſion, however, moved the Catholic ſoldiers to ſave the lives of his forlorn offſpring. His death was lamented by his party as a general misfortune; and the reduction of Saint Lo being ſoon followed by that of Carentan and the other forts, the war was terminated in Normandy, and the count of Montgomery carried in triumph to Paris; where he was ſoon after beheaded.

It appears that the queen-mother, at this juncture, had made the ſeizure of the princes and chief lords, whoſe oppoſition ſhe feared, her principal object; and it is alſo ſaid by D'Aubigné—though the frequency of ſuch accuſations requires that they ſhould be

received with great caution—that ſhe tried to end her military operations by a recourſe to the baſe methods of aſſaſſination: for which purpoſe it was believed, that Maurevel, and one Saint Martin, were ſent into Poitou, to make an attempt on the life of La Noue, which failed. In this province the duke of Montpenſier having collected a number of Catholic chieftains, with their followers, detached Puy-Gaillard to inveſt Taillemont, while he advanced to form the ſiege of Fontenai. The firſt of theſe places being taken, the duke had the advantage of beſieging the latter with his whole force. But the brave Saint Etienne commanded in it, who, by the bold ſally he made into the Catholic camp, and the repulſe he gave to the firſt aſſault of the beſiegers, cooled their hopes of ſpeedy ſucceſs. At the ſame time La Noue, who had forces ſufficient to make a diverſion in favour of the beſieged, though not to engage the Catholic army, appeared in the neighbourhood. From the alarm taken, it was propoſed to draw off ſome cannon from the batteries againſt the town, to ſecure the camp from an attack; when Montpenſier received letters from the queen-mother, requiring his immediate attendance upon the king, whoſe life was thought every day to be in imminent danger. The ſiege, therefore, was raiſed.

In the mean time, the war was continued with little intermiſſion in Languedoc, where the ſtrength of the Proteſtants was moſt entire; and in Dauphiné, where they had poſſeſſed themſelves of many places of importance. The flight of the prince of Condé to Straſburgh, where he publicly renounced his late forced abjuration of the Proteſtant religion, contributed to maintain the civil commotions, and animate the Hugonots to truſt their fortune to the deciſion of war, rather than to the experienced treachery of the court. He gave them aſſurances that, after his father's example, he would devote himſelf to the ſupport of their cauſe, for which purpoſe he was then endeavouring to procure auxiliary troops from Germany, in hopes that the levy-money promiſed by them would be remitted. Thoré's letters to the mareſchal D'Amville were no leſs calculated to excite him to an open rupture with the court, and to revenge the treatment of their brother as a violent ſtretch of arbitrary power that denounced the intended ruin of their whole family. Though the mareſchal, naturally ſlow, and averſe from appearing in oppoſition to the authority of the government, ſtill employed the language of peace and ſubmiſſion, it was evident from the general aſpect of affairs, that, notwithſtanding all the queen-mother had done for deſtroying the party of the malecontents, and repreſſing the inſurrection of the Proteſtants, the flame of war and diſcord was too far kindled in the kingdom, to be extinguiſhed by the utmoſt exertion of her power and policy.

The moſt unequivocal ſymptoms of the king's approaching diſſolution had, by this time, appeared, and it is evident he was aware of it himſelf, by allowing letters-patent to be tranſmitted to the governors of the provinces, requiring them to obey the orders of his mother, as being veſted with his authority, during his preſent indiſpoſition.

tion[28]. With this conceſſion, though for ſome time expected by Catharine, he had hitherto declined to gratify her; and by yielding it only in the extremity of his diſorder, he ſhewed a jealouſy and diſtruſt of her uſurpation over him, which ſhe had too long exerciſed. His nomination of her, by a formal deed, to the regency of the kingdom, in the event of his death, and during the abſence of his brother, the king of Poland, was ſtill deferred, till the thirtieth of May, when he was ſeized with the moſt violent pains. The conflict between his youthful ſtrength and the fatal power of his diſeaſe, threw him into the moſt violent convulſions, during which the blood iſſued through the pores of his ſkin, in almoſt every part of his body. He expired in the evening of the day in which the letters of regency were framed, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign[29].

Impetuous, violent, choleric, vindictive and cruel, Charles diſgraced by his actions the throne of his anceſtors; yet, when the frailty of human nature is conſidered, ſome extenuation muſt be allowed even for the *vices* of youth. No parent's foſtering hand had ſown the ſeeds of virtue in his infant mind; all thoſe generous feelings which are the ſources of true benevolence, and give dignity to man, were carefully ſuppreſſed by an unnatural mother, whoſe chief object was to render her ſon a prodigy of diſſimulation. In the execution of this deteſtable plan ſhe, too fatally, ſucceeded; and ſhe lived to behold the dreadful effects of her own wickedneſs.

The negative virtues of ſobriety and temperance Charles certainly poſſeſſed: his apprehenſion was quick: his diſcernment acute: his elocution nervous and maſculine: and in all the martial exerciſes of the age, he is ſaid to have been eminently ſkilled. He had a taſte for the fine arts, which appeared incompatible with the moroſeneſs and cruelty of his temper: he not only rewarded the genius of the poet Ronſard, but wrote verſes in his praiſe, not inferior to thoſe of the maſter he admired. He alſo compiled a book on his favourite amuſement of the chace.

Charles cauſed a ſmith's forge to be erected in his palace, where he amuſed himſelf with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horſe-chains, and other pieces of ſmith's work. He piqued himſelf on his talent of imitating, with the greateſt nicety, the various coins in circulation, ſuch as the crown, the double ducat, and the teſtoon. When he ſhewed one of them to the cardinal of Lorraine for his approbation; "Ah, Sir,"—ſaid the prelate—"you can "do whatever you pleaſe, for you always carry your pardon in your own pocket."

For ſome time before his death he is ſaid to have expreſſed the deepeſt remorſe for the maſſacre of Saint Bartholomew, and for the other acts of violence to which he had

[28] Sully—De Thou—Brantôme. [29] Matthieu—Brantôme.

been inſtigated by his mother, On his death-bed he diſplayed the ſentiments of a king, anxious for the welfare of his people. He ſpoke feelingly of the ſituation of princes during their minority[30]; and ſaid, "that he was better pleaſed to die without an heir, "than to leave the kingdom to an infant, at a time when France ſtood in need of a man "to redreſs her numerous calamities." By his queen, Elizabeth of Auſtria, he left a daughter, who ſurvived him but a ſhort time. By his miſtreſs, Mary Touchet, daughter to a lieutenant of the police at Orleans, he had one ſon, who firſt enjoyed the title of grand prior, and afterwards that of count d'Auvergne[31]. Charles was entombed with little ceremony; and before the funeral convoy reached Saint Denis, it was deſerted by all the followers, except Brantôme, and four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

In the laſt year of the reign of Charles the Ninth, the revenues produced only eight millions, ſix hundred thouſand livres; the mark of ſilver being ſeventeen livres, and that of gold two hundred.

[30] Brantôme. [31] Idem—Henault.

HENRY

HENRY THE THIRD.

A. D. 1574.] ON the deceaſe of Charles, Catharine aſſumed the reins of power in conſequence of the letters-patent by which the regency had been conferred on her. She cloſely guarded the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, with the mareſchals de Montmorenci and de Coſſe: ſhe negociated a truce with the Hugonots, raiſed new levies among the Swiſs and Germans, diſpatched repeated meſſengers to haſten the journey of the king of Poland, and, impatient of delay, ſet out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

Henry no ſooner received the welcome intelligence of his brother's death, than he ſecretly withdrew from the kingdom to the government of which he had been ſo lately elected; and he fled with ſuch precipitation that he had reached the frontiers of Germany, before the publick were informed of his departure. On his journey he paid a viſit to the emperor Maximilian, and to Charles duke of Savoy; and from Vienna he directed his courſe through the territories of the Venetians. From the different potentates by whom he was entertained, he recei d the moſt ſalutary advice as to his future conduct; they repreſented to him the fatal conſequences of replunging his kingdon into civil war, and urged him to avert them by granting to the Proteſtants peace and the free exerciſe of their religion[1]. But he was himſelf diſinclined to follow their counſels, and his mother's inſtigations led him to adopt a different line of conduct.

The abilities which Henry had diſplayed in early youth had induced his ſubjects to

[1] Sully.

form

form the higheſt expectations of his future conduct; but their hopes were ſpeedily fruſtrated, and, inſtead of an active, vigilant, and high-ſpirited monarch, they found him irreſolute, inconſtant, indolent, and voluptuous; a ſtrange compound of ſenſuality and devotion, alternately governed by licentious minions, and bigoted prieſts.

Though he releaſed from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother, the duke of Anjou, who ſoon after took the appellation of Monſieur, yet he ſtill continued to watch their motions with a jealous eye; but the cares of government were only conſidered ſecondary to thoſe of love; he publickly avowed his paſſion for the princeſs of Condé, and regardleſs alike of decency and of honour, declared his intention of procuring the diſſolution of her marriage, and of uniting her to himſelf by indiſſoluble ties. The hand of death, however, arreſted his deſign; that princeſs ſuddenly expired in the bloom of youth and beauty, while the royal lover expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for her loſs, refuſing to liſten to the voice of conſolation, and obſtinately rejecting whatever food was offered him. But when he awoke from this lethargy of grief, he ſeemed aſhamed of his weakneſs, and wiſhed to aſcribe it to the power of enchantment[2].

The firſt act of ſovereignty performed by Henry was the reſtoration to the duke of Savoy of ſeveral places which the French ſtill retained in Piedmont. The duke of Nevers, governor of thoſe territories, remonſtrated on the impolicy of this meaſure, but his repreſentations were diſregarded by the king, and the evacuation immediately took place. There were at this time two parties in the council, whoſe views were as oppoſite as their principles: one was anxious to promote a continuance of peace, and a reform in the government; the other was ſolely intent on the extermination of the Hugonots. At the head of the firſt were Paul de Foix; Chriſtopher de Thou, firſt preſident of the parliament; and Pibrac: Morvilliers was the leader of the other, a violent bigot, who favouring the growth of foreign intrigues, originating in the courts of Spain and Rome, rendered religion ſubſervient to the exaltation of thoſe two powers. The views of this laſt faction coinciding with the intereſt of the queen-mother, it ſoon acquired the aſcendancy, and perſuaded the king to declare war againſt the Hugonots, who were joined by a great number of the Catholics under the command of the mareſchal D'Amville. While this officer erected his ſtandard in Languedoc, the prince of Condé haſtened from Germany to join the confederates, and Monſieur ſeized the firſt opportunity of eſcaping from the court, and took up arms againſt his brother.

A. D. 1575.] On the fifteenth of February Henry was crowned at Rheims, and the day after the ceremony, he married Louiſa, daughter to the count of Vaudement,

[2] Mezerai, tom ix. p. 11.

of

of the houſe of Lorraine. He had no ſooner made his entry into the capital, with his youthful conſort, than he received a deputation from the Proteſtants on the ſubject of peace: their propoſals, which were contained in ninety-two articles, breathed a ſpirit of boldneſs that beſpoke the ſtrength of their party: the convention of the ſtates general; the reduction of the taxes to the ſtandard of Lewis the Twelfth; the exemplary puniſhment of Atheiſts and Blaſphemers; and the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt the infamous debauchery and guilty exceſſes that prevailed in the kingdom; were inſiſted on with a degree of ſtrength and authority that encreaſed the rage of the court againſt the Hugonots.

The war was continued with various ſucceſs, in different parts of the kingdom; Montauban was inveſted by the Catholics, but relieved by Choupes: in Auvergne, Montale was defeated and ſlain, by Magdeham de Saint Nectane, widow to Guy de Saint Exupery Miraumont, an *Amazonian* dame, who was conſtantly attended by ſixty gallant gentlemen, who ſought to win her favour by uncommon exertions of valour. The capital of Perigord was taken and ſacked by Langorian; and the towns of Uſez and Alez, by D'Amville. In Dauphiné, Montbrun defeated his enemy, de Gordes, in the vicinity of Die; but a few days after the action he experienced a reverſe of fortune, and being taken by the Catholics, was tried by the parliament of Grenoble, and ſentenced to loſe his head. The reaſon aſſigned for this ſeverity, was his conduct in pillaging the king's baggage, and in obſerving to thoſe who blamed him for ſo doing, that *in the field and at the gaming-table, all men were equal*[3]. He was ſucceeded in his command by Leſdiguieres, who proved himſelf, in every reſpect, worthy of his predeceſſor.

Meanwhile the prince of Condé had concluded a treaty with prince Caſimir, who ſupplied him with eight thouſand Rheiters, and ſix thouſand Swiſs, on condition that he ſhould conclude no treaty without his conſent. As Thoré had furniſhed fifty thouſand crowns towards raiſing theſe troops, the prince could not refuſe to entruſt him with a detachment of two thouſand Rheiters, and five hundred infantry, which he wiſhed to lead to the aſſiſtance of Monſieur; but the duke of Guiſe, governor of Champagne, having intelligence of his motions, attacked him by ſurprize in the vicinity of Château-Thierry, and obtained a complete victory. Thoré, however, effected his eſcape to Berry, where he joined Monſieur, and whither he was followed by the ſcattered remains of his vanquiſhed army.

The queen-mother, anxious to promote a reconciliation between her ſons, and to ſow diviſion between her enemies, releaſed from confinement the mareſchals de Montmorenci and de Coſſe, who had great influence over the mind of Monſieur. Conferences were ac-

[3] Mezerai, tom ix. p. 15.

cordingly

cordingly opened at the caſtle of Champigni, and a truce for ſix months was ſpeedily concluded, to date from the twenty-ſecond of November. By this truce it was agreed that the king was to ſurrender to Monſieur, by way of ſecurity, the towns of Angoulême, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, and La Charité, and to the prince of Condé, the town of Mezieres. But the governors of Bourges and Angoulême having peremptorily refuſed to reſign thoſe places, the queen-mother prevailed on her ſon to accept Cognac and Saint-Jean d'Angeli in their ſtead; and the truce was, accordingly, publiſhed on the twenty-ſecond of December.

A. D. 1576.] Notwithſtanding the truce, peace appeared to be as far diſtant as before, and the winter was paſſed, on either ſide, in vigorous preparations for the renewal of war. The Pariſians evinced a ſpirit of diſcontent, the object of which was not eaſily to be deſcried; though inveterate enemies to the Hugonots, and eager for their extirpation, they murmured at the contributions that were demanded of them for the purpoſe of ſecuring the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. Henry endured a freſh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Poliſh Diet to chuſe a new ſovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Tranſylvania; and, to complete the embarraſſment of his ſituation, the king of Navarre effected his eſcape, and fled to Alençon. He there had a conference with Monſieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces[4]. From Alençon the Navarreſe monarch repaired to Tours, where he publickly reſumed the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion.

The combined forces of the confederates amounted to fifty thouſand effective men, and it was fully expected on all ſides that this campaign would be both bloody and deciſive; but Catharine again contrived to avert the ſtorm that hung over the kingdom, by exerting her uſual addreſs in the arts of negociation, in which ſhe was ably aſſiſted by the charms of a train of beautiful damſels[5], whom ſhe kept for that purpoſe: ſhe induced the princes to lay down their arms, and conſent to a treaty of peace, which was ſigned on the tenth of May, and regiſtered in the parliament on the fifteenth. The memory of the admiral de Coligni, and the other Proteſtant chiefs, was reſtored: the reformed were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, with the reſtriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any other place where the court reſided: chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of Proteſtants and Catholics, were erected in the principal parliaments: and the ſafety of the Hugonots was confirmed by the ceſſion of the following towns, Beaucaire and Aigues-Mortes in Languedoc; Perigueux and Le Mas de Verdun in Guienne; Nions and Serre in Dauphiné; Iſſoire in Auvergne, and Sene la Grand Tour in Provence. The king encreaſed his brother's appanage with the coun-

4 Sully. 5 Mezerai.

ties

tries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, and enſured the government of Picardy to the prince of Condé, with the town of Peronne for his place of reſidence.

The favourable terms now granted to the Hugonots furniſhed the Catholic chiefs with a plauſive pretext for forming themſelves into a *league*, of which all the principles and cauſes had been engendered and maintained during the preceding reign: they choſe the pope and the king of Spain for their protectors; and Henry was, by the advice of his miniſters, induced to ſubmit to the degradation of declaring himſelf the head of this league; the members whereof ſoon compelled him to abrogate the late edict of pacification.

A. D. 1577, 1578, 1579.] Two formidable enemies took the field in the ſpring, under the command of Monſieur and the duke of Mayenne; and that unanimity which could alone render the efforts of the confederates effectual being wanting, the Catholics were generally ſucceſsful. In April the important town of La Charité ſurrendered to Monſieur, and Rochelle was ſoon after reduced by the duke of Mayenne[6]. D'Amville, diſguſted with the Hugonots, who did not pay him that deference which he thought was his due, turned his arms againſt them, and laid ſiege to Montpellier; but Châtillon bravely forced a paſſage through his army, threw a body of three thouſand troops into the town, and would have engaged D'Amville the next day, but for the intelligence which he received that a peace had been concluded.

This accommodation had been entirely brought about by the king himſelf, with a view to mortify the houſe of Guiſe, whoſe power rouſed his jealouſy, and whoſe ambition excited his diſtruſt. The treaty was ſigned at Bergerac at the end of September, and in the beginning of the following month was regiſtered in the parliament. Its proviſions were highly unfavourable to the Hugonots, who were reſtrained from that free exerciſe of their religion, and debarred of many of thoſe privileges, which had been ſecured to them by the laſt treaty. The peace, however, was of ſhort continuance.

The reduction of Figeac, a town in Quercy, by the Catholics, was the ſignal for renewing hoſtilities; and the flames of war again ſpread their deſtructive rage over the kingdom. The young king of Navarre particularly ſignalized his valour and conduct in various encounters, and, by his ſtrenuous exertions, confirmed the hopes of the Calviniſts. He attacked the ſtrong town of Cahors, which was ably defended by Veſins, with a garriſon of two thouſand men, ſeconded by the inhabitants whom he had compelled to take up arms: After the king of Navarre had forced an entrance through the gates, he had a combat to ſuſtain in every ſtreet: The houſes were covered with troops,

[6] Mezerai

who threw logs of wood, tiles and ſtones, upon the Hugonots: the ſquares were barricaded, and batteries erected at the end of the ſtreets: the beſiegers had a battle to fight at every croſs-way, and every ſtone houſe they were obliged to ſtorm. This ſevere conflict, as obſtinate as it was unprecedented, laſted five days and nights, during which time not one of the Hugonots could quit his poſt for a ſingle moment; take any nouriſhment but with his arms in his hand, or any ſleep, except for a few minutes as he leaned againſt a houſe: deſpairing to reduce the town, and in momentary expectation of ſeeing ſuccours arrive to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, the principal officers adviſed the king of Navarre to retreat: but that gallant prince, whoſe courage was not to be ſhaken by the approach of danger, replied—"'Tis Heaven that dictates what I "ought to do upon this occaſion; remember then that my only retreat out of this city, "unleſs accompanied by my whole party, ſhall be the retreat of my ſoul from my body. "This my honour requires; talk, therefore, of nothing but battle, conqueſt or death[7]." The arrival of Chouppes, with a reinforcement of ſix hundred foot, and one hundred horſe enabled the king of Navarre, after an obſtinate conteſt, to obtain complete poſſeſſion of the town, and to repulſe the troops who had come to the aſſiſtance of the garriſon. The place was reſigned to pillage.

Meanwhile the flames of civil war, enkindled by the torch of religiousperſecution, raged with equal fury in the Netherlands, where the deſtructive bigotry of Philip, ſeconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved thouſands of his Flemiſh ſubjects in exile, torture, and death. The counts Egmont and Horne, two noblemen not more diſtinguiſhed for their illuſtrious birth, than for their eminent ſervices, periſhed on the ſcaffold; and the prince of Orange only eſcaped a ſimilar fate, by a judicious miſtruſt, and a timely evaſion. He ſoon, however, returned to rouze his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppreſſed by the ſuperior forces of Spain, had recourſe to foreign alliances, and addreſſed themſelves to Monſieur. The ſovereignty of the Low Countries was too ſplendid an allurement to be reſiſted by a prince vain, raſh, and ambitious; his ardour was, at that time, inflamed by the hope of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth, who, deſirous of reſiſting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of engaging in open hoſtilities, embraced the opportunity of exciting Monſieur to the defence of the perſecuted Flemings.

A. D. 1580.] But before Monſieur could embark in this enterprize, it was neceſſary that tranquillity ſhould be reſtored to the kingdom of France. His mediation being offered for this purpoſe was readily accepted by Henry, who had loſt the confidence of both factions, and had the mortification to behold his Catholic ſubjects range themſelves under the banners of the duke of Guiſe, while the Proteſtants publickly avowed their attach-

7 Sully's Memoirs, liv. i.

ment

ment to the king of Navarre. The various exertions made by both parties had exhauſted their ſtrength, without giving to either any eſſential advantages over the other; and a treaty, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Condé, was concluded in the month of November, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the Hugonots in poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns for ſix years.

A. D. 1581.] Monſieur, being joined by the chief nobility in France, took the field with an army of twelve thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with which he marched to the relief of Cambray, then beſieged by the prince of Parma. That able general, unable to cope with a force ſo ſuperior to his own, made a maſterly retreat, and left Monſieur to enter the city in triumph. After reducing Cateau-Cambreſis, and having been choſen, by the ſtates, governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and repaired to England to renew his ſuit with the queen.

A. D. 1582, 1583.] The reception he experienced from Elizabeth, was ſuch as to give him the moſt flattering hopes of ſucceſs; and, indeed, her teſtimonies of kindneſs and affection were ſo open and unequivocal, that Saint Aldegonde, governor of Antwerp, diſpatched letters to the Netherlands, ſignifying that the match was certain[8]. Lady Shrewſbury aſſerts, that the queen admitted him to exert all the privileges of a huſband; that he paſſed a part of one night in her bed-chamber, but that a certain "*womaniſh impotency*" precluding the full gratification of her amorous deſires, and Monſieur's endeavours to *remove* it proving ineffectual, the prince was formally diſmiſſed the next morning[9]. She conſented, however, to furniſh him with a ſum of money and a numerous fleet, to forward his plans in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the duke of Montpenſier and the mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men; but the hope which his ambition had formed his perfidy deſtroyed, and he reſolved, by ſecuring thoſe towns in which he had been received as a friend, to oppreſs that liberty which he had been ſummoned to protect. The prince of Orange, however, whoſe penetration could not eaſily be eluded, found means to fruſtrate his treacherous deſigns; at Antwerp he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and though an apparent reconciliation was afterwards effected, he was ſoon obliged to return to France, with a broken conſtitution, forſaken by his friends, and deſpiſed by his enemies, where, in the month of June in the following year, he breathed his laſt.

A. D. 1584.] During theſe tranſactions, Henry, inattentive to the affairs of his kingdom, conſumed his time and revenue in the purſuit of vain and ſenſual pleaſures, neither marked by decency nor taſte. To his principal favourite, the duke of Joyeuſe,

[8] Camden.

[9] This curious point is fully diſcuſſed in Mr. Whitaker's able "Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots."

to whom he had given the ſiſter of his queen in marriage, he reſigned the ſupreme direction of all affairs of ſtate, and left the houſe of Lorraine to purſue, without moleſtation, their ambitious plans. On the death of Monſieur, the king of Navarre became immediate heir to the throne; but Catharine exerted all her influence over Henry to prevail on him to promote his excluſion, and to transfer his rights to the children of her daughter, by the duke of Lorraine [10]. The duke of Guiſe and his brothers, encouraged by this favourable diſpoſition of the queen-mother, now openly placed themſelves at the head of the league, and exerted all their arts to inflame the reſentment of the people againſt the king of Navarre. Their emiſſaries were loud in their clamours againſt the ſucceſſion of an heretical ſovereign; the prieſts proſtituted the pulpits to the ſame ſeditious purpoſes; the confeſſors infuſed the poiſon of faction into the ears of their penitents; and the preſs groaned beneath the weight of libels, breathing the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent. Henry himſelf was calumniated in the groſſeſt manner, while the piety, valour, and goodneſs of the princes of Lorraine, whom they called the Shields of Religion, and Fathers of the People, were as loudly extolled [11].

It was now that the chiefs of the league, having inflamed the zealous, rouſed the factious, and reduced the weak, began to enliſt ſoldiers, and to purſue the moſt deciſive meaſures, for enforcing the execution of their daring projects. The duke of Nevers was particularly active in giving a proper form and conſiſtency to this dangerous aſſociation, which had neither loyalty to the king, nor reſpect to the laws, for its object. In a few months they were ready for action, and only waited for the confirmation of the pope to authoriſe their proceedings; this father Claude Matthias, a jeſuit, was diſpatched to Rome to procure, but though the ſovereign pontiff commended their zeal, and encouraged their hopes, he refuſed to ſanction their conduct by any public act.

Independent of religious conſiderations, the immenſe weight of taxes now impoſed on the people, by diffuſing a ſpirit of diſcontent, proved highly favourable to the deſigns of the leaguers. The king had raiſed upwards of fifty millions of livres ſince his acceſſion, and the gifts of the preſent year amounted to five millions of gold [12]. Aware of this ground of complaint, Henry ſuddenly ſuppreſſed no leſs than ſixty-ſix edicts, which the parliament had lately regiſtered, and the object of which was the levying of freſh ſums; made a reduction of the taille to the amount of ſeven hundred thouſand livres; moderated his own expences, and eſtabliſhed a royal chamber for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the conduct of the financiers. As he was alſo ſenſible that the Guiſes were indebted for a great ſhare of their popularity to their courteſy, affability, and condeſcenſion, he had recourſe to the ſame line of conduct, going frequently into public, and paying great attention to the

[10] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 134. [11] Idem, p. 126, 127. [12] Idem.

magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, and principal inhabitants of the capital. But this was a reſtraint to which he could only ſubmit for a ſhort time.

The duke L'Epernon, who ſhared with Joyeuſe the favour of his ſovereign, and ſome other members of the council, had formed a party for arreſting the duke of Guiſe; but the duke, having received ſome intimation of their deſigns, retired to his government of Champagne, whither he was ſpeedily followed by his brother, the cardinal. The Spaniſh agents profited by this conjuncture, and did not leave the Guiſes, till they had concluded a private treaty with them: it was negociated at Joinville, and ſigned on the laſt day of the year, 1584.

By this treaty were eſtabliſhed, "A confederacy and league, offenſive and defenſive, "between king Philip and the Catholic princes, for themſelves and their deſcendants, in "order to maintain the Catholic religion, as well in France as in the Low Countries." It was agreed, "That, on the event of Henry's death, the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould ſuc-"ceed to the throne, and that all the heretical princes ſhould be for ever excluded: that, "in that caſe, the new monarch ſhould renew the treaty of Cambray, concluded in "1558; ſhould baniſh all heretics by a public edict; ſhould enforce an obſervance of the "decrees of the holy council of Trent; ſhould renounce, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, "all alliance with the Turks; ſhould prevent the cities and fortreſſes of the Low Coun-"tries from being put into the hands of the French; and ſhould aſſiſt his Catholic majeſty "in reducing Cambray and all other towns that were in a ſtate of rebellion." On theſe conditions the king of Spain engaged to ſupply the French princes with fifty thouſand piſtoles a month, and always to pay them four hundred thouſand in advance; which ſums were to be reimburſed by the cardinal of Bourbon, in the event of his ſucceſſion to the throne [13].

A. D. 1585.] After the ſtates of the Netherlands had loſt much time in deliberation, on the ſubject of chuſing a governor who might defend them from the oppreſſion of Spain, they ſent deputies to the king to requeſt he would receive them as his ſubjects. The Spaniſh ambaſſador exerted his utmoſt afforts to prevent the deputies from being admitted to an audience; but the king, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances, gave them a favourable reception, received their propoſals in writing, and promiſed to ſend them a ſpeedy anſwer. Enraged at the proceeding, the king of Spain urged the duke of Guiſe to declare himſelf without farther delay; and his ſolicitations were ſo preſſing, that the duke, was induced to take the field before he had aſſembled his adherents.

Toul and Verdun were ſurprized by Guitaud, one of the captains of the league; but the Leaguers were repulſed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke D'Epernon.

[13] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 140, 141.

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The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, ſeized on Châlons and Mezieres; the duke of Aumale made himſelf maſter of moſt of the towns in Picardy; Briſſac reduced Angers; Entragues, Orleans; the duke of Mayenne, Dijon, and ſome other places in Burgundy; and the principal towns and fortreſſes in Dauphiné were ſecured by the nobility of the county, whom the duke, by his courteſy and magnificence, had attached to his party. The loyalty of the mareſchal Matignon preſerved Bourdeaux; and the citizens of Marſeilles, notwithſtanding a powerful confederacy in favour of the Leaguers, fruſtrated the plan formed for its reduction by the duke of Nevers.

Theſe proceedings arouſed Henry from his lethargy, and having collected a body of troops, he gave the command of them to Joyeuſe, who had orders to repair to Normandy, to oppoſe the duke of Elbœuf; but before he had reached Verneuil, he was overtaken by a meſſenger from the court, who informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the League, and that it was his majeſty's intention, that the army which, two days before, was deſtined to ſupport him againſt the attempts of the Guiſes, ſhould be led againſt the king of Navarre[14]. By this ignominious peace, concluded on the moſt diſhonourable terms, Henry agreed to compel the Proteſtants to reſtore the cautionary towns they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treaſures to the ſervice of thoſe rebels who had taken up arms againſt him. He ſoon experienced the evil effects of a conduct thus impolitic and puſillanimous. His authority was ſuperſeded by the ſuperior power of the princes of Lorraine. A council of ſixteen citizens of Paris inſulted their ſovereign, and ſpread confuſion throughout the capital. A gleam of hope ſeemed to break in from the court of Rome: Sixtus the Fifth, who had ſucceeded to the papacy, launched his ſpiritual thunders on the heads of thoſe who had dared to arm againſt the crown: but, governed by a temper imperious and turbulent, he increaſed the public anarchy by excommunicating, ſoon after, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, whom he ſtyled relapſed heretics, and as ſuch declared them "expoſed to the cenſures and puniſhments inflicted by the ſacred canons, whereby they were deprived of all their lordſhips, territories and dignities, and rendered incapable of ſucceeding to any principality, particularly to the crown of France: their ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of fealty, and forbidden to pay them obedience, under pain of being included in the ſame ſentence[15]."

This blow, which was expected to prove fatal to the Hugonots, had a contrary effect, for it diſguſted great numbers of the Catholics who were attached to the king, and led them to examine the nature of that authority which the popes aſſumed over crowned heads. whence they diſcovered that the doctrine which prevailed at Rome on that ſubject was not juſtified by the councils and canons of the church[16]. The king, too, was alarmed

[14] Sully, liv. 2. [15] Mezerai. [16] Idem.

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at the appearance of this bull, which he thought might be intended to promote his depoſition, and he abſolutely forbade its publication throughout his dominions.

The League, having compelled the king to levy two armies; one, under the duke of Guiſe, was ſtationed on the frontiers of Champagne, in order to prevent the junction of the German auxiliaries with the Hugonots; while the other, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, entered Saintonge. Nothing, however, of conſequence was attempted; the reduction of a few inſignificant fortreſſes finiſhed the campaign, and the troops were put into winter quarters.

A. D. 1586.] At the approach of ſpring five different armies, raiſed in the king's name, took the field againſt the Hugonots; but none of their efforts were crowned with ſucceſs. The jealouſy which prevailed between the duke of Mayenne and the mareſchal Matignon, rendered the exertions of the Leaguers in Guienne ſpiritleſs and ineffectual. Joyeuſe, indeed, having few obſtacles to encounter, advanced with greater rapidity, and having expelled the Hugonots from La Motte, Saint Eloi, Saint Maixant, Maillezais, and ſeveral other places, obliged the king of Navarre to retreat to Rochelle. Joyeuſe then left his army to return to court; but he had no ſooner departed than the king of Navarre, who had ſecretly collected twelve hundred men from his different garriſons, attacked a conſiderable detachment, and put them all to the ſword. That prince more than once alarmed the whole army, which was now placed under the command of Lavardin. He purſued them as far as La Haye in Touraine, haraſſing them on their march, and cutting off their proviſions, and in the ſhort ſpace of five days, killed and took upwards of ſix hundred men [17]. The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, took the towns of Raucour and Donzy from the duke of Bouillon; and the duke of Aumale, at the head of the *Picards*, reduced Dourlens and Pontdormy, the laſt of which places commands a paſſage over the Somme below Pecquigny.

Conſiderable ſums were required to pay and maintain theſe various armies; but, though means were found for raiſing money ſufficient for the purpoſe, the king's prodigality and the avidity of his courtiers ſoon abſorbed it all. Paris had contributed two hundred thouſand crowns towards the ſupport of this war, which were expended in one week; fifty thouſand crowns raiſed on the revenues of the clergy, as ſpeedily diſappeared; and forty thouſand more, levied in the royal domains, went the ſame way. Recourſe was had to the old plan of creating new places, but the parliament properly rejected the deſtructive project, and the attempt only ſerved to prove the injuſtice and weakneſs of the government. In the month of December the queen-mother had an interview with the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, at Saint Bris, two leagues

[17] Sully.

from

from Cognac, at which ſhe was attended, as uſual, by the moſt beautiful women of the court. But neither the charms of the one, nor the perſuaſions of the other, could prevail on the princes to renounce their religion; and the conference was cloſed by a declaration of Catharine, that it was the king's final reſolution to tolerate only one religion in the ſtate.

A. D. 1587.] The duke of Joyeuſe having received a conſiderable reinforcement of troops, and being joined by the flower of the French nobility, appointed the general rendezvous of his army in Guienne. The king of Navarre, who was ſtill at Rochelle, in order to avert the ſtorm that threatened him, collected all the troops he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and ſent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, (who had recently eſpouſed the cauſe of the Hugonots) Turenne, La Trémouille, and Rochefoucaud, to join him with their reſpective detachments: yet, with all theſe ſupplies, his forces were ſtill greatly inferior to thoſe of the Leaguers. All he could attempt with ſuch an army, was to force his way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lionnois, towards the ſource of the Loire, where he expected to meet with the German auxiliaries. He exerted his utmoſt efforts for accompliſhing this junction before the troops which Joyeuſe expected from different quarters could join the main army. With this view he advanced towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La Roche-Calais, on the borders of Saintonge, Guienne, and Perigord, but he was cloſely purſued by Joyeuſe, who, having penetrated into his deſign, had determined not to wait the arrival of his expected reinforcements, leſt he ſhould loſe an opportunity which he might never after be able to recover. The ſuperiority of his forces juſtified this reſolution; and the king of Navarre, who never hazarded an unequal action, but in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity, endeavoured to place the river between them, that he might continue his march without oppoſition, and gain the Dordogne, upon the banks whereof he had ſeveral ſtrong forts, which might ſerve to ſtop the enemy's purſuit [15].

The grand object of either general was to ſecure the important poſt of Coutras, a town ſituated at the confluence of the rivers Lille and Droume: Lavardin was accordingly diſpatched by Joyeuſe, and La Trémouille by the king of Navarre, to take poſſeſſion of it; but the latter, after a ſharp conflict, prevailed, and the king, eager to avail himſelf of this advantage, reſolved to attempt, without farther delay, a paſſage over the river. He accordingly marched thither in the night, reſerving to himſelf the care of conducting the troops over; and leaving that of the baggage and artillery to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville and Sully. But before one half of the army had reached the oppoſite banks, news was brought of the enemy's approach, ſo that they were

[15] Sully, liv. ii.

obliged

obliged to return with the utmoſt precipitation, and the king of Navarre was compelled to prepare for action.

In the morning of the twentieth of October the two armies were drawn up in a large plain near the town of Coutras. The royaliſts attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the diviſion commanded by Turenne immediately gave way; that under the conduct of La Trémouille being forced at the firſt onſet, the whole army of the Hugonots appeared to be thrown into confuſion, and the Catholics began to indulge in exclamations of victory. At that critical juncture the artillery, which had been poſted on an eminence, under the direction of Sully, began to play with infinite ſucceſs; at every diſcharge the enemy's ranks were thinned; and, in a ſhort time, the effect was ſuch, that all order was deſtroyed in the Catholic army; the troops diſperſed about the plain without form or regularity, and were unable to ſuſtain the vigorous attacks of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soiſſons, who ſcoured the field at the head of three ſquadrons, and diſplayed a ſpirit and valour worthy of their birth. The fate of the day was changed in an inſtant, and the death of Joyeuſe rendered the victory complete[19]. Five thouſand of the Catholics were ſlain in the action, and five hundred taken priſoners. The loſs of the Proteſtants was inconſiderable[20].

The valour of Henry, king of Navarre, was eminently conſpicuous on this occaſion. He wore a plume of white feathers in his helmet, that he might be diſtinguiſhed from his officers; ſome of whom throwing themſelves between him and the enemy, at a time when his perſon was in danger, Henry exclaimed, "Give me room, I beſeech "you, I wiſh to be ſeen[21]."

Had the king of Navarre's conduct after the battle been equal to his courage while it laſted, his victory might have proved deciſive. If he had advanced to meet the German auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction, and he would then have been able to cope with any force the Catholics could have brought into the field. But the diſſentions which prevailed between the leaders of the Hugonots, proved an obſtacle to the adoption of this ſalutary ſcheme; the prince of Condé, intent on the gratification of his own private ambition, withdrew his troops into Saintonge; the viſcount de Turenne, actuated by ſimilar views, repaired to the Limoſin; and the king of Navarre, weakened by this deſertion, and ſtimulated by his affection for the counteſs de Guiche, diſbanded his forces, and haſtened to Bearn[22].

While France was thus deſolated by the alternate depredations of contending armies, an event had occurred in England, unexampled in the annals of hiſtory, and reflecting inde-

[19] Sully. [20] De Thou, liv. lxxxvii.—Memoires de Du Pleſſis, liv. i.—D'Aubigné, tom. iii. liv. i.—Matthieu, tom. i. liv. 8.—Pere Daniel, tom. ix. [21] Perefixe. [22] Sully, liv. iii.

lible infamy on the memory of Elizabeth. This was the condemnation and execution of the unhappy Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, who, after being expelled from her dominions by her rebel ſubjects, had fled for refuge to England, where, inſtead of friendſhip ſhe experienced hatred, inſtead of hoſpitality ſhe met with oppreſſion, inſtead of protection, perſecution; inſtead of candour, calumny; and inſtead of juſtice, aſſaſſination. After a captivity of eighteen years, this unfortunate princeſs was brought to trial, before a court, incompetent to decide on her fate, and convicted on the evidence of forged inſtruments and perjured witneſſes. Henry the Third had, at different times, inſtructed his ambaſſador L'Aubeſpine, to remonſtrate to the Engliſh court againſt the cruelties inflicted on Mary; but whatever this envoy could urge was ineffectual. He even diſpatched Pomponne de Belliévre, chancellor of France, to Elizabeth, with a particular commiſſion to intercede for the life of the Scottiſh queen. As ſoon as Belliévre could procure an audience, which Elizabeth, on frivolous pretexts, delayed for ſome time to grant, fearful to encounter the reproaches ſhe expected, and knew ſhe deſerved, he intereſted himſelf in her behalf with great ability and zeal. He aſſerted the independency of ſovereigns, and expatiated on the impropriety of one prince attempting to exerciſe authority over another. He maintained that, in reaſon, in precedent, and in juſtice, there exiſted not a pretence upon which Elizabeth could ſubject Mary to the ordinations of England. He recalled to her mind, that this princeſs had come into her dominions for refuge, and that ſhe was entitled to her protection. The impriſonment of Mary he juſtly repreſented as a crime which no ſtate policy could vindicate; and he inſiſted that, in her ſituation, every poſſible effort for her liberty was proper and pardonable. He proteſted, that the kings of Europe were concerned and intereſted in her fate; and that the execution of a free princeſs was a blow which would wound them all. He affirmed, that the ſafety of Elizabeth would be more endangered by the death of Mary than by her life. He aſſured the queen of England, that if a reſolution were really taken by the Catholic powers to invade her dominons, ſhe ought to impute it to a motive of religion, and not to the machinations of Mary. He cautioned her to obſerve, that if that princeſs were actually put to death, the cauſe of the hoſtility of theſe powers, ſo far from ceaſing, would acquire additional ſtrength: they would ſee, in a ſtronger light than ever, the propriety of extirpating the Proteſtant doctrines; and would unite moſt ſeriouſly to revenge the execution of a Roman Catholic princeſs. He conjured her by every thing that is moſt ſacred among mankind, to treat Mary with moderation; pointed out the praiſes and profits of clemency; and declared, that his maſter had commanded him to inform her that, ſhould ſhe proceed to the laſt extremity againſt the Scottiſh queen, he would conſult the vivacity of his reſentment, and make her know the full extent of his power. But this ſpirited remonſtrance had no effect on the mercileſs mind of Elizabeth; ſteady to her purpoſe ſhe purſued her ſanguinary plan, and, on the eighth of February, 1587, Mary ſuffered decapitation, at Fotheringay caſtle.

The

The neglect of the Hugonots to profit by the victory of Coutras for effecting a junction with the German auxiliaries, proved of greater conſequence than they had expected. The Germans, entering without order and without guides, into provinces unknown to them, continually ſtopped by huge rivers, and haraſſed by the troops of the League, had, on the twenty-fourth of November, been taken by ſurprize, through the active vigilance of the duke of Guiſe, who attacked them at Auneau, in La Beauſſe, and obtained a complete victory, putting two thouſand of them to the ſword, and making himſelf maſter of all their baggage[23]. The Swiſs, to avoid a ſimilar misfortune, enliſted, to the number of twelve thouſand, in the army of the League[24].

A. D. 1588.] The Proteſtant party, ſoon after, experienced another loſs, by the death of the prince of Condé, who expired of poiſon at Saint Jean d'Angeli, on the fifth of March, 1588. One of his domeſtics, named Brillant, was convicted of the deed, and condemned to be drawn aſunder by four horſes. The princeſs of Condé was included in the accuſation, but, after ſuffering ſix years impriſonment, ſhe was brought to trial before the parliament of Paris, and honourably acquitted[25].

The inhabitants of Paris, delivered, by the defeat of the Germans, from the dread of foreign invaſion, determined to reduce their ſovereign to the moſt mortifying inſignificance, and to veſt the ſole adminiſtration in the hands of the duke of Guiſe. In purſuance of this deſign, they preſented a memorial, which had been drawn up by the princes of Lorraine, and the chiefs of the League, aſſembled for that purpoſe at Nancy[26], in which they required the king to declare openly for the League; to publiſh the decrees of the council of Trent; to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, and to extirpate hereſy. Though Henry could not entirely repreſs his indignation, he ſo far commanded his temper as to promiſe to conſider their requeſts. But alarmed at their inſolence, he watched their conduct with a vigilant eye, and meditated the vindication of his dignity by ſurpriſing the whole council at once. From this deſign, however, he was diſſuaded by the queen-mother; and his imprudence in threatening a faction which he wanted the power to puniſh or repreſs, only ſerved to encreaſe the enmity of the Leaguers, who now ſummoned the duke of Guiſe to their ſupport.

Contrary to the expreſs command of his ſovereign, the duke of Guiſe entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refuſing, yet deeply wounded by a repetition of inſults, Henry recalled his former reſolution, and declared that the moment of the interview ſhould be the laſt of his preſumptuous ſubject's life. Catharine again interpoſed her tears and remonſtrances, and again prevailed. But the king ſtill continued to give vent to his indignation, he

[23] D'Aubigné—Matthieu. [24] Sully. [25] De Thou. [26] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 188, 189.

ſternly accuſed the duke of ſedition, treaſon, and the moſt daring deſigns againſt his life and throne. The duke of Guiſe, ſenſible of his danger, endeavoured to diſarm his rage by ſubmiſſion: he was ſuffered to retire in ſafety; but, convinced of the hazard he had incurred, and hopeleſs of any ſincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the moſt deciſive meaſures.

To prevent the dangerous deſigns of this illuſtrious rebel and his daring aſſociates, Henry, on the twelfth of May, commanded all foreigners to leave the capital, and iſſued orders for viſiting every houſe; and, as the Pariſians, ever ripe for revolt, made a ſhew of reſiſtance, he introduced into the town, during the night, about ſix thouſand troops, chiefly Swiſs, and diſtributed them into the different quarters of the city. An immediate and general inſurrection was the conſequence of this meaſure, which prudence juſtified; the Pariſians roſe in every part of the city, and, headed by ſome of the chiefs of the League, fortified themſelves in the ſtreets, repulſed the ſoldiers, ſlew ſeveral of the Swiſs, diſarmed the reſt, and puſhed the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre. While Catharine artfully engaged the duke of Guiſe in a negociation, Henry quitted his palace, eſcaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and ſurveying his capital with the eye of offended majeſty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

Had Henry, on this occaſion, acted with greater diſcretion, he might probably have been ſpared the diſgrace of abandoning his metropolis. At an early part of the day, Grillon, colonel of the French guards, wiſhed to take poſſeſſion of the Place Maubert, but he was reſtrained by the king, who alſo prevented his ſoldiers from firing upon the populace, though by ſo doing they might, it was ſuppoſed, have been eaſily quelled.

From Paris, Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his ſubjects, from the inſolence of the duke of Guiſe, and the tyranny of the Leaguers. He was anſwered by manifeſtoes which breathed the ſpirit of ſedition inflamed by religious rancour. The juſt reſentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for ſo cruel an inſult, offered to a prince of his own blood, and which, in ſome degree, reflected a diſgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced, in a moment, Henry's injurious treatment of himſelf. He expreſſed his affliction at this event in his council, the members whereof unanimouſly approved his reſolution to aſſiſt and defend the king of France; and he immediately diſpatched his ſecretary to that prince to aſſure him, that he might diſpoſe of his perſon and troops[27].

Yet while the mutual accuſations of both parties ſeemed to admit of no other deciſion than that of arms, the mediation of Catharine was again ſucceſsfully employed,

[27] Sully, liv. iii.

and

and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a ſubject whom he hated and feared. The firmneſs of the parliament and the levity of the Pariſians had influenced the duke of Guiſe to liſten to terms of accommodation; while Henry was impreſſed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, which was ſigned on the twenty-firſt of July, the duke of Guiſe was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared firſt prince of the blood; the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt the ſubjects of France who had preſumed to deviate from the ancient and eſtabliſhed church; and, in ſhort, all the extravagant demands which the chiefs of the League, when aſſembled at Nancy, had agreed to prefer, were now granted[28]. On the concluſion of this treaty, the duke of Guiſe waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with ſuch marks of reſpect and confidence as ſeemed to proclaim the moſt ſincere reconciliation.

Yet amidſt theſe public teſtimonies of regard, Henry continued to nouriſh a latent thirſt of vengeance, which the enemies of the Guiſes were ſtudious to encreaſe. He aſſembled the ſtates at Blois, on the tenth of October, and, though ſurrounded by the partiſans of the League, he addreſſed them in a bold and animated ſpeech, diſplayed the diſtreſs to which he was reduced, and glanced at the ſeditious practices of the houſe of Lorraine. Language ſo unexpected ſtruck the duke of Guiſe with aſtoniſhment; he remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the inſinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled to ſoften the moſt obnoxious paſſages before it was circulated abroad.

To this mortification ſucceeded the moſt alarming intelligence with reſpect to the ambitious deſigns of his aſpiring ſubject: he perceived that the ſtates were determined to declare the king of Navarre, by name, incapable of ſucceeding to the throne; and that he could neither hope to enjoy repoſe himſelf, nor to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, ſo long as the duke of Guiſe was alive. Having taking his reſolution, he conſulted his cabinet-council, conſiſting of the mareſchal D'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis D'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis, on the beſt means of putting it in execution. The firſt adviſed the king to arreſt the princes of Lorraine and deal with them according to law[29]; but Henry was ſenſible that ſuch an attempt would only ſerve to inflame ſubjects too powerful for reſtraint; and the reſt concurred in encouraging him to put the duke of Guiſe to death.

In the conduct of this plan, Henry diſplayed the ſame calm diſſimulation that had characterized his brother Charles. Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his perſonal courage, was applied to, to ſtrike the fatal blow, but, with a

[28] Memoires de la Ligue, tom. 1—Mem. de Nevers, tom. 1—Matthieu, tom. i, liv. 8. [29] Mezerai.

dignity

dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and ſervices would not allow him to play the executioner: "I will challenge the duke," ſaid he, "and if per-"mitted, endeavour to kill him fairly with my ſword." The king received his refuſal with a good grace, and only recommended to him ſecreſy. He now fixed on Loignac, who commanded his new-raiſed body-guard, compoſed of five-and-forty Gaſcons; and that officer readily accepted the commiſſion.

The adherents of the duke of Guiſe, ever anxious and vigilant, were ſoon apprized that ſome dark deſign was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admoniſhed that he ſtood on the brink of a precipice. But relying on that fortune, which had hitherto invariably attended him, and impreſſed with a ſtrong but miſtaken idea of Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was ſummoned to. As he repaired to the king's cabinet, (on the morning of the twenty-third of December), through a long and gloomy paſſage, he was aſſailed by the daggers of Loignac and his aſſociates. Six poniards were at once plunged into his boſom, and, exclaiming, with a deep groan, "My "God, have mercy on me!" he ſunk breathleſs on the floor.

Thus periſhed Henry, duke of Guiſe, the victim of his own inordinate ambition. As ſoon as the king was informed of his fate, he paſſed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a king, madam, for the "duke of Guiſe is no more." Catharine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly aſked, if he had conſidered the conſequences.

At the ſame time, the mareſchal D'Aumont arreſted the cardinal of Guiſe, while others of the king's adherents ſeized, in different places, the cardinal of Bourbon; the ducheſs of Nemours; the prince of Joinville; the dukes of Nemours and Elbeuf; Hauteſort; Saint-Aignan: Bois-Daufin, Briſſac; La Bourdaiſiere; and Pericard, ſecretary to the duke of Guiſe. Richelieu, an officer of the houſhold, entering the apartment where the ſtates were aſſembled, ſaid that an attempt had been made on the king's life, and ſeized the preſident de Nully; La Chapelle-Marteau, provoſt of the merchants; two aldermen of Paris; and Vincent le Roy, a magiſtrate of the city of Amiens. The other deputies retired in diſorder; ſome found means to eſcape to Orleans, while others were ſtopped at the door, compelled to remain, and to conceal their apprehenſions beneath an appearance of joy.

Thoſe who had aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe, dreading the revenge of his brother the cardinal, were ſo earneſt in their ſolicitations to the king to conſent to his death, that Henry at laſt complied with their wiſhes. Duguaſt, an officer of the guards, undertook the commiſſion, and he employed four ſoldiers—to each of whom he gave a hundred crowns—to execute it; they accordingly lay in wait for him, as he was going to

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the king's cabinet, and diſpatched him with their halberds[30]. Henry was greatly ſurprized when the pope's legate, who had appeared but little concerned at the death of the duke of Guiſe, told him that he had ſubjected himſelf to a ſentence of excommunication, for having been inſtrumental to the aſſaſſination of a cardinal.

The duke of Mercœur, who was at Nantes, when this tranſaction took place, was apprized of his danger, by his ſiſter, in time to effect his eſcape. The duke of Mayenne alſo received a courier, at Lyons, diſpatched by his brother's equerry, and not finding the inhabitants of that city ſufficiently attached to him, he repaired to Chalons in Burgundy, and having made himſelf maſter of the citadel, haſtened to ſecure Dijon.

A. D. 1589.] At Paris, the citizens openly rejected the authority of their ſovereign, and choſe the duke of Aumale for their governor: The doctors of the Sorbonne publickly abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance; and the council of union, compoſed of forty members, aſſuming a ſovereign power, conſtituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guiſe, lieutenant-general of the ſtate and crown of France, a dignity abſurd and unprecedented; and their blind zeal would even have conferred on him the title of king, had not his ſagacity led him to decline the dangerous pre-eminence. Rouen and the greater part of Normandy declared for the League; Lyons, Thouloufe, Marſeilles, Arles and Toulon, with the provinces of Brittany and Auvergne, embraced the ſame party; the Spaniſh ambaſſador repaired to Paris, and nouriſhed by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while the cenſures of the pope, and the inflammatory harangues of the prieſts, kept alive the flames of ſedition.

Meanwhile, the king had totally withdrawn his confidence from the queen-mother, who, mortified at the loſs of an authority, ſhe had ſo long been accuſtomed to exerciſe, and advanced in years, expired at Blois, on the fifth of January, in the ſeventy-third year of her age[31]. In her laſt moments, ſhe perceived the fatal effects of her own inſidious policy, and ſtrenuouſly exhorted Henry to be reconciled to the princes of his blood, particularly to the king of Navarre, whoſe ſincerity, ſhe declared, ſhe had conſtantly experienced: ſhe adviſed him alſo to reſtore tranquillity to his kingdom by putting a ſtop to the perſecution of the Proteſtants, and allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion.

One part of Catharine's advice Henry ſoon found it neceſſary to adopt; the ſpirit of ſedition was widely diffuſed over the kingdom, and in the fidelity and attachment of the princes of the blood his only reſource now conſiſted. The king of Navarre readily liſ-

[30] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 218, 219. [31] Idem, p. 228.

tened

tened to the overtures that were made to him, and, through the management of Sully, a treaty was concluded and ſigned between the two monarchs, at Pleſſis-les-Tours. Henry eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Tours, where he was ſpeedily joined by the dukes of Epernon and Nevers, and the mareſchal Montmorenci; but before he could collect a ſtrong body of troops he was attacked by the army of the League, under the duke of Mayenne, who ſtormed the ſuburb of Saint Symphorien, in the defence of which the king diſplayed great gallantry. Mayenne, however, had not time to improve this advantage, for the king of Navarre, haſtening to the relief of his ally, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege and retreat with precipitation.

The ſkirmiſhes now became frequent between the rival armies, and victory generally declared for the royaliſts: Sully defeated a party of the Leaguers under the command of Saveuſe, near Bonneval; and La Noue, with the young duke of Longueville, attacked the duke of Aumale in the vicinity of Senlis, and entirely routed his army, two thouſand of whom were left dead on the field, and as many more were killed in the woods by the peaſants; a thouſand priſoners fell into the hands of the royaliſts, together with all the artillery and baggage.

The kings of France and Navarre having collected their forces from different quarters, proceeded to Pontoiſe, which ſurrendered by capitulation; and being joined by their foreign auxiliaries, conſiſting of ten thouſand Swiſs, two thouſand Lanſquenets, and a body of light-horſe, their army amounted to thirty-eight thouſand men, a force which they deemed adequate to the attack of the capital, which they accordingly inveſted on the laſt day of July [32].

The duke of Mayenne, with ten thouſand men [33], haſtened to the relief of Paris; but, at the ſight of the king's army, the royaliſts, who were numerous in the city, openly declared for an accommodation, and went from houſe to houſe, exhorting their friends to join them. The Leaguers themſelves were alarmed at the proſpect of puniſhment, nor could the encouragement they received from the pulpits, nor the falſe intelligence that was carefully circulated among them, ſuffice to remove their apprehenſions. They were afraid, that during the aſſault, which was fixed for the ſecond of Auguſt, the royaliſts would attack them from behind, and open one of the gates to the beſiegers.

While things were in this ſituation, and the duke of Mayenne, at a loſs how to act, had reſolved to try the effect of a deſperate ſally, at the head of four thouſand men, that puniſhment which the factious and diſloyal citizens of Paris ſo richly merited was averted by the hand of an aſſaſſin. James Clement, a Jacobin friar, born at the

[32] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 251. [33] Idem, Ibid.

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THE DEATH OF HENRY THE THIRD.

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village of Sorbonne, near Burgundy, a man of ſtrong paſſions, but weak intellects, had liſtened with attention to the treaſonable harangues of the popular preachers of the League, which ſoon inflamed to deſperation a diſpoſition naturally gloomy and fanatical: either impelled by that ſanguinary ſuperſtition which ſo ſtrongly marks the times we are delineating, or inſtigated by perſons of ſuperior rank, who expected to meet their own ruin in the triumph of their ſovereign, he reſolved, by one fatal ſtroke, to deſtroy the enemy of the pope and of the Catholic religion. With a paſſport procured under falſe pretences from the count de Brienne, one of the king's generals, then a priſoner in the Baſtille, and a forged letter from the preſident Harlay, he ſet out from Paris for Saint Cloud, where the king had eſtabliſhed his quarters: on the road he overtook La Gueſle, the attorney-general, and informing him that he had ſome important intelligence to communicate to the king in perſon, he was entertained by that officer at his houſe, who alſo engaged to procure him an audience of Henry[34].

The next morning he was, accordingly, introduced by La Gueſle to the king, to whom he preſented a letter; but while Henry was engaged in the peruſal of it, Clement drew a knife from his ſleeve, and plunged it into the belly of his ſovereign. The king immediately drew the fatal inſtrument from the wound, and twice ſtruck with it the aſſaſſin on the forehead and the cheek. La Gueſle, with a blow from his ſword, extended him on the floor, and the imprudent zeal of two or three of the royal guards ſpeedily diſpatched him[35].

It was at firſt ſuppoſed that the king's wound was not mortal, but ſymptoms ſoon appearing to ſhew that the inteſtines were injured, he was apprized of his ſituation, and prepared to meet death with reſignation and fortitude. He ſent for the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced, and declared his lawful ſucceſſor; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and ſupport their new ſovereign; and, on the morning of the ſecond of Auguſt expired, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

A ſpirit of gaming and intrigue prevailed at the court of France, during the reign of the Third Henry, a voluptuous monarch, better adapted to the purſuits of pleaſure than the cares of ſtate: this diſpoſition, indeed, his mother had been anxious to encourage, in order to divert his attention from the affairs of government, of which ſhe wiſhed to procure the ſole management and direction. As an inſtance of Henry's prodigality, it is remarked, that he loſt, at one ſitting, the ſum of eighty thouſand crowns. He uſed frequently to dreſs himſelf in women's cloaths: he once gave a feaſt at which the gueſts were ſerved by women in the habits of men; and the queen-mother, in return, gave a

34 Mezerai. 35 Idem.

ſupper, at which the moſt beautiful females of the court waited at table, with their boſoms bare, and their hair flowing down their ſhoulders[36].

The order of the Holy Ghoſt was inſtituted by Henry, on the firſt of January, 1579. The king was declared ſovereign of the order, and the number of knights was confined to one hundred, (who were obliged to prove their nobility for three generations) excluſive of eight eccleſiaſtics, four cardinals, and four prelates.

While the Spaniards and Portugueſe, after the firſt diſcoveries of Columbus, had penetrated into thoſe regions called the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and ſent forth frequent fleets and colonies to ſecure their invaſions of Mexico, Peru, the Braſils and Goa, the French made no attempt to ſhare in the riches of the New World, or to imitate the later range of the Engliſh into the coaſts of North America. By the neglect and diſcouragement of the marine, even their private adventurers were reſtrained from that ſpirit of enterprize which then diffuſed itſelf among the other nations[37]. It was the genius of the admiral Coligni, extended to every object that could advance the intereſt or honour of his country, which firſt produced an attention to this point of national advantage. During the reign of Henry the Second, he employed his intereſt to recommend Villegagnon to the court, and to obtain authority for equipping ſome veſſels, with a view to form a French ſettlement in the Braſils. This colony, however, was ſoon deſtroyed, notwithſtanding a fort they had built for their protection, which bore the admiral's name. In February, 1562, Coligni, not diſcouraged by the failure of his firſt attempt, reſumed an enterprize of the ſame kind, and obtained the royal commiſſion for ſending John Ribaud, a noted mariner of Dieppe, with two veſſels, to the coaſt of Florida. Near the frith of Saint Helen, fort Carolina was conſtructed; and Ribaud, having left his lieutenant with a garriſon and proviſions, ſailed back to France to obtain a reinforcement and freſh ſupplies. But the kingdom being thrown into confuſion by the civil wars, the colony was neglected; the garriſon, at length, abandoned the fort, and with difficulty procured a paſſage to England. At the peace of Orleans, the admiral fitted out three other ſhips, and appointed Laudonniere, who had been in the former expedition, to command them. On their arrival in Florida, it was judged proper to change the ſituation of the fort to a place more commodious. The affairs of the new ſettlers proſpered, until a party of them, taking advantage of Laudonniere's ſickneſs, made excurſions to the Spaniſh main, and to the iſland of Cuba. By this means the colony was neglected, and Laudonniere was on the point of ſetting ſail for France, when Ribaud appered with ſeven veſſels in the bay.

The Spaniards had, by this time, fitted out a ſquadron of eight ſail, which, arriving at

[36] Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 55. [37] D'Aubigné, liv. i. chap. 16.

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the critical time of the debarkation, and while the two commanders were diſputing whether they ſhould truſt to the defence of the fort, or that of the ſhips, ſo far accompliſhed the deſtruction of one and the other, that Laudonniere and Ribaud's ſon, glad to eſcape with ſome of their veſſels, carried intelligence to France of the dreadful maſſacre and cruel inſults committed on their countrymen by the Spaniards; who put moſt of their priſoners to death, and hung many of their bodies on trees, and gibbets, with labels affixed to them, importing that they were ſo treated, not as pirates and Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics. Laudonniere's complaints of the outrage and indignity done to the honour and name of the French nation, were little regarded by the court; but a remarkable revenge was undertaken by a private individual, Dominique de Gourgues, a Gaſcon captain, who being made a priſoner in the Tuſcan wars, had been ſent to the gallies by the Spaniards. Inflamed with reſentment, determined on revenging his own perſonal injuries, and ambitious of vindicating the public wong, he ſold his eſtate, and having obtained a farther ſum on credit, equipped ſome ſmall veſſels, manned with ſoldiers, with which he ſailed for Florida in Auguſt, 1567. His atchievements were no leſs ſurpriſing than the undertaking itſelf was extraordinary. With two hundred men, and ſome ſavages, he made himſelf maſter of the Carolina fort, and two others erected near it, which were mounted with cannon, and defended by four hundred Spaniſh troops. He retaliated the maſſacre of the priſoners, on whoſe bodies he placed this inſcription; "I have treated you thus, not as Spaniards only, but as traitors, robbers, and aſſaſſins." On his return to France, he found the Spaniſh influence ſo prevalent at court, that inſtead of receiving thanks for this ſingular exploit, he was obliged to conceal himſelf in an obſcure retreat, in order to avoid a capital proſecution. A more hopeful expedition, undertaken a ſhort time before this, by Bertrand de Montluc, ſon to the general of that name, for the purpoſe of forming a ſettlement on the coaſt of Guinea, and opening to France the tract of the Portugueſe navigation to the Cape of Good Hope, and the Eaſt Indies, had been likewiſe attended with a diſaſtrous fate. In the iſland of Madeira, the Portugueſe, who refuſed them admittance for water and proviſions after a ſtorm, were too weak to reſiſt their aſſault; but young Montluc having received a mortal wound in ſtorming the town, the expedition was ſtopped, and the troops returned to France, where the credit of Coligni and old Montluc was ſcarcely ſufficient to protect them from the effects of a proſecution, commenced againſt them on the remonſtrance of the envoy from Portugal. In this manner, from the inattention of the court of France to the public intereſt and the ſubſequent broils of the nation, which increaſed the diſcouragement of the marine, and fruſtrated every extenſive and beneficial ſcheme of policy; the French attempts at colonization in the New World proved tardy, irregular, and abortive.

Henry was the laſt monarch of the race of Valois, which had reigned over the king-

[s] Camden.

dom during one hundred and ſixty-one years, and had given thirteen ſovereigns to France. Under their government, the limits of the French empire had been extended by the important acquiſitions of Dauphiné, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany. Louiſa, widow to Henry, retired, on the death of her huſband, to the caſtle of Moulins, where ſhe paſſed in tranquil privacy the remainder of her days. She expired in 1601, in the forty-ſeventh year of her age.

ERRATA.

Page	13	Line 11	For 'Lewis' -	read	'Philip'
	33	13	From the bottom, after 'promiſes' place a comma, after 'and' dele 'that'		
	64	Note	For 'Poronne'	read	'Peronne'
	129	12	Dele 'a' at the end of the line.		
	140	4	For 'of'	read	'at'
	194	17	After 'Seventh'	inſert	'and'
	223	6	For 'homage'	read	'harangue'
	242	9	For 'la'	read	'da'
	242	13	For 'Bentvoalio'	read	'Bentivoglio'
	251	8	Dele 'that'		
	269	9	Inſert a comma after 'generals,' dele comma after 'Ligni'		
	277	7	Dele 'd' before 'Albret'		
	283	Note	For 'Hewterus' -	read	'Heuterus'
	288	16	For 'Ghigradadda' -	read	'Ghiaradadda'
	304	5	For 'where' -	read	'were'
	313	Note, Line 4 from the bott.	for 'adeniente'	read	'adveniente'
	314	5	For France - -	read	'Franca'
	325	Note	For 'Scriptones' -	read	'Scriptores'
	332	7	Dele 'But'		
	363	1	For 'retier' -	read	'retire'
	372	9	Dele 'Ambroſe Paré'		
	383	11	For 'obtained' -	read	'attained'
	386	9	For 'Bourbonnois' -	read	'Boulonnois'
	410	20	For 'ſucceſsful' -	read	'unſucceſsful'
	474	5	From the bott. for 'from	read	'for'
	587	11	For 'light' -	read	'eight.'

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